THE ROUTLEDGE HISTORY OF THE DOMESTIC SPHERE IN EUROPE

This book addresses the multifaceted history of the domestic sphere in Europe from the Age of Reformation to the emergence of modern society. By focusing on daily practice, interaction and social relations, it shows continuities and social change in European history from an interior perspective.

The Routledge History of the Domestic Sphere in Europe contains a variety of approaches from different regions that each pose a challenge to commonplace views such as the emergence of confessional cultures, of private life, and of separate spheres of men and women. By analyzing a plethora of manifold sources including diaries, court records, paintings and domestic advice literature, this volume provides an overview of the domestic sphere as a location of work and consumption, conflict and cooperation, emotions and intimacy, and devotion and education. The book sheds light on changing relations between spouses, parents and children, masters and servants or apprentices, and humans and animals or plants, thereby exceeding the notion of the modern nuclear family.

This volume will be of great use to upper-level graduates, postgraduates and experienced scholars interested in the history of family, household, social space, gender, emotions, material culture, work and private life in early modern and nineteenth-century Europe.

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16th to 19th Century

Edited by Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger

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Joachim Eibach (Bern) and
Margareth Lanzinger (Vienna),
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INTRODUCTION

Continuities and transformations in the history of the domestic sphere

Joachim Eibach and Margareth Lanzinger

The domestic sphere may appear to be something given, something non-historical. Most readers will share several assumptions, particularly specific daily experiences in domestic space. This applies to certain furnishing standards and living circumstances, regardless of the quality of the household, be it a suburban family home or a downtown tenement, a luxurious bourgeois villa or a scanty flat in a socialist satellite city, a nobleman's mansion or a peasant's farmstead. In terms of terminology, even a meagre shack of the early modern period, shared as a dwelling space by journeymen, may be regarded as a domestic sphere. In most cases, it encompasses facilities for sleep, personal hygiene, food preparation, consumption and leisure time. Beyond that, we may identify aspirations of privacy and personal freedom. At second glance, however, both living conditions and activities in the domestic sphere differ enormously. Often, the dwelling space is also a place of paid or unpaid work. There are huge differences in the number of people living in one place and the way they relate to each other, in the spatial layout and the material culture and, above all, in cultural norms of closing and opening the domestic realm to outsiders. This list of criteria could easily be continued. Of course, domestic spheres are of basic importance for daily lives and society, and at the same time the outcome of choices actors may or may not take. Underlying norms, social circumstances and individual preferences differ from context to context. This becomes evident not only when comparing societies and regional cultures of living but even more so when a historical perspective is applied.

By pure chance, this introduction is being written at a time during which its topic is gaining new and unforeseeable relevance on a global scale. Currently, due to the coronavirus crisis we are confined to our homes and must limit contact with other people. Yet, many aspects of the domestic sphere which the lockdowns in various countries have brought about are by no means entirely new. Rather, they shed new light on historical changes. Working from home, home schooling and, generally speaking, spending much more time with one's spouse or partner, with children or other intimates are anything but new phenomena. For some observers, the setting in spring and summer 2020 offers new and forward-looking options. Strikingly, however, and unlike the nineteenth-century cult of domestic life, domesticity is now largely perceived as a seedbed of problems. It comes with hardships such as stress, unstructured days, social isolation, depression and the danger of domestic violence. Accordingly, the repercussions of the coronavirus crisis shed light on

general shifts in the history of the domestic. Before COVID-19 hit, nurseries and other pre-school institutions had taken over tasks, formerly assigned to families. By and by, practices, previously mostly home-based such as cooking and commensality, but in a broad sense also work and leisure activities, had been outsourced. At least, the amount of time and effort spent on these activities in the domestic sphere had been reduced. As a spin-off effect, the coronavirus crisis challenges the proposition of both family history and family sociology that an important function of the modern family is recreation from the stress and hardships of professional life.[1] Does the current situation make us realize the loss of importance of the domestic sphere that has shaped our everyday life during 'normal times' before corona? More likely, the domestic sphere underwent specific transformations over the past decades. Even more so, in a long-term perspective, the domestic sphere has a history. Its trajectory includes continuities and changes that correspond with macro shifts in society.

As a part of everyday life, the domestic appears self-evident only at first glance. The objective of this volume is to present a comprehensive survey of it from a historical perspective. A wide range of aspects must be covered. The domestic sphere – as practice, as social space with its corresponding notions, as a network of interactions and interrelations or as assemblage that includes material goods, knowledge, animals and plants[2] – has been shaped by long-term processes. These started in the early modern period and continued throughout the nineteenth century. Significant changes as well as the entwinement of back-and-forth processes only become visible if the perspective transcends the usual division between the early modern era and the nineteenth century. Relevant phenomena – in terms of gender relations, legal status, the public–private divide, separate spheres etc. – can only be adequately captured using an approach that spans the time periods.[3] Another aim is to contribute to ongoing interdisciplinary debates that bridge history, gender studies, historical kinship studies, family sociology, legal history, art history and literary studies.

As an analytical term, the domestic sphere encompasses manifold aspects, hitherto addressed under the headings of 'the family', 'household', 'home' or *das Haus*. It may serve as an umbrella concept that allows us to integrate various fields of study, to connect current tendencies of innovative research and to interrelate perspectives, often discussed separately. This includes (among others) the history of social space, material culture, emotions, sexuality, food, medicine and animal studies. Taken as a category of research, the domestic sphere is not to be confused with domestic culture or with domesticity, cherished as a cultural value. Albeit, this is part of the story. As mentioned above, we find domestic spheres by no means only in the case of seemingly fully equipped family households. The concept shall serve to observe very different kinds of dwellings.[4]

What is and what configurates the domestic sphere? Building on established sub-disciplines in historiography, particularly the history of the family and/or the household, the leading category of this book emphasizes the intertwined aspects of social space, practice and interaction. It suggests the study of daily practices of actors within the interior or dwelling space and their communication in the domestic sphere and its social environments. With regard to ongoing debates in law and the social sciences, we may also note that it does not seem easy to find a clear-cut definition of 'the family'. This applies to both today's family and to the family in history. And upon closer observation, it is also true for the 'household' or 'kinship'. One way of getting around this problem is to focus strictly on the perceptions of the actors involved: who was or is regarded a member of the family or kin?[5] However, this approach would exclude persons who were also present and relevant in the domestic sphere, though not necessarily regarded as family members, including servants, lodgers, roommates, tutors and governesses,

neighbours, friends and visitors. We also have to bear in mind that certain spaces in homes were more or less accessible for people from outside the household and more or less reserved for certain activities, ranging from collective work to sociability to undisturbed privacy. In his seminal book *Household and Family in Past Time*, published in 1972, Peter Laslett linked the term 'household' to 'co-residence'.[6] In the age of social history this proved a very productive undertaking. However, it has become clear that 'co-residence' in early modern households as well as in numerous nineteenth-century families was quite a volatile matter. The number and composition of co-residing people depended, among other things, on the season, labour situation and financial needs.[7] Already in the 1970s, the household concept has been criticized, particularly from a microhistorical perspective. The principal problem was the narrow focus on persons living within the household and the neglect of relations with neighbours, friends, workmates and especially with relatives who did not live beneath the same roof.[8] "Nor were relations among members of the nuclear family given much thought (where were the studies of siblings, for example?)", as David Sabean stated in 2006.[9] It seems more realistic and more fruitful to focus on the changing 'co-presence' of actors and their relations in the domestic sphere. Who is present in house and home, either permanently or every now and then? Who does what with whom in which space?

While this volume gives a certain preference to social action and interaction, we must also take into consideration that since the sixteenth century the domestic sphere has been the subject of intense discourse, the topic of numerous images, stories and collective identity constructs. Of course, the manifold topics highlight the importance of the domestic. Its relevance to contemporary observers is also mirrored by the fact that multiple genres of sources are available. With regard to the chapters of this volume, particularly important are different types of court records and self-narratives, but also inventories and wills, normative texts, ranging from laws and pamphlets to domestic advice literature, novel literature and paintings.

Social space: practice, interaction, communication

The history of the domestic sphere can be approached from very different theoretical perspectives. Social space was to a great extent determined by the actors' ordinary and extraordinary activities, by relations, shaped through interaction and communication.[10] How did the actors perceive and stage the domestic in their daily lives? Can we distinguish specific routines, rituals and special events, moreover family- or otherwise related uses of justice and other exterior institutions? In order to answer these questions, a focus on social practices seems promising. We observe different ways of 'doing house and family'.[11] Following this line, it appears that domestic activities encompass more than what the term 'household' is able to cover. A number of activities, typically situated in the domestic sphere, do not quite fit under the conceptual roof of the household, as seen by historians, for example intimate contacts with or without consent, reading and writing, domestic forms of devotion, domestic music and debating clubs, cultures of visit and conviviality etc. It must also be added that in social terms the micro-space of domestic relations is structured by hierarchies, status, gender and power. Permission to enter a house or a room, the positioning at the dining table and even more so to be welcomed as a temporary resident are issues of social status and power.[12] Over the whole time period covered in this volume actors from the lower reaches of the populace encountered great difficulties in defining and securing a domestic sphere of their own.[13] Likewise, at the other end of the social scale, at princely courts, spatial arrangements very clearly relate to the power aspect of social space.[14]

Although the term 'the home' in particular carries connotations of comfort, privacy and protection, mirrored in numerous paintings and novels, domestic spheres have never been sealed off, self-contained, fully self-sufficient extra-legal spheres, isolated from society. Quite the contrary, it is important to acknowledge the inter-connectedness and social openness of domestic spheres. This double aspect firstly points to economic and other forms of cooperation between different households or families.[15] Secondly, it emphasizes the spatial complexity, in particular the permeability, of the domestic sphere with regard to professional life, sociability and conflict.[16] Thirdly, it highlights different modes of visibility and social control. Of course, these matters were subject to change. During the early modern period, specific observations and interventions came from the social environment, for instance kin, guild and neighbourhood, but also from law-based institutions.[17] Neighbours and other actors of the immediate environment had relevancy in different roles: as supporters, creditors, opponents, observers, witnesses and mediators in case of conflict (see the chapter by Inken Schmidt-Voges and Katharina Simon).[18] At the same time, ecclesiastical and other types of courts gave spouses and, albeit to a lesser degree, servants the opportunity to make claims and bargain over gender roles in the domestic sphere.[19] Inter-connectedness can be detected with regard to economic activities, related to local markets (Jane Whittle), but also in a more symbolic sense, for instance homes functioning as places of lived religion across confessions (Suzanna Ivanič and Irene Galandra Cooper).

In theoretical terms, the entwinement of interaction, or rather communication, and space is conceptualized in highly divergent ways. But this is not the place to go into details. It should only be noted that, while Anthony Giddens in his *Theory of Structuration* stresses the structuring force of human agency and social interaction,[20] Niklas Luhmann and the followers of his theory of social systems in their cultural history of communication try to eschew actors' agency and instead focus on changing ways of communication.[21] Yet from both points of view, the stratified societies of the early modern period primarily worked on the basis of face-to-face-interaction, typical for the domestic sphere. There seems to be a certain consensus about the constitutive nature of direct interaction, that is, rituals and other forms of structured communication among present actors, in early modern society compared to modern society, where law, distant media and state-like institutions prevails. However, the shifts and overlaps between the two need to be debated. We thus find an increase in the importance of legal codes, statutes and courts concerned with marital matters already in the wake of the Reformation. At the same time, the actors' direct interaction in the domestic sphere and, often intertwined, in its immediate environment during the early modern period was, and perhaps still is, not a minor matter of society. Inter-epochal studies with a focus on interaction and social practice in the domestic sphere can be very productive in questioning, rather than repeating, theoretical aspirations. In line with this, the question remains open: what are the (chief) differences between the socially heterogeneous early modern household family[22] or 'open house' and its equivalents during the nineteenth century and beyond?

In terms of the domestic sphere as a social space, we find another interesting strand of theory in the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, well known for his concept of the 'habitus' and social distinction. The relevance of Bourdieu's approaches for studies of the domestic sphere is twofold. The 'habitus', as a set of the actor's dispositions, is, to a certain degree, albeit not irrevocably, shaped by the 'habitat'. The 'habitat' includes the manifold arrangements of the domestic sphere, certainly family relations, as well as the immediate sociocultural environment and milieu in which one was brought up. At the same time, for Bourdieu the domestic sphere is an indicator of class and social distinction. It is the result of a class-

specific investment in taste and cultural capital. Taking the French society of the 1970s as his example, this aspect is spelled out in *La Distinction*, in which Bourdieu points to a number of facts and traits, inter-connected with the domestic: the layout of the house or apartment, material artefacts such as books, works of art and furniture aesthetics, standards of cleanliness, eating habits, general style of living etc.[23] According to Bourdieu's postulates, the domestic sphere may be seen as a structuring structure, a shaper as well as shaped by 'habitus'. However, the French sociologist does not really follow a historical line of argument. His observations of French society in *La Distinction* do acknowledge changing life styles of successive generations, albeit without duly taking into consideration historical changes in the domestic sphere.

Overall, what is the added value of research on the domestic sphere, understood as a field of social practice and interaction? We argue that it provides the chance to reassess key paradigms and concepts of historical change. Thus, neither the evidence of the *Haus*-model for the early modern period nor of the 'nuclear family'-model for the nineteenth century is taken as a self-evident truth. Changes in domestic terminology do not necessarily reflect shifts in social practices (Jon Mathieu). Moreover, instead of relying on constructs such as 'the public' versus 'the private', which primarily derive from nineteenth-century legal thought, it appears more promising to start from scratch, so to speak. This involves observing concrete ways of 'doing the domestic'. Close reading of the sources reveals 'the messy realities' (Suzanna Ivanič and Irene Galandra Cooper).[24] Who was co-present and interacted in what ways in the domestic sphere? Can we distinguish between routine everyday usage of things and deliberate ostentatious display? Who worked, in the wider sense, to make a living[25] and who did the cooking (Raffaella Sarti)? Where were children taught and by whom (Sylvie Moret Petrini, Mary Clare Martin)? Where did the elderly and servants have their sleeping places? Who was invited or dropped in occasionally? Was the door to the street open or closed? Can we observe a fading relevance of immediate environments, mixed zones and hence a retreat of the family behind walls and curtains (*Rückzugswohnen*)? As crucial constituents of spheres, both social relations and materiality come into play. Rather than taking macro processes such as the overall functional differentiation at the turn from stratified to bourgeois society in the years around 1800 as self-explanatory, a fresh view on everyday life in the domestic sphere is likely to yield surprising results. For instance, was the emergence of the modern family really triggered by a loss of functions or a relief from tasks, typical of the early modern household family? Did, as a result of this transformation, intimate and emotionalized 'private' relations emerge accompanied with new gender roles and 'separate spheres' of men and women? Giddens as well as Luhmann highlight the importance of the invention of the home for the breakthrough of the idea of 'romantic love' in the years around 1800.[26]

Many such questions have already been addressed over the past decades, particularly in research inspired by gender issues. With the cultural, the spatial and the material turn, the study of house, home and family developed *de nouveau* into a very attractive field of scholarship. The editors and authors of this volume do not claim to open an entirely new page of historiography. Rather, we want to advocate an integrative perspective that considers recent innovative trends. Study of the domestic sphere can provide new insights into modes and traits, continuities and transformations in the history of household, home and family, and into general social processes.

The emergence of privacy and separate spheres?

According to Jürgen Habermas, private and public spheres were the result of a process of differentiation that took place only over the course of the eighteenth century.[27] Can we

witness a transformation from an early modern 'open house' to a modern 'private life' (Joachim Eibach)? In line with the latter, the French editors of *A History of Private Life* argued that more individualistic lifestyles developed. The nineteenth century has typically been seen as "the golden age of private life",[28] an attribution considered next to commonplace. However, one underlying assumption of our volume is that the history of the domestic sphere is multifaceted and more complex than the idea of linear or even teleological development suggests. Transformation should not be mistaken for a normative construct, but rather seen as an open, overarching question. It remains a principal challenge to highlight shifts, for instance the changing ways of inter-connectedness and social control, and at the same time avoid the dichotomous pitfalls of modernization theory. Hence, it is only a first step to define the domestic sphere as an open, porous and permeable space. In a more general and very concrete sense, it is necessary to analyse the domestic sphere by taking into account its mutual inside/outside relations, and furthermore include changing linguistic, legal, social and cultural environments.

Following the pioneering work of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, first published in 1987,[29] research on the time periods from the eighteenth century onwards has been guided by two inter-related hypotheses: the privatization of family life and the emergence of 'separate spheres'. Both assumptions proved fruitful, but have also been increasingly contested. In particular, it was research on middle-class families, based on self-narratives, in England and in the German-speaking countries, that has yielded new results. In 2002, Mary Jo Maynes summarized the state of research in *The History of the European Family*, edited by David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli, rather conventionally:

> The private home, the center of domestic life, was among the most innovative cultural sites of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the modern Western dichotomy between private and public is less a natural one than a by-product of the creation of a middle-class family and gender roles. The domestic sphere was initially at least the bourgeois realm *par excellence*. It provided the necessary foil to public life and was equally crucial for the establishment of bourgeois political and cultural hegemony.[30]

In the same volume Martine Segalen concludes "For bourgeois families, the separation between home and work was completed in the middle of the century, thus leading to a clear division of gender roles, with women managing the domestic chores and men going out to earn a living."[31]

However, upon a closer examination of the sources, in particular diaries and letters, the domestic realm becomes more ambiguous. In terms of work, sociability and representation, the domestic sphere of nineteenth-century families was anything but effectively demarcated from exterior life. Considering the division of gender roles and separate spheres, as early as 1993, in an often-quoted article, Amanda Vickery expressed serious doubts that the eighteenth century saw the introduction of new kinds of separation in the daily lives of women and men.[32] Based on the personal papers of genteel women, she did not find domesticates, but rather women who spent much of the day in respectable society outside their homes.[33] There is, indeed, little doubt about the fact that nineteenth-century bourgeois culture invented new styles of domesticity as "a profound attachment: a state of mind as well as a physical orientation".[34] However, the gendered perspective also yielded surprising outcomes. According to John Tosh, in England the period between 1830 and the 1860s must be seen as "the heyday of masculine domesticity".[35] The home served as

a refuge from taxing working life. Men were asked to spend more time with their families rather than engaging in traditional sociability with other men in public houses, and in fact often did so. As a result of these approaches, men are reintroduced, if not readmitted, to the domestic realm while women in their daily activities inside and outside their homes are attributed with more agency.

Research on the *Bürgertum* – the rising bourgeoisie in the German-speaking countries – has been largely compatible with studies on its English counterpart. Despite the cult of domesticity, which throughout Europe became a flagstaff of bourgeois identity construction, the distinction between 'public' and 'private' has, over the past years, lost much of its former persuasiveness. German-speaking research on the history of the family started with classic assumptions about a retreat into privacy. The loss, or rather the transformation, of functions that had been inherent to the preceding household-family at the turn of the eighteenth century was seen as the defining moment of the modern family.[36] In the German case, prior to the 'separate spheres'-hypothesis, the pioneering study of Karin Hausen about the nineteenth-century polarization of the so-called *Geschlechtscharaktere* – the dichotomous construction and naturalization of gender roles – published as early as 1976, had become a chief reference of research.[37] Following Hausen, the polarization of naturalized gender roles was seen as a decisive difference between the early modern period and the nineteenth century. From the mid-1980s onwards, gender issues were increasingly regarded as a key topic. Again, the examination of letters and diaries, but also court records, had significant results. In line with international research, the books of Anne-Charlott Trepp on the Hamburg *Bürgertum* and of Rebekka Habermas on *Bürgertum* in South Germany criticized the 'separate spheres' approach as a far too schematic representation of domestic relations. Both authors highlighted the importance of domestic sociability for both sexes in the first half of the nineteenth century and provided insights into how spousal relations were lived in novel ways. As a basic shift, they argued, the early modern 'working couple' (Wunder) was replaced by the loving couple (*Liebespaar*) (Trepp), tied together by mutual affections, or rather by the so-called *Bildungspaar* (Habermas), referring to a couple which identified the pursuit of refined education through joint reading and conversation as their raison d'être.[38]

The above-mentioned publications revealed several surprising aspects of the domestic sphere: emotional men who appreciated sharing time with their wives 'in private', and active women who pursued their own agency; time-consuming conviviality with friends and guests; and, moreover, the home as a location of education and work. State servants, advocates, priests and aldermen worked from home and met their clients at home (Maria Ågren, Joachim Eibach). Women, excluded from universities and other public institutions, used their homes as places to practice homeopathy and workplaces for their pedagogical studies.[39] As a matter of fact, peasants and craftsmen also traditionally worked in the house and home. The boundaries between private and professional use of the domestic space were blurred in several ways. The gendered division of work is still being discussed. Already, Davidoff and Hall pointed to the "contribution which married women made, and still make, to the family enterprise through their labour, their contacts and their capital."[40] At stake is not least the definition of work as either paid work or, in a broader sense, of sustenance activities. Following this line, a central question of the 'Gender and Work' research group, led by Maria Ågren, is whether the 'two-supporter model', typical of the early modern period, persisted into the nineteenth century or was superseded by a 'male-breadwinner model'.[41] Economic activities of women during the early modern period were certainly not confined to the domestic sphere (Jane Whittle, Beatrice Zucca Micheletto).

There is growing evidence that the engagement of women in work and with production did not come to an end with the turn to bourgeois society (Elisabeth Joris, Beatrice Zucca Micheletto).

More than 'the genteel' and *Bürgertum*

In primarily focusing on women and men from the urban middle classes, the research based on self-narratives is strongly biased. Much less is known about the attempts to demarcate a domestic sphere in the daily lives of the poor, of peasants and the emerging working class. In the lower echelons of society, sociability included courtyards, the street and other public spaces; working-class boys and girls were "at home in the streets".[42] The lack of privacy implied that intimate contacts among the lower populace often took place not in a house, but rather in nature or elsewhere (Sandro Guzzi-Heeb). Yet, the domestic realm was not only the daily space of genteel women or middle-class *Bürger* but also of numerous servants with different functions and in general of people with low income. In fact, all strata had access to or at least attempted to demarcate domestic space.

Well into the nineteenth century, the right to marry and to set up one's own domestic realm was strictly controlled by the authorities. Economically defined marriage hindrances particularly existed in South Germany, in several Swiss cantons and in the Habsburg Monarchy.[43] In the Austrian territories, a so-called 'political marriage consent', issued by local municipalities, was required. In several regions this policy was applied in a rather rigorous manner, in the sense that land ownership was the major path to obtain marriage consent while other sources of income were less accepted. Underprivileged couples, driven by their wish to keep house together or by mutual affection, but not allowed to marry by local courts, often took their cases to higher courts to fight for their right to wed.[44] From thousands of court records of the early modern period and the nineteenth century we know that the domestic sphere was not a refuge or a space of relaxation, but rather a battlefield for spouses.[45] In the majority of cases, it was women from the middling sort or the lower populace who brought marital conflicts to court.[46] Their complaints point to violence-prone relations, the often fragile domestic economy and instability.

Even though "food comprised the greater part of a labouring family's expenditure over the course of a year" and, in addition, the family had to pay for various other things such as "clothing, rent and fuel for heat" as well as for medicines and medical care, agricultural labourers in England, for example, possessed various types of material goods.[47] As Craig Muldrew in his study of early modern agrarian England shows, on the basis of labourers' probate inventories there were clear differences between the poorest labourers and those in a better position. A man by the name of Christopher Gyll who died in 1593 lived in two rooms "which were almost devoid of goods, and what he possessed was described as rotten or old", while John Hutson was a wealthy labourer. Hutson owned a farm with a buttery and a washhouse when he died in 1721. His inventory contains "a significant number of household goods" and, among other items, a standing clock and two looking glasses.[48] Clocks as well as looking glasses form part of the "key consumer goods" at the end of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.[49] Thus, distinct differences of household and domestic economy occurred not only between social milieus but also within the same occupational group and not least over time.

Through comparison of different types of court records and legal documents, we encounter complex settings of gender and power in domestic contexts, related to wealth. In more general terms, wealth – including real estate and money, but also material objects and legal entitlements, moreover the distribution of wealth, wealth transfers and administration

had social, economic, generational and gender-specific implications throughout history. Access to wealth and competition about it were fundamentally dependent on inheritance patterns and the respective marital property regimes. Inheritance practices exhibit a great variety from a European perspective.[50] Property rights and rights of disposal of unmarried women, wives and widows varied accordingly. Intergenerational transfers of wealth constitute a mainstay of the endurance of social inequality. Inheritance laws and practices had an impact on families, familial relations, marriages and gender roles, and with them to a large degree on whole societies. Thus, legal patterns as well as contracts and wills shaped hierarchies and gender relations within the domestic sphere. At the same time, they were closely linked to concepts of kinship and marriage – and vice versa. In many European countries, a discernible trend towards better property rights of wives and widows compared to relatives did not occur before the last decades of the nineteenth or even the beginning of the twentieth century.

The domestic sphere from a relational perspective

The domestic sphere is a matter of manifold social hierarchies that were accepted or undermined, instrumentalized or contested, a matter of inclusion and exclusion and, not least, of inequalities. It was inhabited by an ensemble of people who engaged in various relationships. Bruno Latour's concept of assemblages, mentioned above, expands the notion of social space and agency even more by integrating non-human actants and thus reconfigures the socio-material relation.[51] This approach is valuable because in the domestic sphere the relationships between people within and beyond the walls of the home are connected with things and material furnishings, as well as with animals and plants that were included in the relational network via interactions and everyday practices. People, things, animals and plants have always stood in spatial relation to one another, particularly in the interior of the domestic sphere, but also in exterior spaces and institutions via multiple connections and entanglements. These could be situated locally, regionally or nationally, and also be connected globally: through translations and receptions, missions and colonialism. All these spaces were shaped by various ways "of arranging the social world"[52] such as law, culture, economy and politics. They were translated not only into practices and ideas of government but also into categories of difference such as age, generation, gender, marital status, social status, social milieu, position in the family and social fabric, kinship, wealth, confession and religion, race and ethnicity, as well as belonging. These categories influenced both interpersonal relationships and scopes of action as well as references to material culture and to plants and animals.

Focusing on the domestic sphere allows us to counteract binary attributions and dichotomous points of view: against a schematic separation of interior and exterior, consumer and producer, paid and unpaid work, economy and emotions, nuclear family and kinship, or independence and dependencies. By doing so, the authors of this volume question conventional paradigms and challenge widespread stereotypes: the public–private divide, the private sphere, the domestication of women. They argue for the necessity to differentiate and consistently suggest a thought process of relational structures and connections, breaching diverse dichotomies with their contextual and situational oriented approaches.

The relationship between house and family can be interpreted as a foundational relationship. At the same time, we must ask ourselves in what contexts house and family were conceived of together, and in what contexts they were set against one another? What is the significance of the domestic sphere as a relational space when 'house' was the

dominant umbrella term and not 'family', or vice versa (Jon Mathieu)?[53] With all the differentiation that takes place in the interior, it seems at least according to the trend, and consistent with various chronologies, that there had existed various perceptions of the house and/or family in aristocratic, peasant, bourgeois and working-class milieus. The German name for the domestic advice literature that was widespread in Europe was *Hausväterliteratur* (Philip Hahn). This notion of the genre alone reveals the close connection between the home (*Haus*) and the family. However, it simultaneously represents the hierarchical nature of relationships contained within the home. When and why did the home, family or domestic sphere, domesticity, become socially and emotionally charged? In the emerging bourgeois milieu of the nineteenth century, houses increasingly became family seats or ancestral homes of branched out and often spatially dispersed relatives, representing both status and belonging.[54] Houses served as symbols for ideas of stability and continuity, but could also carry national connotations – for example in becoming symbols for the Bulgarian national awakening or for the non-existent Polish fatherland (Kristina Popova, Monika Szczepaniak). Despite the increasing conceptual focus on the family, the home did not disappear as an important reference space in the nineteenth century, nor as a physical or symbolic unit. The weight between physical and symbolical significance may have shifted. Moreover, the spatial and material turn brings new aspects into play that also consider the domestic sphere. Do architectural-spatial arrangements and structures have an effect on the interactions and communications that take place within them, and if so, what is it?[55] This question addresses spatial perceptions.

With this perspective on the domestic sphere, various configurations of people come into view that one must separate analytically, but keep reimagining how they fit together. The volume mentions marital and familial relationships (parent–child relationships, sibling relationships), kinship relationships as well as working relationships within the household. All these relationships were involved in tiered hierarchies, particularly gender and social hierarchies, which is addressed by many of the volume's authors. The legal figure of the paterfamilias, whose position and power reached into various parts of the nineteenth century, stood above all inner-domestic relationships. However, also in normative contexts, we must always question to what extent gender hierarchies were legitimized, formalized and consolidated or thought of as being more permeable.

A number of different relationships (for instance relatives, friends, neighbours, servants) have emerged as counter models for the coupling of the modern and 'isolated' nuclear family,[56] which was a symbol of individuality, love marriage and the independence from parents.[57] Over the past years, the interconnection between marital and kinship relations has emerged to become a central perspective of research. In this context, it is particularly relevant to study how transfers of and access to wealth were organized and distributed. This simultaneously opens up the perspective on relationship arrangements (Margareth Lanzinger), but in doing so we must also conversely ask ourselves: in what way did wealth influence the relationships between people with close social ties?[58] By an expanded perspective, the question of the relationship of vertical – generally the father–son centric configuration – and horizontal configurations between siblings and marriage ties plays into the domestic sphere.[59] In light of this, sibling relationships began intensifying during the years surrounding 1800 – on various occasions even to the extent that they took on an eroticized character (Claudia Opitz-Belakhal).[60] Romantic love that breached conventions also constituted a part of the horizontal paradigm: the desire for a free choice of partners.[61] This, along with the freedom of movement, was feasible in specific contexts, so that we can speak of "sexual cultures" and "sexual milieus" (Sandro Guzzi-Heeb). The potential of the

analytical separation between vertical and horizontal relationships lies in the fact that it makes these competing logics visible. This also applies to visible relatedness[62] and the scopes of action that have significantly influenced the shape of the domestic sphere.

Hierarchies and relationships between masters and servants were also very different. On the one hand, it was expected of servants to be obedient, but, on the other, they would challenge the authority of their masters. In this vein, practices of negotiation, alliances and conflicts breached the too simplistic 'above'–'below' scheme (Raffaella Sarti). Maidservants in particular are pragmatic examples of the ambivalence of relationships between distance and proximity in the interior of the domestic sphere. They performed wage labour, but at the same time were occasionally viewed as part of the family. They could become the object of their masters' desire, midwives and keepers of secrets, but also enter situations where they could compete with the lady of the house over the favour of the children (Elisabeth Joris). In the long run, as a consequence of increasing wage labour and monetized economy, master–servant relations experienced fundamental changes.

One central aspect of the theorization of the private sphere was a stronger emotionalization of relationships between mothers, fathers and children following new concepts of childhood, motherhood and fatherhood, as well as of gender relations according to new concepts of love and marriage, which were adopted by the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. However, chronologies of changes in perception of motherhood and fatherhood, of motherly and fatherly love, are often controversial. What mothers and fathers had in common was that the relationships to their children experienced a naturalization in the nineteenth century. Contraception also had an impact on the parent–child relationship. Even though contraception became more reliable only in the early twentieth century, more or less secret knowledge of contraceptive methods existed for centuries. Appropriate devices were marketed commercially from the second half of the nineteenth century,[63] but they had been available and used to rather different extents. Not least, the increasing interest in educational issues was also related to changing conceptions of parenthood and family and to a differentiation of responsibilities. For some, specialists or institutions were most suitable for the education of children. At the same time, parents were increasingly seen as 'educational partners', and the intimacy between fathers, mothers and children was revalued (Sylvie Moret Petrini). Along with the emergence of public schooling, home schooling also remained a common practice in the nineteenth century, and the home viewed as an 'educational environment' (Mary Clare Martin). Images and positions of fathers were, and remained, particularly ambivalent (Claudia Opitz-Belakhal).

In many ways, the domestic sphere was always a place of competing interests and conflict. While conflicts stressed relationships, they were also capable of negotiating or even stabilizing them. Disputes very quickly leaked outside the house when relatives, neighbours and both secular and ecclesiastical institutions were involved in restoring and securing peace as mediators, protectors, supporters or witnesses (Inken Schmidt-Voges and Katharina Simon). Violence, abuse and force in various social configurations and forms were also aspects of the domestic sphere, which was characterized by dependencies, asymmetrical power relations and ambivalences when sexual violence also occurred in consensual relationships (Julie Hardwick). This transition was marked in spatial terms by the transformation of dwelling spheres into closed-off spaces only accessible for brief amounts of time. This highlights the vulnerability of the domestic sphere.

As has already been established in various contexts, working relations are key for the analysis of the domestic sphere in its everyday practice and, above all, in its interior and exterior relationships. Domestic work has long been contrasted with wage labour, valued

differently and associated with femininity.[64] In her "critique of approaches to 'domestic work'" Jane Whittle suggests a clear definition of "types of work" in order to avoid confusion and be able to categorize and evaluate women's work adequately. We should differentiate between "housework", "care work", "production for own use or subsistence" and "paid work".[65] At any rate, it must be emphasized that women contributed significantly to household incomes, and played active roles in various areas in marital, familial and non-domestic labour relations (Beatrice Zucca Micheletto). Women interacted with a large number of people beyond the circle of the family and the home: with their husbands' clients and work colleagues, friends, close and distant relatives and visitors. As we can learn from diaries that were written in the decades around 1800, the domestic sphere proved to be much less a place of 'refuge' or 'privacy' in the bourgeois milieu, but rather a space for the pronounced and multifaceted co-presence of various people (Joachim Eibach). At the same time, we have uncovered a multitude of overlaps and interactions between the professional and the domestic sphere: when bailiffs, pastors or lawyers worked from their homes, state servants worked with them in their home offices (Maria Ågren); astronomical work was performed in the house (Sebastian Kühn); and herbs were processed, knowledge was applied and remedies were produced and sold from the home (Sandra Cavallo). Women – along with pupils, servants, friends and guests – were deeply involved in these endeavours. During the nineteenth century, the work of midwives, women who practised medicine and the founders of schools often took place in spatial settings that were connected with the household and living spaces. Women were predominantly responsible for cooking – particularly in the lower and middle classes. By writing and publishing cookbooks, women also created external references, however in gender-specific geographies (Raffaella Sarti). Business activities were sometimes closely connected with the everyday life of the domestic sphere from both a social and spatial perspective (Elisabeth Joris). Caretakers, doormen and concierges were situated on the border between interior and exterior realms, and at the same time were balanced in an ambivalent position between authority and submissiveness with regard to their social relationships (Jens Wietschorke).

Relationships – to various spectra of guests as well as to specific objects – became visible not only through work but also leisure activities. Interiors as well as certain forms and spaces of sociability were coded according to accessibility and gender (Catherine Richardson, Frank Hatje). This was also the case for spaces as places of refuge – such as flower gardens as personal spaces (Kristina Popova). Religiously charged spaces, times and objects (books, crucifixes, icons) also constituted integrative parts of the domestic sphere. Various levels of relationships were contained in religious practice: domestic-hierarchical and consumer relationships as well as national references (Suzanna Ivanič and Irene Galandra Cooper, Tine Van Osselaer and Alexander Maurits). This expanded and amplified the symbolic connections between the domestic sphere and socio-cultural environment.

Material culture: entangled domestic things

As witnessed particularly by household inventories, over the course of the centuries the domestic sphere tended to become equipped with an increasing number of things[66] that were either homemade or further processed, bought or inherited, sold, bequeathed, brought along, traded or gifted – but above all used. Things were therefore involved in an array of economic and social processes, interactions and practices. In their practical use, working equipment, tools and kitchen utensils provided a significant economic basis.[67] At the same time, things were a part of social – marital, familial, kinship, inner-domestic, neighbourly etc. – relationships.[68]

Social relationships were established, maintained and strengthened through things. Things were furthermore legally structured in marital and inheritance-related transfers. Renata Ago suggests that "objects thus serve to decode the social world".[69] They occupied an in-between space; in-between a fluctuating and stable affiliation to a household or to specific people. Things were inventoried, entered into account books and negotiated before courts when they were named in testaments, marriage and retirement contracts or bankruptcy records.[70] Some things were visible in the domestic sphere, others stowed and tucked into chests, drawers and cabinets. Things indicated and represented social status; they stood in relation to spaces and the furnishings of interiors. The difficulty for historians lies in the circumstance that objects, especially when they were part of the everyday domestic sphere, are generally only accessible to us in text form, recorded according to specific criteria, and, in less affluent households, only described sparingly.[71] Objects were at least listed together when house inventories were created according to rooms. If details on make, colours and materials of the items were provided in inventories, it is easier to flesh them out in the imagination.[72]

The transition from the house or household to the home, and the perception of home were inseparably linked to the things it was furnished with. Rising consumerism, the gradually emerging material culture and a specific refinement of domestic arrangements constituted marked phenomena in the long transition from the early modern period to the nineteenth century. There are various explanations for the changing consumer culture and 'consumer society'. The early study by Joan Thirsk suggests that new proto-industries produced goods for a broader social spectrum of consumers in England already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, she assumes the existence of a consumer society at that time as "by the end of the sixteenth century goods that had been deemed rich man's luxuries in 1540 were being made in so many different qualities and at such varied prices that they came within the reach of every man".[73] Particularly inspiring are concepts that base their argument on an increasing demand, and closely relate production and consumption, such as by Neil McKendrick[74] and Jan de Vries with his thesis of the 'industrious revolution'.[75] This was conceived from a household perspective and linked with market-oriented work able to fulfil consumers' wishes. It is natural to assume that gender-specific consumer patterns are at play,[76] however, it remains a challenge to establish the extent to which women – particularly married and middle-class women – were involved in the 'industrious revolution'. Beyond that, it is significant to note that the economic opportunities and thus the quantity and quality of things, the interior and furnishing of the living space as well as the construction and floor plan of houses varied greatly. These distinctions apply not only across time but also across class and geography, to the north and the south, the east and the west and even "apparently uniform areas were teeming with a thousand differences".[77]

The roles and areas of expertise assigned to men and women in early modern advice literature aligned with gender roles similar to the nineteenth-century breadwinner and homemaker models. Husbands were portrayed as producers and wives as consumers. Some differences, however, did exist. Husbands often did not bring home a salary in the form of cash, but rather in the form of raw materials that needed to be processed (Jane Whittle). Women were responsible for their own economic areas, selling their own products such as eggs, cheese and yarn.[78] One important differentiation in this context of consumption is to be made between the supply of essential goods on the one hand and leisure shopping on the other, where the latter was initially only available to the upper classes. However, a closer look reveals that trading of goods made up a significant part of the spectrum of everyday activity. Shopping at markets and from craftspeople was part of the quotidian life of many

women. From the frequency of specific bequests drawn up in wills, we can surmise that women seemed to have had a closer relationship to things.[79] To include a specific object in a will expressed the existence of a special relationship to the person who it was bequeathed to. It could have been an expression of gratitude or love or the wish to remain in constant memory through an object.

Women were generally credited with the task of furnishing the house. However, even this categorization must be questioned. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Winn couple jointly designed the interior of their Yorkshire country house over many years, and commissioned bespoke furniture such as an apothecary's cabinet (Serena Dyer). To furnish a house or an apartment could thus be associated with a series of interactions. Trans-regional and wide-ranging trade relations were at the heart of planning, designing, producing and purchasing furniture and home textiles. Knowledge of materials and processing methods were indispensable. The interpretation of interior paintings furthermore reveals that gender coding of interior spaces is a complex task. Interior paintings were not just portraits of rooms, they staged and idealized spaces as to become constitutive for the bourgeois self-image of the time (Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat). They displayed the private, negotiated social order and hierarchies and also suggested in-between spaces. In a 'narration of loss' typical for the modern period, which idealized rural life in a situation of political unfreedom – symbolized by the country manor, architecture, interior design, religious and patriotic objects, portraits, stories, furniture, celebrations, rituals, became atmospheric assemblages of the unfulfilled. The endangered country estate was a real, but above all, imagined place that was longed after (Monika Szczepaniak).

Pets ultimately also became part of the domestic sphere. Dogs, who through their close relationship to people advanced to quasi-family members, occupied a special significance in this transformation. That said, dogs were also mediums for self-representation and fashion accessories. Keeping dogs was therefore accompanied by the self-image and self-construction of the bourgeois milieu, and helped design the living spaces and forms of family life (Aline Steinbrecher). The introduction of plants from the garden into the interior of the house and home also took place at the end of the eighteenth century. This phenomenon was part of a certain refinement and enhancement of domesticity. Displaying plants became part of the bourgeois lifestyle. Indoor gardening was connected to various strands of knowledge production and transfer that found entry into the domestic sphere (Sophie Ruppel). Plants also occupied specific spaces: windowsills and winter gardens. Thus, they were also an element that fitted into the network of relationships within the domestic sphere between the interior and exterior, between people, objects and spaces.

Transitions and continuities

Prima facie history is about change, but what change? Our suggestion to start with social basics, in particular practices and interaction in and around the domestic sphere, rather than relying on legal constructs or somewhat utopian ideas of *Haus*, home and family, offers the chance to challenge conventional transitions of family history. Privileging such a focus must not necessarily exclude issues of changing discourse. In fact, shifts in discourse on the domestic sphere are evident and presumably not without effect on everyday life. While the early modern period featured domestic advice literature (Philip Hahn), the eighteenth century saw a real hype in the production of pedagogical literature which instructed mothers and fathers how to raise and educate their children (Sylvie Moret Petrini).

Discourses on house and home served well as means of changing identity construction. As mentioned above, this applies to the formation of bourgeois identity, following the Reformation (Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat), moreover to the specifically modern 'narration of loss' which constructed a metonymic relation between the fate of one's nation and the home (Monika Szczepaniak).

Turning points in accounts of European family history largely coincide with general history, for instance the turn from the Middle Ages to the early modern period or the age of the French Revolution. Although, as Jon Mathieu recently commented, problems of periodization are rarely discussed explicitly in family history.[80] Under observation here is primarily the turn from the stratified society of the Ancien Régime to class society or rather bourgeois society, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, accelerated in the decades around 1800. Referring to this era of enormous social, political and conceptual changes Reinhart Koselleck coined the term *Sattelzeit* (literally: saddle period).[81] With certain delays, varying from country to country, this time period is widely conceived as the cradle of the modern family.

Without doubt, the assumption of substantial change in that period of European history is well-founded. A closer look at the history of the domestic sphere using an inter-epochal approach, however, sheds light on developments of diverse kind and different direction. In fact, one of the most challenging aspects for research is the back-and-forth of processes, the coincidence of continuities and transformations that lead to modernity. For instance, domestic violence, sexual as well as otherwise, shows a disturbing continuity (Julie Hardwick), albeit the management of conflict changed over time (Inken Schmidt-Voges and Katharina Simon). These long-term developments began before the eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth. The related question of whether and how major political shifts such as the Reformation and major social processes such as the industrialization affected the daily lives of the actors in the domestic sphere should also be considered. Conversely, long-term developments may have emerged from changing needs and practices in the domestic sphere. Until at least the eighteenth century, science[82] (Sebastian Kühn) as well as medicine (Sandra Cavallo, Sophie Ruppel) were practised in the house and home. Jürgen Habermas has already argued that one scenario of the critically reasoning audience, so typical for the Enlightenment, was the quasi-public *salon*, temporarily separated from more private spaces within a private home.[83] Leisure activities were, and still are, *in nuce* political (Catherine Richardson), particularly in societies which strive to standardize the moral conduct and behaviour of their subjects. Along this vein, nineteenth-century bourgeois society was initiated perhaps not so much by the ideas of liberal master-thinkers. Instead, it was shaped by practices of domestic sociability that no longer paid attention to differences of class (*Stand*) between nobility and bourgeoisie, but, at the same time, excluded men and women of the lower populace (Frank Hatje, Joachim Eibach).[84] The assertion that family and the domestic were solely private matters ignores their public functions. Certainly, not only the strengthening of family ties, as expressed in the increase of cousin marriages and intensified relations among siblings, but also the manifold interactions in homes were interrelated with class formation. Far from being a counterworld to the sphere of work and society at large, the domestic sphere was a field of learning rules, shaping one's habitus and constructing networks.

It has, meanwhile, become commonplace in introductions to family sociological works to argue that from the eighteenth century onwards macro shifts of functional differentiation in society relieved the family from production and other tasks which then sparked the emergence of the emotionalized, intimate modern family life.[85] However, numerous sources

from the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries provide insight into the fact that the early modern 'open house' was not simply replaced by an entirely privatized venue of spouses and children. Social necessities of elaborate visiting cultures drastically limited the amount of time available for oneself and one's family (Frank Hatje, Joachim Eibach). Domesticity was an ideal, propagated in novels and paintings, cherished in letters and diaries, but in reality, the domestic realm was rarely a place of refuge, reflection and relaxation. In this respect it is fair to question the common periodization of the emergence of the modern family. In its beginnings (bourgeois) family life was very different than at its later stages. This also applies to the position of women. Due to increasing demands in child-rearing, health care, education and the command of good manners in the nineteenth century, wives and mothers did not experience relief, but perhaps the contrary: more work and more pressure. Furthermore, the new emphasis on emotionalized relations (Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, Sandro Guzzi-Heeb) might also have been another stress factor rather than a mere relief. The idea of romantic love certainly raised expectations of the daily interaction of spouses, parents and children, siblings and friends, making them more ambitious and, at the same time, more time-consuming and fragile.

The years around 1800 were not just a time period during which the formerly all-encompassing household family, which combined production and consumption, lost some of its inherent functions. In the 1970s, Michael Mitterauer suggested that the reduction of functions paved the way for the modern family and led to women's emancipation.[86] Subsequent studies argued more cautiously.[87] The reduction of household production as an effect of the increase of wage labour did not sever all links between the spheres of economy and the family. Can we assume a loss, or rather a transformation, of economic functions? In what ways did sustenance activities – either paid or unpaid work, sometimes concealed, remain relevant within the domestic sphere? These questions need further discussion. The nineteenth century saw the introduction or reintroduction of a number of activities in the domestic sphere (*Verhäuslichung*). Technical innovations such as running water and gas lighting, followed by electricity, allowed for an increasing degree of domesticity in terms of housekeeping, including doing the laundry and daily hygiene.[88] Home schooling remained an important aspect (Mary Clare Martin). The nineteenth century was a heyday of domestic devotion (Tine Van Osselaer and Alexander Maurits), which was newly inspired by the ideal of domesticity. At the same time, domestic devotion stood in direct succession of the Reformation, which had already promulgated homes as cornerstones of the future Christian society.[89]

In contrast to axiomatic assumptions of communication history and Luhmann's theory of social systems, examinations of the domestic sphere illustrate that the nineteenth century was preoccupied with ritual. Domestic rituals in a broad sense ranged between routines, such as joint meals or "the 'tyranny of five-o'clock tea'",[90] structuring the daytime, and the display of style and good manners during formal invitations. Get-togethers of any kind, seemingly free of intention and further purpose, staged aspects of status and power in relationships. This also applies to the question of whether servants who were from the eighteenth century onwards increasingly female (Rafaella Sarti) were allowed to sit at the table, and to the people who were invited. Practices of staging the domestic easily transcended the perimeter of house and home when the family, occasionally including servants and long-term visitors, dressed up for church or the Sunday afternoon walk. Rituals were adopted and abandoned. However, the exposure of the home as such was not specific to any century under observation. Already in the Dutch *Gouden Eeuw* and in Georgian England, real as well as imagined insight into the domestic realm served as a mirror and display of wealth and high-standing morals. We thus find a clear programme of domesticity with distinct gender roles in

seventeenth-century Dutch paintings (Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat).[91] The reconstruction of the city of London after the Great Fire of 1666 served the purpose of rigorously separating the spheres of street and homes with walls, fences and massive doors, thus limiting visibility and access for outsiders. Combined with improved heating facilities, separated rooms created space that could now be used for leisure (Catherine Richardson).[92] Yet, whether and when new gender roles *en suite* with separate spheres developed seems less clear. Research on gender in English society highlights continuities rather than change. Robert Shoemaker concluded: "Whether in courtship, family life, work, or in many aspects of public life, gender differences evident in the nineteenth century were already present two centuries earlier."[93] Accordingly, the wish to limit access and create one's own space was not new. However, in line with new ideas of domesticity, the nineteenth century saw a new desire for privacy, even among young women who lived far away from the metropolises of western Europe (Kristina Popova).

The material culture of homes and domestic relations has never been fixed in stone. Of course, it was pure chance that the Great Fire of London happened in 1666. However, living in the city of London with one's family and servants after the reconstruction differed in many aspects from the still-medieval London before the disaster.[94] Setting up homes offered chances of individual arrangements, made by wives or husbands. Domestic spheres were sites of innovative activities such as reading and writing alone or indoor gardening for the sake of aesthetic refinement (Sophie Ruppel). While some actors such as neighbours lost importance, others entered or re-entered the domestic stage in novel ways: carefully selected friends, animals as pets (Aline Steinbrecher), concierges and caretakers (Jens Wietschorke).

The domestic sphere has a multifaceted history. *The Routledge History of the Domestic Sphere* gives an up-to-date overview of central issues and research results in the history of home, household, family and their social surroundings. It claims that the category of 'the domestic sphere' is fundamental and indispensable to understanding early modern and modern societies, and pertinent regarding recent trends in historiography. The book thus encompasses contributions from innovative current research fields in social and cultural history. Its chapters focus on various regions of Europe – from England to Poland and Bulgaria, from Italy to Germany and Sweden – covering rural and urban areas in the period between the age of Reformation and the nineteenth century.

Notes

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PART I

Language and discourse

1

DOMESTIC TERMINOLOGIES

House, household, family

Jon Mathieu

Introduction

"The main problem for the evolution of the family is to understand just what is evolving", stated Jack Goody back in 1972:

> The English term 'family' is a polysemic word used to describe a conjugal pair and their young ('starting a family'), the members of a household ('one of the family'), a range of bilateral kin ('relatives') or a patronymic group, usually associated with a title ('The Churchill family'). There are also wider semantic usages, extending to the human ('the family of man') and non-human ('the family of sweet peas') species.[1]

One way to deal with this problem is to look at the evolution of the term itself. How did its polysemy change over time? How were the different meanings clarified through context and specific speech situations? What was the term's position within a larger semantic field, and how did this position change?

The following chapter gives an outline of domestic terminologies in Europe since the sixteenth century, focusing on the trajectories of three central notions: house, household and family with various family specifications (stem, bourgeois, nuclear). The exploration considers six major European languages. The coverage, however, is not homogeneous but selective and problem-oriented. Issues connected to the encompassing field of family history will be privileged. Since Goody's statement in 1972, terminological research has not progressed as one would have expected, and more attention has been paid to the Middle Ages than to the modern period. With only a few exceptions, our topic leads a life at the footnote level: researchers remarking every now and then that a more systematic approach would be helpful. Only recently have two authoritative scholars reiterated that call.[2]

The relation between language and social history is complicated. Words can remain constant in their outer form but change their meaning significantly. According to a French historian, the noun 'lineage' (Latin 'linea') was used in the general, bilateral sense of 'relatives' or 'kindred' in the Middle Ages, whereas later it usually designated a male line of descent.[3] New words, on the other hand, do not necessarily express new realities. Some

scholars suggest that the term 'family', which proliferated from the early modern period onwards, only replaced other utterances such as 'house' with no change in social setup whatsoever.[4] Thus, language does not automatically reflect or shape reality, yet it can clearly do so under certain circumstances.

This chapter is based on entries in standard historic dictionaries and encyclopaedias, enriched by a number of political, philosophical and scientific texts.[5] Thanks to electronic tools, these sources are currently much more accessible than some ten years ago. Further support is provided by the Ngram Viewer of Google Books, whose first version was released in 2010. Based on the full texts of millions of printed books, transformed into digital format, the Ngram Viewer allows word-frequency searches for different languages since 1500. It has been criticized because of its unbalanced and undifferentiated corpora and misreading of certain characters. There is also a discussion about the value of micro-semantics and the respective significance of lexicographic inventories and word-frequency analyses.[6] However, there is little doubt that the Ngram Viewer can be useful for a more systematic view on the subject.

Here, a path has been chosen between this quantitative approach and qualitative research. On the quantitative side, one should not overestimate the accuracy and informative value of word-frequency figures. On the qualitative side, it is important to pay attention to the variable uses of domestic terms. Depending on the context, they can be either more descriptive or prescriptive and normative. Particularly interesting are the historical situations in which these terms are played off against each other. This confers on them a stronger relation to social structure, produced by the actors themselves.

The next section gives an outline of previous research in the field. We will then look at translations of domestic terms in the long sixteenth century, before proceeding from the house-variants to family-terms. Conclusions return to the question of the relationship between domestic terminology and social history.

Research to date

Research on domestic terminology past and present has been done in history, linguistics and anthropology, sometimes with blurred boundaries between these disciplines. In history, for the present purpose, I would like to point to three remarkable contributions. In 1975, Dieter Schwab wrote a well-known article for the historical lexicon of politico-social language in Germany that examined a vast body of texts in order to map the development of 'family' in relation to 'house'. According to Schwab, sufficiently sharp notions of single families or family households emerged only in the late Middle Ages through the professionalization of legal culture and the renewal of ancient economics in philosophy and theology. German authors, as a rule, used the word 'house' to translate the Aristotelian term 'oikos'. The word proliferated in new advice books for elite families, the *Hausbücher*, but also in religious literature and sermons which reached the larger population. Scholars and theologians understood the house as part of the state and charged it with moral doctrines. Their theories produced a model for, rather than an image of, social reality. In contrast to this German tradition, Latin literature, which dominated the international learned culture for a long time, translated the term 'oikos' mostly to 'family'. The same applies to authors writing in French and other Romance languages. Thus, Schwab portrays a parallel linguistic development of 'house' (in German) and 'family' (in Latin and Romance languages) against the backdrop of similar social settings. Influenced by French and Latin usage, the word 'family' expanded in German speaking territories in the eighteenth century, yet according to

Schwab, the new expression did not evoke new ideas: "The house-concept of economics and of natural law is carried on as family-concept."[7]

David W. Sabean, in a detailed study of family and kinship in a village near Stuttgart published in 1990, examines thousands of court protocols of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to elucidate popular language and discourse. Interestingly, the noun 'house' is documented only twice in his large corpus. Usually the villagers used the active verb 'to house' (hausen) for aspects of domestic life. Its basic meaning was to run a household, live together in a household or, more specifically, live together in marriage. Thus, the question *Hausest Du schon?* was tantamount to asking: are you already married?[8] Sabean's investigation suggests that morally charged nouns of the elite terminology – as described by Schwab – were not indispensable for popular speech. Verbal expressions played an important role in local interaction, and context could render domestic group terms superfluous. According to various indications, similar specific practices prevailed in other villages, regions and languages.[9]

The third contribution refers to Naomi Tadmor's 1996 article about the concept of the household-family in eighteenth century England. She too aims to reconstruct social perceptions through language use and studied a personal diary, conduct books and popular novels, all written by authors of the middling sort. The word 'family' was well established in this milieu and period, and usually described the persons living in one household, kin and servants alike. Kin could encompass the wife of the family's head, his children and other relatives. But a family could also be composed only of the head (mostly male, occasionally female) and servants. Relatives living elsewhere were generally not included. The designation usually remained stable while the exact household composition could change rapidly. In a well-documented case, the persons living as one 'family' for certain periods between 1756 and 1765 added up to at least 11, although only two to five persons lived together at any one time. Alongside, or in conjunction with, this concept of family-household there were other significations, particularly the concept of family as a lineage stressing diachronic continuity. Thus the wide range of polysemy, alluded to at the beginning of this paper, was not a novelty of the twentieth century.[10]

Between history and linguistics, we find a broad and fragmented field of approaches with different perspectives, methodologies and scholarly traditions. Generally, the social history of language promoted by Peter Burke and colleagues provides useful contextual information.[11] Conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) in the tradition of Reinhart Koselleck remains – despite efforts to the contrary – largely centred on German discussions, and it has a problematic relationship to discourse history and linguistic investigations.[12] In linguistics proper there are two or three subfields pertinent to our question: historical semantics and pragmatics, and historical lexicology, all of which at times interrelate with anthropology.[13] Nowadays, historical semantics generally puts less emphasis on etymology than it has previously. To be sure, 'family' derives from the Latin 'familia' that scholars have linked to the word 'famulus' meaning servant or slave. In Roman times, 'familia' was often used to refer to such subjects of a specific person, and similarly so in the Middle Ages. There is, however, also a long history of alternative uses of 'familia' and the so-called 'original meaning' of the term is not really relevant when it comes to examining the semantics of a given period. What counts is the language practice of that period.[14]

An interesting lexicological study has been conducted by William J. Jones in his 1990 book on *German Kinship Terms (750–1500)*. He takes up a classical anthropological issue and follows designations for mother's brother, mother's sister and so on, through their diachronic and synchronic variations during the Middle Ages. In a later contribution to a lexicological handbook his approach is more methodological: "In kinship, it is fruitful not only to trace words with their changing kin references ('senses'), but also to observe the changing lexical

designations for specific family relations". Thus, besides exploring the trajectory of a single word, one should be attentive to the development of the larger word-field. Jones does not go into domestic group designations, as we do here, but he gives a sense of linguistic change in the long run: generalization and standardization of certain kin terms and, at the same time, variation in dialects.[15]

Domestic expressions in the long sixteenth century

A good starting point for our exploration of domestic terminologies in Europe are translations of important editions of texts from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Against the backdrop of demographic growth, manifold economic, political and religious developments, and during the transition to the modern period, the cultural field was reshaped incisively. Printing became a booming trade, and translations proliferated, thanks in part to an increasing valorization of (proto-) national vernacular languages.[16] Comparing the same texts in different languages conveys a sense of linguistic variability and the contour of word-fields. It is not necessary, at this stage, to know 'precisely' what a single term means. We can first examine how the contemporary translators decided on usage and meaning. For that purpose, this section presents two examples: a brief passage of Bodin's *Republic* and some key words used in the Bible. Since the former text is useful for unfolding a domestic word-field, I shall explore it first.

In *The Six Books of the Republic* – or the *Commonweale*, as the English translation reads – the French lawyer and political writer Jean Bodin (1530–1596) published his ideas about the best form of government in the state at large and in the domestic sphere. In general, he opted for 'sovereign' power. The work was first published in French in 1576, and later translated into Latin by Bodin himself. It proved an immediate success and was translated into several languages within the space of one generation.[17] Table 1.1 gives the title and the first two sentences of the family chapter in six versions. Apart from the 'chef de famille' whose command is stressed by Bodin, we find three other expressions in this passage: 'family' (also in the form 'familia' and 'famiglia'), household (in the form 'menage' and 'Haußhaltung') and house (in the form 'Haus'). At first glance we see that the German version with its insistence on house/household-variants follows a particular path, quite different from the other languages. This observation matches the analysis of Dieter Schwab referred to in the previous section. A second glance reveals a further peculiarity: the Italian and Spanish versions translate 'menage' only with the conspicuously general expression 'economica'. Further exploration confirms that a specific term for household is lacking in these languages.[18] Thus, the tripartite domestic word-field in French and English could be covered by two expressions only until the need for one-to-one-translations increased. This was due to specific reasons that will be outlined in the next section.

A similar elasticity of practical language use is signalled by the biblical example. The Bible was of course the single most influential text in early modern Europe. Here we begin with the English King James Bible of 1611 that includes the key terms 'household', 'house' and 'family'. Table 1.2 checks these terms against the wording applied by other versions in a sample of instances. It shows that German reformer Martin Luther gave a clear preference to 'Haus' in the 1545 Bible, the last one he personally supervised. He avoided not only the word 'Familie' but also 'Haushalt' or 'Haußhaltung' that we saw in the Bodin translation. For 'family' Luther put in 'Geschlecht' or 'stam' meaning (male) descent line. These formulations were written in stone: the Luther Bible of 1912 still used the very same terminology.[19]

Table 1.1 Domestic terminology in Bodin's *Republic*, six languages, 1576–1606

1576, French original:
Du **Mesnage** Et La Difference entre la Republique & la **famille**.
Menage est un droit gouvernement de plusieurs sugets, soubs l'obeissance d'un **chef de famille**, & de ce qui luy est propre. La seconde partie de la definition de Republique que nous avons posee, touche la **famille**, qui est la vraye source & origine de toute Republique, & membre principal d'icelle.

1586, Latin version:
De **iure familiari**, & quid **familiam** inter ac Rempublicam intersit.
Familia est plurium sub unius ac eiusdem **patrisfamilias** imperium subditorum, earumque rerum, que ipsius propriae sunt, recta moderatio. Secundum definiendae civitatis caput versatur in **familia**, quae ipsa seminarium est ac veluti rudimentum rerum omnium publicarum.

1588, Italian version:
Della **Economica**, Et Della differenza fra la Republica & la **famiglia**.
Economica è un giusto governo di molti soggetti, & di ciò che è loro proprio, sotto l'ubidienza d'un **capo di famiglia**. La seconda parte della diffinitione della Republica posta da noi risguarda la **famiglia**, la quale è la vera fonte, & origine d'ogni Republica, & membro anche prinicpale di essa.

1590, Spanish version:
De La **Economica**, Y De La Diferencia entre la Republica, y la **familia**.
Economica es un justo gobierno de muchos subjetos, y de a quello que les es conveniente de baxo la obediencia de una **cabeza de familia**. La segunda parte de la difinicion de la Republica puesta de nos, toca a la **familia**, que es la verdadera fuente y origien de toda Republica, y miembro principal de ella.

1592, German version:
Von der **Haußhaltung**, und was für unterscheid zwischen dem gemeinen Nutzen und **Haußgesinde** sei.
Diß ist ein **Haußhaltung**, da etliche viel, sampt dem das sie eigens haben, unter einem **Haußvatter** recht regieret werden. Das ander stücklin, so wir in die beschreibung des gemeinen nutzes gesetzt haben, ist das **Haus** oder **Haußhaltung**. Dann solche der rechte quelle und ursprung, ja der fürnembste theil des gemeinen Nutzen ist.

1606, English version:
Of a **Familie**, and what difference there is betweene a **Familie** and a Commonweale.
A **Familie** is the right government of many subiects or persons under the obedience of one and the same **head of the family**; and of such things as are unto them proper. The second part of the definition of a Commonweale by us set downe, concerneth a **Familie**, which is the true seminarie and beginning of every Commonweale, as also a prinicpall member thereof.

The texts give the title and the first two sentences of the second chapter in the first book of Bodin's *Republic*. Domestic key terms are put in bold font. For the bibliographical indications, see the appendix.

If we compare the three key terms in the table, we find a clear gradation. The word 'house' is translated most consistently in the six versions selected; there are only one or two deviations (once 'no term', which is a circumscription, in Latin and once 'famiglia' in Italian). The verses in the King James Bible speaking of 'household' show more variation; Latin and the Romance languages switch quite regularly between 'house' and 'family'. The instances where the English translator put in 'family' have prompted by far the widest range of expressions: 'Geschlecht', 'stam', 'linage', 'cognatio', 'stirps', 'consanguineus & affinis', even 'populus' and 'natione'. Hence, Jack Goody was correct: 'family' is a polysemic word. Judging by the translations, 'house' was simpler. It could, of course, be used for social

Table 1.2 Domestic terminology in the Bible, six languages, 1545–1611

	English 1611	*German 1545*	*French 1550*	*Spanish 1569*	*Latin 1590*	*Italian 1607*
(1)	household	Haus	maison	casa	domus	casa
(2)	household	Haus	famille	familia	domus	famiglia
(3)	household	haus	maison	casa	familia	casa
(4)	household	Haus	famille	familia	domus	famiglia
(5)	household	haus	maison	casa	domus	casa
(6)	house	Haus	maison	casa	domus	famiglia
(7)	house	Haus	maison	casa	domus	casa
(8)	house	haus	maison	casa	domus	casa
(9)	house	Haus	maison	casa	domus	casa
(10)	house	Haus	maison	casa	*no term*	casa
(11)	family	Geschlecht	famille	familia	cognatio	natione
(12)	family	Geschlecht	famille	familia	familia	famiglia
(13)	family	stam	famille	linage	stirps	natione
(14)	family	Geschlecht	famille	linage	consanguineus*	famiglia
(15)	family	geschlecht	famille	familia	populus	natione

The English King James Bible of 1611 includes the domestic key terms 'household', 'house' and 'family' and is used as the starting point for comparison; under scrutiny are the five first instances where the words are mentioned. For the bibliography of the Bibles quoted, see the appendix. The verses examined: (1) = Genesis 18:19; (2) = Genesis 35:2; (3) = Genesis 47:24; (4) = Exodus 1:1; (5) = 2 Samuel 6:11; (6) = Genesis 7:1; (7) = Genesis 12:1; (8) = Genesis 12:15; (9) = Genesis 12.17; (10) = Genesis 14:14; (11) = Leviticus 12:5; (12) = 25:10; (13) = 25:47; (14) = Leviticus 25:49; (15) = Numbers 3:33. * consanguineus & affinis

groups in a metaphoric sense, but it was also a tangible building of everyday life. The 'household' and the 'house' are the first stations on our tour through domestic terminologies.

Household, house

Not only did translations multiply in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards but also the tools to produce them: printed dictionaries of all sorts. Some authors offered parallel word-lists in many languages, such as Franciscus Garonus in his 1533 booklet which included Latin, Italian, French, Spanish and German and was praised for being "very necessary for those who want to roam through the world". Another booklet, printed in Antwerp around the same time, offered word-lists in seven languages and was "useful, if not absolutely necessary, for every student of languages".[20] During the early modern period, dictionaries became more and more voluminous, and content-related classifications were quite generally supplemented by alphabetical order. We can use the genre to look up the words contemporaries suggested for translating 'household' into Spanish and Italian where the specific term was lacking. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one finds a variety of proposals for 'household', such as 'familia', 'casa' and 'domestico' in Spanish and 'famiglia', 'governo di famiglia' and 'maneggio di casa' in Italian.[21]

It is not clear at which point the necessity arose to create standard translations. In scholarly discourse this certainly happened when Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Group for

the History of Population and Social Structure launched an international initiative in the late 1960s. The initiative was centred on 'household' as the key term. The two Mediterranean countries were both responsive to Laslett but chose very different ways to solve the linguistic problem. Spanish scholars switched quite uniformly to 'hogar', an old expression for 'hearth' (which points to another rather widespread dimension of domestic terminologies, often used for taxation, which we cannot treat in this chapter).[22] By contrast, in Italy a new expression was created. The editor of an essay collection explained that 'household' had been translated in varying ways, none of them satisfactory in his eyes. He preferred the composition 'aggregato domestico' and was able to establish it in later publications.[23]

The term 'house' appeared not to be so language-specific, at least in its outer form. It is very probable, however, that it was composed of various semantic mixtures. The term abounded in German texts. There were long lists of composita: 'Haus-Vater', 'Haus-Mutter', 'Haus-Genossen', 'Haus-Gesinde' and so forth. For the metaphoric usage of 'Haus' itself, a German–Latin dictionary in 1741 noted two main dimensions: (1) 'Haus, für Familie' with housewife, children and servants, that is the family-household; (2) 'Haus, für Geschlecht', that is male descent line, such as in the example of Royal Houses or ancient illustrious Houses.[24] In his English Dictionary of 1755 Samuel Johnson did not mention the first variant. It is most probable that the well-known lexicographer would have rendered it as 'family'. However, he referred to the second German house-variant, with the following specification: 'Family of ancestors, descendants, and kindred; race'. As in other cases, Dr Johnson illustrated the usage with a quote from Shakespeare: "The red rose and the white are on his face, The fatal colours of our striving *houses*" (Henry VI, Part Three).[25]

Family

During the Enlightenment this elitist meaning of 'house' as aristocratic lineage fell into disrepute with many intellectuals and a part of the population. In 1756, towards the end of the entry 'famille', the French *Encyclopédie* by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert famously published the following paragraph:

> Vanity dreamed up the word *house* to reinforce distinctions of wealth and luck. Thus pride has established in our language, as it was among the Romans, that titles, great honors, and high offices handed down through a single lineage would form what we might call a *house* of persons of quality. Meanwhile, we call *families* those ranks of citizens who, rising above the dregs of the populace, participate in the State and pass from father to son honest jobs, proper responsibilities, well-matched marriages, a decent upbringing, and gentle and educated manners. All things considered, *families* are surely as good as *houses*; there is hardly anyone but the Nairos of the Malabar Coast who could believe otherwise.[26]

"Les *familles* valent bien les *maisons*" – only the highly privileged noble caste of Southern India, the Nairos, would object to this categorical assessment. The noble caste disposed freely of their people's women, married and unmarried, as French readers could know from a book on religious customs published some years earlier.[27] However, civilized persons valued "honest jobs, proper responsibilities, well-matched marriages, a decent upbringing,

and gentle and educated manners" and not "titles, great honors, and high offices".[28] The author who penned these lines, Louis de Jaucourt, knew the milieu he was talking about. He had an aristocratic background himself, and he was so wealthy that he could pay a team of secretaries to help him produce thousands of articles for the *Encyclopédie*. His contributions were not as openly political as those of other *philosophes*, but he had strong opinions, for example, on the Church and on slavery.[29]

Norbert Elias later referred to Jaucourt's family passage in his study on Court Society. He stressed that the different terms were not only a manner of speaking but a direct reflection of different social relationships in the high nobility and the upper bourgeoisie. This interpretation has a problematic essentialist twist. It seems plausible to assume that in a tense moment the terms gained symbolic power, which influenced both social perception and behaviour. When the historical context changed, however, the word 'famille' was in no way linked to a catalogue of bourgeois virtues. 'Famille' as a model and prescription was imposed for its political use rather than necessarily reflecting social relationships themselves.[30]

Jaucourt's critique of the term 'house' began with the example of the Royal *maison de France*, and in the following decades the position of the monarchy was seriously challenged. Language politics stayed on the agenda, too, with authors voicing various opinions. Here we make a leap of two generations and listen briefly to what the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel had to say on the subject. Receptive to Enlightenment ideas in his youth, he later supported the constitutional monarchy. The *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (*Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*), published in 1821 as a teaching aid for his university lectures in Berlin, assigned the family to ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*) and started with marriage. Every new family (*Familie*) had to be represented by the husband as its head and was expected to keep a distance from the encompassing kin lineages or houses (*Stämme oder Häuser*). The latter were only based on blood relationships whereas family was grounded on ethical love. Under feudal law the *splendor familiae*, represented by the male descent line, used to be central. However, to Hegel the marital bond was more essential than wider kin relationships. Thus, in his version, the struggle between 'family' and 'house' seems to have been conceived as tension within the domestic realm and only in the second instance as the former struggle between bourgeois and aristocratic sections of society.[31]

The increasing use of the word 'family' in Europe can roughly be gauged by the Ngram Viewer of Google Books that provides distinct corpora for all the languages under study except for Latin. As mentioned above, the word-frequency figures are based on printed books, and we should not expect them to be precise. Nonetheless, the scales given seem to be realistic. Table 1.3 suggests that, around 1600, the use of 'family' was most widespread in France, followed by Italy and England. After that, and up to the present day, England clearly took the lead. Interestingly, there does not appear to be a pronounced increase in the use of family discourse in the 'bourgeois' nineteenth century. According to frequency-search, the term was overshadowed by other published statements and debates. In contrast, the low figures for the German language are expected. To be sure, the zero and single-digit values in 1600 and 1700 do not correspond to reality. Ngram Viewer only returns results when there are at least 40 books, and German print fonts of the time are particularly difficult to digitize accurately. The word 'family' was known in elite milieus both from Latin and French. From the 1720s onwards, it made quick inroads into German books. A dictionary observed in 1741 that the word had become 'very common',[32] yet up to the present day the German language remains the least 'family'-charged of our sample.

Table 1.3 Frequency of 'family' in printed books, 1600–2000

Language	*1600*	*1700*	*1800*	*1900*	*2000*
English	20	118	204	195	353
French	39	113	152	179	205
Italian	28	63	178	188	215
Spanish	10	70	92	142	190
German	0	1	67	80	134

The figures indicate the frequency of the word 'family' as a percentage of all single words (unigrams) in the scanned book samples at the given years; they are presented here as ten thousandths, e.g. 39 = 0.0039% and 113 = 0.0113%. The results are based on a Google Books Ngram Viewer search in March 2017 using the following parameters: the word 'family' with upper and lower case added, in the respective language, and with different spellings; smoothing index 9.

Language politics in the nineteenth century

Open debates on social terminology are often prompted during turbulent periods. Political activism requires profiling certain notions in a positive or negative direction and/or coining new ones to highlight one's goals. Here I will present three texts touching on the domestic language of the revolutionary period in the mid-nineteenth century. The liberal revolution of 1848 was short-lived, but it concerned large parts of the continent, and some of its effects were lasting.[33] The texts cover a broad political spectrum, from left-wing modernism to right-wing conservativism. The journalist Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, for example, became a conservative during the revolution. He then had a successful career leading to a professorship in Munich where he was invited to court by the king of Bavaria on a regular basis. Let us look at his text first.

Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl – *The Family: The Natural History of the People as Basis of a German Social Policy*, 1855: while a century earlier, the *Encyclopédie* had played off 'family' against 'house', Riehl, to a certain extent, now turned 'house' against 'family'. Enlightenment, according to him, was a lost period for the social entity of 'house' that used to be holy to old Germans and their *Volksgeist*. The famous poets, from Klopstock to Goethe and Schiller, had paid too much attention to the idea of humanity and too little to national traditions, challenged by modernity:

> The modern time, unfortunately, knows almost only the 'family', and no longer the 'house', the friendly, cosy notion of the entire house (ganzes Haus), which includes not only the natural family members but also the associates (Genossen) and employees of the family called 'Ingesinde' (lodging servants) in ancient times. In the 'entire house' the blessing of the family spreads to groups of persons otherwise without family; they are tied in, similar to adoption, to the ethical relationship of authority and piety. This is deeply significant for the social strengthening of an entire people.[34]

Riehl continues to contrast one word with the other: "We still have family feasts, but hardly any house feasts, family customs, but hardly any house customs, no tradition of the house".[35] Yet this opposition is stressed only in a few passages of the book. Generally, 'house' and 'family' go together, and on the whole 'family' prevails. The title of the work is *The Family*, and the key concept 'family-ness' (*Familienhaftigkeit*). Family integration had to

be promoted by adequate means. There should be authority, but no split between family and servants in the household, and relatives should be preferred as servants. The historical term provides a mystical foil for that goal: influenced by Romantic ideas, Riehl spoke of "the idyll of the German house", "the faded idea of the 'entire house'" and "the destroyed sanctuary of the German house."[36] Entirety was not only attributed to the house but also to the family, the community and to men. The author left no doubt that the true sense of house and family was, and still is, a particular quality of the German people, personified by the peasantry and the aristocracy. Danger loomed from large cities and parts of the working class. In order to "break the point of socialism" one should reconcile some socialist ideas with the historic traditions of the German family.[37]

Another example is Frédéric Le Play – *The Social Reform in France, deduced from the Comparative Observation of the European Peoples*, 1864. Le Play launched the notion of 'stem family' (famille souche) within his tripartite classification that also included the 'patriarchal family' (married brothers staying together under the father) and the 'instable family' (coming into existence by neolocal marriage and later gradually dissolving). The French social researcher and reformer had strong opinions about the qualities of these systems:

> The stem family (famille-souche) presents itself superior to the other [family types] in two most obvious regards: it develops wherever the freedom of disposition by will, supported by wise customs of impartible inheritance, makes the parental decisions preponderant; it remains even dear to those going far in search of luck with their dowries. In case of premature death of the principal heir, the latter are always ready to renounce a splendid prospect and to return to the ancestral hearth in order to fill the gap occurred.[38]

Le Play was convinced that impartible transmission of the main property strengthened the authority of the family head and thereby the larger social order. He made a career in the *Ecole des Mines* in Paris and travelled to many countries as a technical expert, using his visits also for detailed research into families. His methodological premises and empirical results were first published in a pioneering study on European workers in 1855. 'Stem-family' as a flagged word emerged little by little. It was not unknown before Le Play, but his insistence established the term lastingly in international scholarship. He is often mentioned in one breath with Riehl with whom he shared his conservative belief in family hierarchy and rural virtues. Yet there are also differences: Riehl was a bestselling author who openly disliked 'dry' theoretical treatises. In the third edition of *The Family* he announced a new book entitled *Hausmusik* (house music), a collection of fifty songs to promote the culture he had in mind. Le Play, in contrast, was busy throughout his life producing international field studies, technical monographs and social reform projects. He remained controversial, but his 'stem-family' was adopted in all the major languages under study (see the next section).[39]

Our third example is Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels – *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848: The *Manifesto* includes a vigorous attack on the 'bourgeois family'. This word combination had been in use in France for a few generations, but became widespread and stabilized in Europe only in the second part of the nineteenth century. At first the programmatic statement of Marx and Engels went rather unnoticed, but from the 1870s, confrontations between the organized left and the state initiated its spectacular career. Until the Russian Revolution the *Manifesto* was accessible in hundreds of editions and about thirty languages, so it might well have contributed to linguistic change.[40] Progress and proletarian class struggle are at the heart of the text. In a fictional argument, the communists are

reproached for planning to abolish not only private property but also the family – which prompts this reply:

> On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution. The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.[41]

The authors then criticize domestic matters in some detail: modern industry turns children into "simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour" and pulls family ties apart. Moreover, wives are seen by their bourgeois husbands as "mere instruments of production" and the men's indignation about alleged communist immorality is profoundly hypocritical as they "take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives". In general, the bourgeoisie has removed its "sentimental veil" from the family and transformed all relationships into financial ones. As a first measure all rights of inheritance should be abolished.[42] This catalogue of accusations and assumptions grew out of the discussions of the 1840s, particularly between Marx and Engels. The text itself was commissioned by the 'League of Communists', a secret party of radical German émigrés in London. Coincidentally it was published around the time when the first revolt swept through Paris on 22 February 1848.[43]

From bourgeois family to nuclear family

Both the 'bourgeois family' and the 'stem family' are expressions that started their careers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What can we learn from the Ngram Viewer about the chronology of these family specifications? Table 1.4 lists the periods of increasing and maximum word-use in five languages. The timing is given by decades in order to dispel mistaken impressions of exactitude. As mentioned before, the expression 'famille bourgeoise' emerged early in France. The Ngram Viewer records some instances in the mid-eighteenth century. Afterwards the presence of the expression is, however, interrupted and resumes only in the 1770s. Table 1.4 is laid out to indicate continuous word-use and thus counts the 1770s as the decade of 'upswing' in uses of the term. A hundred years later the 'famille bourgeoise' was present in all the European languages under study as 'bourgeois family' (English), 'famiglia borghese' (Italian), 'familia burguesa' (Spanish) and 'bürgerliche Familie' (German). Maximum use of the term is registered between the 1970s and the 1990s. This might have been caused by the rising uncertainty about – and criticism of – the 'bourgeois family',[44] but also by the boom in family research in these decades. Since a part of the research captured by the Ngram Viewer was historical, the reference periods become blurred.

The same applies to the recent career of 'famille souche'. From the mid-nineteenth century, this term was promoted by Frédéric Le Play. Later it found its way into English ('stem family'), Italian ('famiglia ceppo') and Spanish ('familia troncal'). The German 'Stammfamilie' is registered by the Ngram Viewer already in the 1830s and in isolated instances earlier. 'Stamm' as a word for lineage was old (see Table 1.2), which facilitated the emergence of the compound. German speakers often used it to express 'family of origin', which was not Le Play's understanding of 'famille souche'. For the French

Table 1.4 Chronology of 'family'-specifications in printed books, 1700–2000

Language	*bourgeois family*		*stem family*		*nuclear family*	
	upswing	*maximum*	*upswing*	*maximum*	*upswing*	*maximum*
English	1840s	1980s	1880s	1970s	1920s	1970s
French	1770s	1970s	1860s	1980s	1940s	1980s
Italian	1820s	1970s	1900s	1990s	1950s	1990s
Spanish	1870s	1970s	1960s	2000s	1940s	1990s
German	1810s	1990s	1830s	1860s	1940s	2000s

The decades indicate the frequency of word-use measured by the upswing and the maximum. To count as upswing the frequency had to be continuously above zero; earlier isolated indications are not considered. The frequency refers to the word 'family' with the respective adjective as a percentage of all double words (bigrams) in the scanned book samples. The results are based on a Google Books Ngram Viewer search in March 2017 using the following parameters: the word 'family' plus adjective with upper and lower case added in the respective language; the translations are given in the text; smoothing index 3.

reformer, this family type was characterized mainly by impartible inheritance and unigeniture.

The twentieth century saw the rise to prominence of yet another family specification, the 'nuclear family'. This term was conceived of and promoted by anthropologists and sociologists. In 1941, Georg Peter Murdock stated that the "nuclear or individual family, consisting of father, mother and children, is universal". He and his anthropological research team, working at Yale University on a far-reaching *Cross-Cultural Survey*, had found no exception in 220 societies around the world. Sometimes, to be sure, the nuclear family formed a segment of a larger kinship group, but it was always recognizable as a functional unit, according to Murdock.[45] The leading Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons first preferred the term 'conjugal family',[46] but later turned to 'nuclear family'. In 1955, he argued that the family in the United States had undergone profound change in the past generation. The indicators of alleged disorganization should be taken as signs of transition to a new and relatively stable family type. This 'isolated nuclear family' was detached from larger kin networks, free to move according to current demands of the industrial economy and specialized to serve the emotional needs of its members in an impersonal world.[47]

Since the 1920s, the compound 'nuclear family' emerged occasionally in Western languages. The real increase of word-use occurred in English after World War II, and within ten or 15 years in all the languages under study: 'famille nucléaire' (French), 'famiglia nucleare' (Italian), 'familia nuclear' (Spanish) and 'Kernfamilie' (German). Compared to the hundred years that it took the terms 'bourgeois family' and the 'stem family' to spread this was a very rapid transfer. It reflected the enhanced significance of scholarly exchange for domestic terminology. Parsons' 1955 book, for example, was re-edited time and again but could not be labelled a popular treatise in any way. Almost from the beginning, the idea of the 'nuclear family' was also criticized with its various aspects and partially contradictory claims: its universality, essentiality and functionality for modern industrial society. When the 'nuclear family' reached its apogee in English in the late 1970s, a new generation of sociologists already aimed at deconstructing it in favour of family diversity.[48]

Conclusion

This survey of domestic terminologies in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards attests that the digital tools created in recent years have opened opportunities for plurilingual research. Some distributions and trends can be grasped much quicker and based on a much larger documentation than before. In the present state, however, there are limitations to that approach, such as the problematic reference to time and space. The maximum frequency of the term 'bourgeois family', for example, was affected by the boom in family research in the late twentieth century, part of which was historical in scope and referred to antiquated terms from past decades. In order to tackle such problems for future explorations, it is perhaps more important to increase the degree of differentiation than to enlarge the text corpora in a purely quantitative manner.

Another limitation of this take on the subject has already been mentioned. This chapter deals with domestic terminologies as reflected in bookish culture. Popular speech could be quite different. Context rendered domestic group terms superfluous to a certain extent, sometimes supported by particular verbs and adjectives. The noun 'house' in the sense of a residential group was important in Luther's Bible, but not so much in German village life where people used the active form 'to house' conceived as a collaborative or conflictive engagement. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the distance between the investigated terminologies and everyday discourse increased. I do not assume that family specifications – such as 'bourgeois', 'stem' or 'nuclear' – played a great role in practical life. They were political and scholarly conceptions of domestic groups.

This chapter has manifested the flexibility of domestic terminologies in different ways. English and French have operated with the three central terms 'house', 'household' and 'family' since the sixteenth century. German integrated 'family' only in the eighteenth century, and Spanish and Italian managed without 'household' up to the twentieth century. All these terms can be labelled polysemic, and their meanings partially overlapped. If there was nonetheless a lack of clarity, one could resort to a composite solution, such as the Italian 'maneggio di casa' or 'aggretato domestico'.

Quite inevitably, the domestic terms were morally charged and prescriptive to varying degrees. This is particularly evident in the case of active promotion. When Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl conjured up the 'old German house' as an alternative to the 'modern family', he wanted servants to accept the authority of the household head instead of looking for better employment in the growing labour market after 1850; at the same time, 'housefathers' had to be willing to integrate these subjects into their domestic group. Some generations earlier, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, Enlightenment authors had promulgated another message by linking 'family' to bourgeois virtues in contrast to the vain ambitions of aristocratic 'houses'. In a polarized debate on social organization the words were used as markers and temporarily gained symbolic power, which could influence social perception and behaviour.

This raises questions for historians: should we take the flagged terms at face value, and are the strong contrasts generalizable to less politicized periods? Hence, is the adoption of 'family' in Europe always a watershed in domestic history? Since change is manifold and often difficult to illustrate, a new word can offer practical markers for historical narratives. The data presented in this chapter cast doubt on such a method. 'Family' took a long time to naturalize in European terminologies. Naturalization was a process, not a sudden event, and interestingly the 'bourgeois' nineteenth century appears as less progressive than might have been expected. Two factors probably sped up the transition: (1) the early adoption of

the Latin 'familia' in vernacular scholarly discourse by preparing the cultural terrain; (2) early urbanization processes by rendering the metaphoric use of 'house' less graphic. It would be instructive to test this double thesis in a comparative perspective.

In the nineteenth century, both terminological politics and scientific interventions gained in prominence in connection with broader social change and differentiation. Cases in point are the conspicuous public position of the 'bourgeois family' and the tripartite family classification of social reformer Frédéric Le Play. Why was there a need, in the twentieth century, to invent yet another family type and speak of a 'nuclear family'? Strikingly, the term was adopted both by anthropologists who claimed its universality and by sociologists who stressed its fit with Western industrialism. Compared to Le Play's 'instable family' (with quite the same structure) the term gave a positive impression and pointed to an inside–outside difference. Thus, it broadened the distance between 'family' and 'kinship'. At the same time, the 'nuclear' conveyed the association of 'small' and matched the general feeling that families were shrinking in modern times.

Appendix: prints and editions quoted in abbreviated form

Editions of Jean Bodin's Republic *(by chronology)*

Les Six Livres de la Republique de I. Bodin Angevin (Paris, 1576).

Io. Bodini Andegavensis de Republica Libri Sex (Lyon, 1586).

I Sei Libri della Republica del Sig. Giovanni Bodino (Genoa, 1588).

Los Seis Libros de la Republica de Ivan Bodino (Turin, 1590).

Respublica. Das ist: Gründtliche und rechte Underweysung, oder eigentlicher Bericht, in welchem außführlich vermeldet wird, wie nicht allein das Regiment wol zubestellen [...] in sechs Bücher verfasset. Durch den Edlen, Hochgelerten unnd weitberümbten Herrn Ioannem Bodium (Montbéliard/Mömpelgard, 1592).

The Six Bookes of a Commonweale. Written by I. Bodin (London, 1606).

Editions of the Bible (by language)

English: The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New (London, 1611; King James Bible).

French: La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escriture du Vieil et du Nouveau Testament (Geneva, 1588; preface by Jean Calvin).

German: Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrifft, Deudsch auffs new zugericht (Wittenberg, 1545; translated by Martin Luther).

Italian: La Bibbia, cioè i libri del vecchio e del nuovo testamento (Geneva, 1607; translated by Giovanni Diodati).

Latin: Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis (Rome, 1590; initiated by Pope Sixtus V).

Spanish: La Biblia que e los Sacros libros del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento (Basle, 1569; translated by Casiodoro de Reina).

Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias (by author and title)

Diderot, Denis and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 35 vols. (Paris, 1751–1780).

Erberg, Matthias von, *Il gran dizionario universale e perfetto, diviso in III parti: I. Italiano-Francese-Tedesco. II. Francese-Italiano-Tedesco. III. Tedesco-Francese-Italiano*, 3 vols. (Nuremberg, 1710).

Frisch, Johann Leonhard, *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch: Darinnen Nicht nur die ursprünglichen, nebst denen davon hergeleiteten und zusammengesetzten allgemein gebräuchlichen Wörter; Sondern auch die bey den meisten Künsten und Handwerken [...] gewöhnliche teutsche Benennungen befindlich* (Berlin, 1741).

Garonus, Franciscus, *Quinq[ue] linguaru[m] vtilissimus Vocabulista. Latine, Tusche, Gallice, Hyspane Et Alemanice* (Lyons, 1533).

Gattel, Claude-Marie, *Dictionnaire françois-espagnol et espagnol-françois, avec l'interprétation latine de chaque mot*, 3 vols. (Lyons, 1803).

Hulsius, Levinus, *Dictionarium Teutsch-Frantzösisch-Italiänisch-Lateinisch* (Frankfurt, 1627).

Johnson, Samuel, *A Dictionary of the English Language: in which The Words are deduced from their Originals, and Illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the best Writers*, 2 vols. (London, 1755).

Pineda, Pedro, *Nuevo Dicionario, Español e Ingles e Ingles y Español. Que contiene La Etimologia, de la Propria, y Metaphorica Significacion de las Palabras, Terminos de Artes y Sciencias* (London, 1740).

Septem linguarum Latinae, Teutonicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, Almanicae, dilucidissimus dictionarius mirum quam utilis nec dicam necessarius omnibus linguarum studiosis (Antwerp, ca, 1535).

Zedler, Johann Heinrich, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste, Welche bißhero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden und verbessert worden*, 68 vols. (Halle, 1732–1754).

Notes

1 Jack Goody, "The Evolution of the Family", in Peter Laslett (ed.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 103–24 (103). I am grateful to David W. Sabean and Simon Teuscher for their helpful comments on a first version of this chapter.

2 Inken Schmidt-Voges, "Das Haus in der Vormoderne", in Joachim Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 1–18 (2); David W. Sabean, *Incest Discourse in Europe and America Since the Renaissance* (forthcoming), chapter 2, p. 1.

3 Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "Flesh and Blood in Medieval Language about Kinship", in Christopher H. Johnson et al. (eds.), *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 61–82 (68, 74, endnote 16).

4 Dieter Schwab, "Familie", in Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, Reinhart Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1975), pp. 253–301 (270).

5 The full titles of quoted dictionaries and encyclopaedias are given in the appendix. For general information on these genres see A. P. Cowie (ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chapters 3 and 4.

6 From a medievalist perspective: Tobias Hodel, "Das kleine Digitale: Ein Plädoyer für Kleinkorpora und gegen Großprojekte wie Googles Ngram-Viewer", in David Gugerli et al. (eds.), *Nach Feierabend: Digital Humanities* (Zurich: Diaphanes, 2013), pp. 103–19; Bernhard Jussen, "Perspektiven der Verwandtschaftsforschung fünfundzwanzig Jahre nach Jack Goodys 'Entwicklung von Ehe und Familie in Europa'", in Karl-Heinz Spiess (ed.), *Die Familie in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2009), pp. 275–324.

7 Schwab, "Familie", p. 270 (translated by JM).

8 David W. Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 103.

9 Sabean, *Property, Production*, pp. 101–23; for early modern Switzerland: *Schweizerisches Idiotikon: Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache*, vol. 2 (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1885), columns 1739–41; another version of term avoidance is documented by Claude Karnoouh, "Penser « maison », penser « famille »: Résidence domestique et parenté dans les sociétés rurales de l'est de la France", *Etudes rurales* 75 (1979), pp. 35–75.

10 Noami Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household–Family in Eighteenth-Century England", *Past & Present* 151, 1 (1996), pp. 111–40; For brief surveys on domestic terminology see the strikingly different versions in: Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 31–37; and David Gaunt, "Kinship: Thin Red Lines or Thick Blue Blood", in David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (eds.), *The History of the European Family*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 258–60; earlier accounts include Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Familles: parenté, maison, sexualité dans l'ancienne société* (Paris: Hachette, 1976), pp. 10–15.

11 Peter Burke and Roy Porter (eds.), *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), with many following volumes.
12 Ernst Müller and Falko Schmieder, *Begriffsgeschichte und historische Semantik: Ein kritisches Kompendium* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2016).
13 For surveys see Kathryn Allan and Justyna A. Robinson (eds.), *Current Methods in Historical Semantics* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); D. Alan Cruse et al. (eds.), *Lexicology: An International Handbook on the Nature and Structure of Words and Vocabularies*, 2 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002–2005).
14 Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 36, narrows polysemy down to the servile line seen as "etymological meaning"; for a broader view: P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 740–41.
15 William J. Jones, *German Kinship Terms (750–1500): Documentation and Analysis* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990); William J. Jones, "Change in Lexical Fields: A Case Study on Kinship Terms in German", in Cruse et al. (eds.), *Lexicology*, vol. 2, pp. 1353–62 (1354).
16 Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
17 For the editions see Jean Bodin, *Sechs Bücher über den Staat*, vol. 1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981), pp. 80–82; on Bodin's work and impact: Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, *Das Universum des Jean Bodin: Staatsbildung, Macht und Geschlecht im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2006); Howell A. Lloyd (ed.), *The Reception of Bodin* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
18 The brief passage given in Table 1.1 does not show the word 'household' in English, nor the word 'house' in all versions except the German one. Yet a complete reading of the chapter shows clearly that these expressions were used ('maison', 'casa' etc.) with the exception of the specific 'household'-term in Latin, Italian and Spanish.
19 Cf. www.bibel-online.net/, last accessed 23 Oct. 2018.
20 Garonus, *Quinq[ue] linguaru[m] vtilissimus Vocabulista* (1533); cover page (translated by JM); *Septem linguarum dictionarius* (1535), title page (translated by JM). The dictionaries and encyclopaedias used in this article are referenced in the appendix.
21 For instance: Hulsius, *Dictionarium* (1627), p. 189 (Haußhaltung: ital. governo della famiglia); Erberg, *Il gran dizionario* (1710), vol. 2, p. 801 (Menage: ital. famiglia, governo di famiglia, economia); ibid., vol. 3, p. 359 (Haußhaltung: ital. economia, governo, maneggio di casa, massaria); Pineda, *Nuevo Dicionario* (1740), vol. 2, n.p. (Houshold: span. familia, casa, domestico); Gattel, *Dictionnaire françois-espagnol* (1803), p. 415 (Menage: span. casa, familia, o las personas que las componen).
22 For the earlier use of 'hogar', see Pineda, *Nuevo Dicionario* (1740), vol. 1, n.p.; for the reception of the household approach in Spanish speaking areas, see e.g. Francisco García González (ed.), *La historia de la familia en la Península ibérica: Balance regional y perspectivas – «Homenaje a Peter Laslett»* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008); Raquel Gil Montero, "¿Métodos, modelos y sistemas familiares o historia de la familia?", in David Robichaux (ed.), *Familia y diversidad en América Latina. Estudios de casos* (Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2007), pp. 77–101; for recent considerations of domestic terminology in Spanish history, see Margarita M. Birriel Salcedo (ed.), *La(s) casa(s) en la Edad Moderna* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2017), pp. 46–48, 53, 56.
23 See Marzio Barbagli (ed.), *Famiglia e mutamento sociale* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1977), p. 9, footnote 1; later Barbagli convinced Pier Paolo Viazzo, the Italian translator of Richard Wall (ed.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), to stick to 'aggregato domestico'; personal communication from Viazzo (25 Feb. 2017).
24 Frisch, *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch* (1741), p. 427; many 'Haus'-composita e.g. in Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (1754), vol. 12, columns 899–922.
25 Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), vol. 1, n.p.; the first meaning of 'family' according to Johnson: "Those who live in the same house; household"; 'race' was used here in the early modern family sense.
26 Diderot/d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire*, vol. 6 (1751–1780), p. 392; the quoted English version is from the ARTFL Encyclopédie Project of the University of Chicago.
27 Antoine Banier and Jean-Baptiste Le Mascrier, *Histoire générale des cérémonies, moeurs, et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6 (Paris: Rollin, 1741), p. 341.

28 Diderot/d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire*, vol. 6 (1751–1780), p. 392; the quoted English version is from the ARTFL Encyclopédie Project of the University of Chicago.
29 Frank A. Kafker, "Notices sur les auteurs des dix-sept volumes de « discours » de l'*Encyclopédie*", *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 7 (1989), pp. 125–50 (144).
30 Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie mit einer Einleitung: Soziologie und Geschichtswissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1977), pp. 80–81.
31 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechs oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973), pp. 324–25.
32 Frisch, *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch* (1741), vol. 1, p. 246: "Familie, ist vom Lateinischen *familia*, sehr gebräuchlich worden, und vom Französischen *famille*, in noch stärkern Gebrauch gekommen"; a full-text search in Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (1754), gives over a thousand hits for "Familie"; the term is often used for famous lineages, but also quasi-synonymous to 'Haus' in the household sense.
33 Christopher Clark, "After 1848: The European Revolution in Government", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (2012), pp. 171–97.
34 Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Familie (Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Social-Politik*, vol. 3 [1855] (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1861), p. 183 (translated by JM).
35 Riehl, *Die Familie*, p. 183 (translated by JM).
36 Riehl, *Die Familie*, pp. VII, 136, 294: "das Idyll des deutschen Hauses", "die verklungene Idee des 'ganzen Hauses'", "das zertrümmerte Heiligtum des deutschen Hauses".
37 Riehl, *Die Familie*, p. 357; the book was the last one of a trilogy on the *Naturgeschichte des Volkes*; for an analysis of the first two volumes see George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Schocken, 1971), pp. 19–24; for further information Jasper von Altenbockum, *Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl 1823–1897: Sozialwissenschaft zwischen Kulturgeschichte und Ethnographie* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).
38 Frédéric Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparées des peuples européens*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1864), p. 170 (translated by JM).
39 Useful introductions: Caterine Bodard Silver (ed.), *Frédéric Le Play, On Family, Work, and Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play: Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frédéric Le Play* (London: Routledge, 1970).
40 Philipp Erbentraut and Torben Lütjen, "Eine Welt zu gewinnen: Entstehungskontext, Wirkungsweise und Narrationsstruktur des 'Kommunistischen Manifests'", in Johanna Klatt and Robert Lorenz (eds.), *Manifeste: Geschichte und Gegenwart des politischen Appells* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011), pp. 73–97.
41 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party", in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 6 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), pp. 477–519 (501) (the original text was in German and translated into English in 1888, supervised by Engels).
42 Marx and Engels, "The Manifesto", pp. 487, 501–02, 505.
43 Erbentraut and Lütjen, "Eine Welt zu gewinnen", pp. 79–84; for the broader intellectual and political background: Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Young Hegelians, Marx and Engels", in Gareth Stedman Jones and Gregory Claeys (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 556–600.
44 Two earlier examples of the ambiguous status of the 'bourgeois family': in the 1930s Joseph A. Schumpeter felt that it was in a phase of disintegration and in the 1950s Roland Barthes observed that the bourgeoisie in France (the birthplace of the expression) had made itself invisible because the entire national culture was permeated by it. See Joseph A. Schumpeter and Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter, "Schumpeter on the Disintegration of the Bourgeois Family", *Population and Development Review* 14, 3 (1988), pp. 499–506; Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Seuil, 1957), pp. 211–16.
45 George Peter Murdock, "Anthropology and Human Relations", *Sociometry* 4, 2 (1941), pp. 140–49 (146); see also George Peter Murdock, "The Cross-Cultural Survey", *American Sociological Review* 5, 3 (1940), pp. 361–70.
46 The term is usually attributed to a lecture held by French sociologist Émile Durkheim in 1892 published posthumously as: "La famille conjugale", *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* 91 (1921), pp. 1–14; Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States", *American Anthropologist* 45, 1 (1943), pp. 22–38 speaks of 'conjugal family' where he later would

have put 'nuclear family' – albeit not systematically: in a partial remake of the kinship article, published in 1949 and again in 1959, Parsons left the 'conjugal family' unchanged, see Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family", in Ruth Nanda Anshen (ed.), *The Family: Its Function and Destiny* (New York: Harper, 1959), pp. 241–74.

47 Talcott Parsons, "The American Family: Its Relations to Personality and to the Social Structure", in Pasons and Robert F. Bales (eds.), *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (New York: Free Press, 1955), pp. 3–33.

48 Early criticism e.g. by Nelson N. Foote, "Parsonian Theory of Family Process: Family, Socialization and Interaction Process", *Sociometry* 19, 1 (1956), pp. 40–46; on detailed empirical and analytical grounds: William J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 1–26, 70–81.

2

DOMESTIC ADVICE LITERATURE[1]

An entangled history?

Philip Hahn

Introduction

Early modern advice literature on family life and household work is characterized by a remarkable diversity of topics, formats and addressees. It reflects the multifunctionality of the domestic sphere and has contributed to shaping contemporary notions of it by defining and describing domestic activities. Texts from this genre have been studied by historians working on the history of the family, of ideas, of agriculture and of medicine, as well as by literary scholars. For decades, such research has mostly been pursued along either (sub) disciplinary lines of research or within the confines of national traditions. Yet, a number of early modern texts, many of which shared a common background in classical antiquity, were translated into several European languages and adapted to fulfil different needs. Over the course of European colonialism and missionary activity, some of these texts, and with them the concepts of the family and household they propagated, were carried overseas to the Americas and the Far East. Furthermore, knowledge and specimens of extra-European animals and plants and their uses as food or medicine travelled to Europe and found their way into household advice books on the continent. In several ways, domestic advice books were thus involved in early modern processes of entanglement, both within Europe and globally.

Some of these aspects have been analysed in recent studies, especially by historians of medicine and of missionary activity, but their results have so far not been used to reinterpret the domestic advice literature as a whole. This chapter attempts to show that, from the perspective of a global history of knowledge, the genre deserves a rediscovery. In order to achieve this goal, it is helpful to transcend established (sub)disciplinary boundaries and acknowledge the complexity of the early modern how-to-do-it literature, as the knowledge produced for domestic application and disseminated to households in various formats ranged from religious and ethical issues across husbandry to medicine. In the early modern period, these diverse topics were understood as being interconnected in many ways. A broader view of the genre allows one to analyse and compare how processes of European and global entanglement in the early modern period affected the various aspects of domestic advice, and how authors reacted to these developments. This includes issues such as new forms of

inequality and social hierarchy on the plantations of the West Indies, which inspired the imitation of classical texts on slavery-based husbandry, or the accommodation of Christian domestic ethics to Chinese literary traditions and concepts of gender roles. A reinterpretation of domestic advice literature can thus also contribute to an understanding of the ways in which the (western) European early modern household was affected by globalization in this period.

Current state of research

For decades, the literature of domestic advice has been studied mainly within national frameworks: British scholars focused on English works on husbandry,[2] Germans on their cherished *Hausväterliteratur*,[3] Italians on their vernacular tradition of home economics[4] and Spaniards on the work of Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, for instance.[5] Remarkably, one of the few European overviews of the genre was not written by a historian or literary scholar but a German professor of home economics.[6] To some extent, a rhetoric of nationalization or even regionalization can already be observed in the early modern advice literature of several European countries.[7] Post-war German scholarship has developed the notion of a German Protestant *Sonderweg* in the genre, which was supposedly characterized by the combination of Protestant ethics, Aristotelian household economics and husbandry.[8] Yet, despite notable differences in form and content across Europe, early modern advice texts were not isolated from foreign influences, and a number of them were translated to become international bestsellers.[9] A notable exception is the Russian *Domostroj*, a sixteenth-century text on home economics which seems to have developed independently from the western European tradition.[10] Recently, western researchers' interest has been directed towards the equally independent Chinese literary tradition of household instruction, which Jesuit missionaries encountered in the seventeenth century.[11]

Domestic advice literature from the early modern period has attracted the interest of scholars working on a wide range of historical subjects. Despite the widespread use of the Latin term *oeconomia* or, in German, *Wirtschaft*, in the early modern book titles, the genre is nevertheless rather disappointing for economic historians, since modern economics derive from premodern chrematistics rather than from the classical tradition of household economics.[12] The relationship between the latter, which was founded by works of Xenophon and (attributed to) Aristotle, and early modern compilations of passages from the New Testament referring to the mutual duties of household members known in German as *Haustafeln* has been studied by historians of the Reformation and the confessional era.[13] In the 1980s and 1990s, women's and gender historians have analysed the genre's patriarchal teaching.[14] In the wake of environmental concerns, husbandry manuals have been used as sources for past relations between humans and the natural environment.[15] Historians of medicine and science have studied medical and pharmaceutical writings for domestic use, revealing their relation to contemporary medical trends such as Paracelsianism and their rhetorical emphasis on empirical knowledge.[16] More recently, studies concerning the impact of colonialism and global trade on early modern medicine and botany have traced the circulation of specimens and texts from around the globe, as well as processes of exchange and amalgamation between European, Creole and indigenous knowledge about plants and treatments.[17]

In short, historiographical trends of the past decades have one by one revealed manifold aspects of early modern advice literature. However, scholars from different scholarly backgrounds or countries have often failed to take notice of each other's findings. Whereas

previous generations of scholars have focused on normative aspects and highlighted the genre's contribution to the character of "old Europe", domestic advice literature was in fact less national and less European than usually assumed.[18] The following section presents a selection of cases from the past two decades' research in the field, arranged in three subsections devoted, respectively, to processes of circulation and translation of texts, the transfer of concepts from the domestic sphere and the interplay between the export of European text types to colonial societies and the inclusion of knowledge from outside Europe.

Relevant examples and results of empirical work

Circulation and translation of texts

The western European culture of domestic advice had roots in classical Greek and Latin *oeconomica* and *res rustica* texts, which were published in new editions by humanists across Europe. Household morals, found in a number of biblical books, were also made more widely available in vernacular languages during the Reformation.[19] Yet, from the mid-sixteenth century, the appropriation of this common heritage diverged, reflecting both the transformation of early, transnational humanism into national and/or confessional humanities as well as the rise of national identities.[20] The *Agriculture et maison rustique* (first edition published in 1564), written by the two French physicians Charles Estienne and Jean Liébault, self-consciously represents this trend. Estienne argued in his dedicatory preface that the teachings of classical Greek and Roman authors referred to Mediterranean climatic and soil conditions and were hardly applicable to most regions in France. He criticized the negligence and small-mindedness of those French authors who merely translated the classical texts – as if "our French agriculture" did not deserve a proper treatment, as if "our spirits" were not prolific enough to describe it, and as if "our language" was not copious enough for this purpose.[21] The national agenda, however grounded in practical considerations, is unmistakeable, and it produced a snowball effect within the genre across Europe.

From the mid-sixteenth century, the *Maison rustique* became the most successful and influential treatise on husbandry in Europe for almost one hundred years. Besides the 44 editions in French, published between 1564 and 1647, it appeared nine times in Flemish/Dutch translation (1566–1627), six times in German (1579–1598), four times in Italian (1581–1591) and twice in English (1600, 1616). How did the translators deal with Estienne's and Liébault's outspokenly national approach towards agriculture? The Strasbourg physician Melchior Sebizius supplemented individual chapters of his translation into German with information on circumstances in German-speaking areas. When he published an enlarged edition in 1592, he added entire sections written by other (mostly German) authors. In his preface, the printer praised the author for adapting the work to conditions in Germany. Nonetheless, there was only one further German edition in 1598, since the work was driven out of the market by Johann Coler's *Oeconomia*, which was written specifically for use in the German lands.[22] For a similar reason, there were only two English editions of the *Maison rustique*. The second edition of 1616 was advertised as being "Newly Reviewed, Corrected, and Augmented" by means of additions from recent French, Spanish and Italian works, again testifying the character of early modern husbandry literature as a European enterprise. The editor, Gervase Markham, emphasized, however, that he had "reconciled and made to agree" their teaching with husbandry "here in England".[23] He deemed this necessary because climate and soil were "so much remote in nature and qualitie" from those

in France that he had to thoroughly revise the text by making use of the "experience and knowledge of our best Husbandmen".[24] Notwithstanding, Markham could not refrain from acquainting his English readers and their palates with goods "from the Island of India, lately discovered by the Spaniards and Portugalls", such as the "Indian Hennes", i.e. turkey, though he actually neither liked their appearance nor their taste, regarded their keeping as laborious and discouraged the "Huswife" from making too much use of their eggs.[25] But Markham's main market strategy remained to appeal to national sentiments among his readers, as his other related publications reveal, such as "The English Husbandman" of 1613, "contayning the Knowledge of the true Nature of every Soyle within this Kingdome: [and] how to Plow it", a work which he claimed to have "now newly compiled for the benefit of this Kingdome". Furthermore, in a book published in 1623, he taught "The English Huswife" the "inward and outward Vertues which ought to be in a compleate Woman".[26] As literary scholar Wendy Wall has pointed out, in these publications Markham propagated agricultural improvement and particularly thrift as marks of Englishness.[27] However, he was overtaken by later English authors in this regard. Walter Blith's *The English Improver* (1653) boasted up to twentyfold harvest increase if one followed his precepts. Meanwhile, he warned his readers against false promises of travelling Dutch experts, and sneered at the old translations of the *Maison rustique* that would bring "either Rarely, or Mystically, any Improvement to purpose for this Kingdome".[28]

Johann Coler's *Oeconomia*, the leading book of domestic and agricultural advice in the German-speaking book market for most of the seventeenth century, was much less successful internationally than Estienne's and Liébault's work. Perhaps the time of transnational bestsellers in the field was over by then. Still, two translations and adaptations of Coler's book were produced, one in Dutch (1658–1669) and one in Swedish (1683/1694). Both editions only presented excerpts of Coler's voluminous work, which seem to have been selected with an eye on prospective readers' needs in both countries. These translations are interesting because they transmitted not only practical advice but also some of the author's message for the household. Whereas the Dutch edition contained abridged translations of Coler's chapters on household morals, the Swedish translator explicitly chose those chapters which he hoped would help him combat folk magic.[29] More often than not, domestic advice books from abroad were difficult to adapt, as Ulrike Plath has demonstrated through study of the Baltic area. Even though German-language works from the early sixteenth century *Oeconomia christiana* by Justus Menius to the voluminous tomes produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were available in the region, they did not serve the needs of manorial estates, which were managed by bailiffs (*Amtmänner*). These men, who usually spoke German in addition to at least one Baltic language and could hence act as cultural brokers between the German-speaking land-owning elites and non-German servants, needed small, easy-to-digest and cheap treatises as opposed to expensive and learned books.[30]

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Austrian Baron Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg's massive two-volume work *Georgica curiosa* (1682) reaped the fruit of one and a half centuries of European writings of domestic advice. Hohberg, for whom *oeconomia* was "nothing but a wise caution to organize home economics well",[31] was nonetheless convinced that no subject was broader than this one, for *oeconomia* was like an ocean into which all other sciences ran like streams, reflected by the encyclopaedic character of his own work. Hohberg read several contemporary science journals and quoted from a vast range of texts written in most of the western European languages. A list of recent literature in the field which he provided in his preface contained books from Italy, France, Spain, the

Netherlands, England, Poland and the German-speaking lands, including the Baltic area.[32] Even if Hohberg admitted that he could not get hold of some of these texts, he presented his work as part of a European vernacular literature on husbandry. His ideal of the domestic sphere, the 'whole house' of the self-sustaining manor, might have been situated remotely amidst its lands, with the next village on the horizon. Yet, the ideal head of the house, the *paterfamilias*, was in touch with contemporary European literary and scientific culture through the medium of print. Occasionally he might have embarked on long-distance travel, for which purpose the *Georgica curiosa* also contained a chapter providing practical advice, even mentioning travels by sea as far as to India.[33] Hohberg's *Georgica curiosa* itself, however, was never translated into any other language. In Germany, scholars usually regard his work as the apogee of the early modern husbandry literature that incorporated its overall concept of the 'whole house' in ideal form, but as such did not exert any influence beyond German-speaking lands.[34]

Transfer of concepts

As far as the texts about family morals were concerned, the growth of national consciousness had less impact than the development of distinct confessional cultures, each with their own distinct genres of teaching for the house. The so-called *Haustafel* tradition, for instance, collections of New Testament teachings for various social relations including the family in the form of tables, sermons, prayers or hymns, was widespread in many parts of Protestant Europe, as Mary Jane Haemig has demonstrated.[35] Unlike the husbandry books discussed in the last section, these texts were entirely focused on Christian morality. Going back to late medieval precedents, the *Haustafel* was influenced decisively by Martin Luther's Small Catechism.[36] An early English catechism contained a table similar to Luther's, whereas later English authors departed from the table form while including its teachings on the mutual duties of husband and wife, parents and children, etc. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, German catechetical sermons including the *Haustafel* were translated into Low German and Danish and found their way into Norwegian pastors' libraries in Bergen and Trondheim. One particularly popular German prayer book by Johann Habermann (Avenarius), strongly influenced by Luther's *Haustafel*, was translated into at least eight languages: first into Hungarian (1573) and Low German (1578), three times into English (1579–1610), then into French (ca. 1595), Bohemian (1603), Rhaeto-Romance (1627), Swedish (1633) and even Icelandic (1636). Johann Arndt's famous prayer book *Paradieß-Gärtlein* was first read in German among the Swedish elite before it was translated into Swedish (1646), becoming so popular – particularly among women – that it reached ten editions. Swedish-speaking people in Finland also bought Arndt's prayer book. Furthermore, two Scandinavians carried Luther's Small Catechism across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century; one of them, the Swede Johann Campanius, translated it into the native language (Algonquian) of the Delaware Indians. The printed edition of 1696, which contained the *Haustafel* both in Swedish and Algonquian, was again used by three Swedish pastors on their mission in the Delaware valley. All this makes for a fascinating story of the European and, to some extent, even global reach of teachings for the house. However, it must be kept in mind that firstly, these texts were only read by Protestants and secondly, as Haemig aptly points out, that apart from the success in the international print market, all these editions do not tell us anything about, as she puts it, "the extent to which the cultural world of the Haustafel connected with people in other places and generations". Haemig has justified doubts about the identificatory potential of the *Haustafel* to pull geographical

regions together and bridge gender or social gaps, as has been generally claimed for devotional literature in Scandinavia. On the contrary, the *Haustafel* texts in particular could also have enhanced processes of stratification.[37]

Research by Kekke Stadin on the reception of Luther's teaching about domestic gender relations in Sweden shows that the Reformer's positions were not simply copied one-to-one. In the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the exegeses of *Haustafel* texts by the German Lutheran theologians Aegidius Hunnius and Christopher Fischer as well as Johannes Mathesius' *Oeconomia* were published in Swedish translation. The earliest work in the Swedish market, however, was the *Christelig Hustaffla* (Rostock, 1605) by the Swedish Bishop Petrus Jonae Angermannus. This author took an independent stance on the topic of a wife's duty to obey to her husband: unlike Luther and his German exegetes, Jonae did not regard male supremacy as the will of God, but rather as the consequence of man's, on the whole, greater capacity for reasoning. As a result, exceptions to the latter rule were possible, but not to the former. Furthermore, Jonae put greater emphasis on mutual love and respect between husband and wife. His "specifically Swedish, 'soft' interpretation of Luther's words", as Stadin has put it, gained considerable influence in Sweden towards the later seventeenth century, as can be traced in funeral sermons.[38]

Besides the development of specific genres of advisory texts for the house, the confessional boundaries were rather porous for texts on the home. This is revealed by Coler's *Oeconomia*, which was bought by Protestants and Catholics alike long before a Catholicized edition of the work appeared in 1645. In this edition references to Luther and Coler's filthy or lascivious remarks had been cut out, but most of the moral teaching for the household derived from the *Haustafel* tradition had been preserved.[39] Quite the same applies to contemporary popular broadsheets about marriage and household.[40] The best example of a trans-confessional and international bestseller in the genre, however, is Juan Luis Vives' *De institutione foeminae christianae libri tres*.[41] First published in Latin in 1524, this text was translated into Castilian in 1528, into English in 1529, into French in 1541, into German in 1544, into Italian in 1546 and into Dutch in 1554. Of the vernacular editions, the French translation became the most successful (18 editions), followed by English (nine) and Spanish (eight). The places where it was printed are spread across western and central Europe, ranging from Seville to Hanau in Germany and from London to Cagliari on Sardinia. Remarkably, Vives' book on women was far more successful than his companion tract *De officio mariti* (1529), perhaps because male book buyers were more interested in their wives' duties than in their own. Vives' misogynist stance, which met with early criticism from Erasmus, derived partly from his education in a Sephardic (Jewish) household, partly from the fifteenth-century Spanish *Querelle des femmes*, and partly from his inclination towards the most conservative of the Church Fathers.[42] It was slightly mitigated through English influence: Richard Hyrde, who was tutor in the household of Thomas More, left out some of the stricter passages on female adornment. In his 1538 Latin edition, Vives withdrew his reservations about female education, now stating that "no learned woman was ever found to be unchaste", and blaming ignorance as a source of vice. This position was more in line with Thomas More's views on women.[43]

In the Spanish-speaking world, Vives' teaching was further popularized by the Franciscan friar Luis de León. In contrast to Vives, León did not advocate literary education for women in his little book on *La Perfecta Casada* (1583), and reduced the space of female activity even further.[44] Unlike any other European text of the genre, *La Perfecta Casada* enjoyed a curious revival in the twentieth century thanks to the Franco regime in Spain.[45] In the early modern period, León's treatise remained a dwarf on the European book market

compared to Vives, for it went through only seven Spanish editions between 1583 and 1632. Nonetheless, it has been described as the most influential contribution to the Spanish *Querelle des femmes*.[46]

At least one copy of León's *La Perfecta Casada* must have crossed the Atlantic, for in 1627 the Franciscan friar Alonso de Herrera published an *Espejo de la perfeta casada* (Mirror of the Perfect Housewife) in Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes). Herrera, who was born in Granada but by then was a preacher in Lima – not to be confounded with the Spanish agricultural author bearing the same name – used León's book as a point of departure for his massive volume of almost 900 pages in quarto.[47] Unlike León, Herrera did not aim for a female readership, but intended to supply his young fellow clergymen with a useful manual to prepare themselves for hearing the confessions of women. Departing from the biblical account of creation, Herrera saw a natural "affinity" between the sexes, and interpreted marriage as a mystical union into one flesh, which he saw in analogy to the mystical body of the Church. On a practical level, he emphasized the reciprocity of demands and duties between husband and wife.[48] Nine years after its first edition in Peru, Herrera's work was published again in Granada. Thus, a book on family morals, originally inspired by a Spanish treatise and greatly enlarged by his experience in hearing confession in Lima, then travelled back to the author's home town in Europe.

On the other side of the globe, Jesuit missionaries in China famously pursued a policy of accommodation, which was fiercely disputed in Europe.[49] As Chinese tradition forbade anyone besides the groom to see the bride during the wedding rite, Jesuits dispensed with the Catholic marriage sacrament for Christian and mixed Chinese weddings. They nonetheless tried to influence their converts to adapt the rite to Christian teaching. Alfonso Vagnone, an Italian Jesuit active in Jiangzhou in the southern Shanxi province between 1625 and 1640, did so by writing a text of domestic advice in Chinese in which he instructed his envisaged Chinese readers, that is male family heads, about the "Government of the Family in the West", as the title reads. The text was part of his trilogy on ethics, from the individual via the family to the state, and consisted of five scrolls, the first one of which contained a chapter about the "government of spouses". In form and content, Vagnone's work was an amalgamation of European and Chinese traditions. Probably influenced by Vives' *De officio mariti* and other works of the *oeconomica* tradition, he presented European exemplary figures to his readers and quoted from the European philosophical tradition. At the same time, he borrowed rhetorical forms from the Chinese literary tradition, especially from the "Great Learning" (*Daxue*) and the Chinese genre of household instruction (*jiaxun*). Referring to a Confucian way of reasoning, he explained Christian monogamy in the following way, "the woman is *yin*, the man is *yang*; therefore, the wife is obliged to follow the husband". He also employed the European metaphor of sun and moon. With a misogynist stance, Vagnone obviously hoped to win his male readers, who were used to the teaching of Chinese authors that also saw women as the source of domestic disorder. Yet, he twisted this traditional prejudice in order to support his argument against polygamy, for according to him it was easier to govern one wife than several women. By emphasizing the collaboration and division of authority between husband and wife, Vagnone presented the "marital couple as principal unit of every family". This, according to Nadine Amsler, "was novel in China" and differed from the Confucian tradition, which regarded father and son as the core relationship of the family.[50]

In Europe, Christian concepts of matrimony and monogamy formed part of a collective identity of shared values beyond differences of confession and estate. This identity was strengthened by drawing clear distinctions from groups and cultures associated with

polygamy such as the Anabaptists within and Muslims outside Christian Europe. In his preface to a German edition of the Quran, Martin Luther criticized Muhammad and contemporary Muslims for (in his eyes) not respecting the married estate and for allowing men to take several wives whom they could later dismiss at their whim.[51] Johann Coler, himself a Lutheran pastor and superintendent, wrote in the chapter on bee keeping of his *Oeconomia* that Plato and, more recently, the Anabaptists derived their idea of sharing women, children and property from the example of the bees, but "God has taught us differently in his Word".[52]

Exporting the genre, importing knowledge

In browsing through Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg's encyclopaedic *Georgica curiosa* (1682), one time and time again encounters descriptions of exotic goods such as tea from China and Japan, chocolate from the Americas and coffee from Arabia, all of which the author praises for their medicinal qualities.[53] Hohberg also wrote about decorative trees from Peru and other faraway places, gave instructions for planting tobacco and keeping parrots and other exotic birds in Europe and mused about the gustatory qualities of Chinese birds' nests.[54] In a chapter on the spring equinox, Johann Coler informed the readers of the 1627 edition of his *Oeconomia* about brazilwood, arriving at the ports of Antwerp, Amsterdam and Hamburg. He wrote that at its place of origin people made poisoned arrows from this wood and that in European ports it was instead rasped. As he failed to mention that the filings were used to produce red dye, this information seemed to have had no practical value; it was a mere curiosity.[55] Nevertheless, even the husbandry literature written in the continental hinterland had been affected by the global circulation of knowledge and specimens of plants and animals, which has become known as "Columbian exchange".[56]

Those Europeans who travelled to the Americas themselves soon found out that many of the plants and animals they encountered there had been unknown to the authors of classical antiquity.[57] As a result, indigenous knowledge and the experience acquired by Europeans overseas came to be highly valued. In the Spanish kingdom, authorities soon grasped the commercial potential of such knowledge, and the Council of the Indies rewarded the writing of detailed reports about specific natural products with monopolies to exploit them. At the same time, Spanish physicians saw the danger posed by the sale of fake and hence potentially harmful 'indigenous' medicine and called for intense communication about testing methods across the Atlantic.[58] By the early seventeenth century, books of medical advice for domestic use that combined Spanish medical schooling and indigenous natural knowledge were published directly in the Spanish Americas, such as the *Quatro libros de la naturaleza, y virtudes de las plantas, y animales* printed in Mexico City in 1615. Its author praised his work as "very useful for all those who live on manor farms [*en stancias*] or villages where there are neither physicians nor pharmacies".[59] The book thus clearly belonged to the European tradition of vernacular medical writing for the home, but its content was at least partly of Mexican origin. Spanish physicians practising in the Americas were, moreover, growing in confidence. For example, Juan Gerónimo Navarro, originally from Murcia, published a treatise on bloodletting and purgation in Lima in 1645, in which he challenged some aspects of European humoral theory on the basis of his own empirical findings.[60]

While formally trained physicians in the urban centres of the Spanish Americas later strove to replace indigenous recipes and healing methods with Spanish medicine, there were still some who remained interested in indigenous knowledge. Adam Warren has pointed to

the example of Martín Delgar, a Spanish-born doctor and surgeon who came to Peru in 1744 and worked as a physician in mining communities in upper Peru (today Bolivia). Through his patients – indigenous mining workers – he came in contact with the knowledge of indigenous healers, above all the Kallawaya, whose culture was declared an "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" by UNESCO in 2008.[61] Delgar collected recipes of these healers in order to spread knowledge of them and integrate indigenous medicine into Spanish medical practice. Due to his experience in mining towns, his main concern was the sick and poor, to whom he intended to offer affordable medical help. Delgar's approach is actually very similar to the goals of German husbandry author Johann Coler more than a century earlier. Coler, in the part of his *Oeconomia* on the home medicine chest, also argued against the arrogance of professional physicians towards popular healing methods and advocated their use, particularly for the less well-off. In Europe, academic physicians again became more interested in the 'indigenous' cures of their fellow countrymen and women from the late seventeenth century onwards.[62]

There were, however, moral limits to the transmission of medical knowledge across the Atlantic. Londa Schiebinger points to the example of the peacock flower, whose use as abortifacient by slave women in Dutch Surinam was observed and described by Maria Sibylla Merian in her famous work on insect metamorphosis. Merian identified this practice of abortion as a form of political resistance and related it to the suicide of slaves. Other sources from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jamaica, St Domingue and Barbados reveal that knowledge about the abortive power of the peacock flower was widespread in the Caribbean. In Europe, however, this knowledge did not spread, as other known abortifacients were also increasingly vilified by physicians. The peacock flower, which only came to be known in Europe as useful against fevers, is thus an example of overseas knowledge that did *not* enter the advice literature for the domestic sphere because it was regarded as against Christian morality, including books for and by midwives.[63] Furthermore, Jesuit missionaries around the globe, who were generally very interested in indigenous natural knowledge, drew a clear distinction between "natural cures" compatible with Christianity and indigenous rituals and spiritual practices around them which they rejected.[64]

Since the later seventeenth century, as European colonial powers strove to exploit the natural resources of their colonies, natural history, botany and agronomy gained even more attention. The Italian Jesuit Giovanni Antonio Andreoni, for instance, explored Brazil's potential for the cultivation of cash crops and medicinal plants for ten years from 1693 onwards, publishing his results under a Portuguese pseudonym in Lisbon in 1711.[65] In places where European missionaries encountered indigenous populations unused to agriculture, they strove to teach them how to do it. The Austrian Jesuit Anton Sepp, who from the 1690s until his death in 1733 worked as a missionary in the province of Paraguay, wrote a short instruction to husbandry in the missionary station of San José (today in Argentina). The manuscript contains advice on how to make bricks and tiles, which sort of wood to choose for building houses, and particularly about agriculture and the keeping of livestock, such as ploughing, the planting of corn and mate, the cultivation of vines and tobacco, the keeping and shearing of sheep, how to use oxen for agricultural work, weave cotton and make bread.[66] Sepp found it difficult to teach his Amerindian flock in husbandry, regarding them as lazy individuals that were unable to economize. He recorded a story about one Amerindian, for instance, whom he lent a pair of oxen and a plough. Tired of ploughing after a short while, the man preferred to slaughter one of the oxen and roast it over a fire made from the plough.[67] Two decades after Sepp, the Silesian Jesuit Florian Paucke also taught the Mocobí in his missionary station in Paraguay how to plough

the soil. Unlike Sepp, he did not write a treatise about husbandry in missionary stations, but he described in his account of his experiences in Paraguay how he showed the Mocobí himself how to cut furrows. Like other missionaries, Paucke had acquired a wide range of domestic and artisanal skills before crossing the Atlantic, some of which he seems to have collected in a notebook.[68]

Whereas Sepp, Paucke and other Jesuits in Paraguay aimed at the self-sufficiency of their missionary reductions – quite in line with the ideals of contemporary European husbandry literature – the plantations in the Caribbean and North America grew cash crops for the European market. Their notorious dependence on the importation of enslaved people from Africa as a work force had a curious side effect: the adaptation of the classical heritage of husbandry writing to contemporary plantation circumstances. The Scottish physician James Grainger, who practised on St Christopher (St Kitts) in the 1760s besides administering the plantation of his wife's family, wrote a didactic poem entitled *The Sugar Cane* based on his experiences on the island, which was published in London 1764.[69] This "West-India georgic" addressed itself to the planter and stood in the literary tradition of earlier English adaptations of Virgil's *Georgics*. Yet, as Emily Senior has recently shown, it incorporated both natural experimental and, in particular, medical knowledge from the tropical plantations, even including treatments learnt from indigenous and Afro-Caribbean healers. Departing from Virgil's model, the fourth book of his poem did not present an ideal estate but offered concrete advice on the oversight of slaves and medical care instead, supported by voluminous footnotes. Grainger criticized complete deforestation and the neglect of slaves' health, both of which he regarded as detrimental to the sustainable management of a plantation. He exhorted those interested in nature to "Leave Europe" and "examine all the properties of things" in the tropics; back in Europe, however, his poem was met with mixed responses both from literary critics and physicians. As far as slavery is concerned, Grainger himself did not question it, owning a number of slaves himself and referring to the more brutal aspects of disciplining them in the footnotes of his poem. Then again, he emphasized to "let humanity prevail" and advocated for "gentle work" to acclimatize newly arrived slaves and make them accept their lot.[70] The plantation economy that Grainger poetically described was of course very different from the rural households addressed by European housefather books; it was actually much nearer to the Roman manorial estates described in the classical *res rustica* texts which the latter frequently quoted. Humanist reception of classical texts could thus contribute to a literary justification of slavery.

Other authors of manuals for plantations were less poetically inclined and presented their advice in a more matter-of-fact tone. William Belgrove, the author of *A Treatise upon Husbandry or Planting* (printed in Boston in 1755), presented himself on the title page as "a regular bred, and long experienc'd Planter, Of the Island of Barbados" – for a plantation only produced profit if it was "judiciously managed", Belgrove admonished his readers. His short treatise covered the planning and supervision of agricultural work, including a calendar of tasks, the evaluation of "what Number of Negroes is sufficient, and what Stock of different Sorts is required to work", the making of rum and finally, the economic assessment of a plantation. The author purported to have initially written his observations "for my own Amusement and Improvement", but was convinced that his advice "may be of great Use to the Planters of all the West-India Islands". The print also contains the *Instructions for the Management of Drax-Hall* by one Henry Drax, who boasted to offer "some general Rules and Observations, which I have walked by myself, for the Government of the Family both Whites and Black". Drax first urged to call "all the Family of Whites" to morning and evening prayer on Sundays, punishing those failing to join in. Even though

this appears like a vestige of the European tradition of the 'whole house' (*ganzes Haus*), the enslaved plantation workers were obviously excluded from it – unlike in the ideal of the European rural household, in which the administrator of the manor was expected to pray with the servants at the table and make sure that they went to service in church. Another topical bit of advice in Drax' treatise is to "have as little Occasion as possible, of being absent from the Plantation", which can be traced back to classical precedents in the genre.[71]

Such advice literature for plantations, both Grainger's georgic poem and Belgrove's and Drax's treatises, stands out within the genre for their detailed descriptions of the treatment of slaves, from the right purchase on the slave market to their settling in to work, their provisions, punishments and the treatment of their illnesses. Indeed, Grainger's *Sugar Cane* was criticized in Europe precisely for its references to slavery, as some commentators did not regard it as a "fitting poetic subject".[72] Yet, long before these advice texts for planters, the husbandry genre had already inherited a more or less outspoken propensity for unlimited rule over servants from its ancient models. Even the Lutheran parish priest Johann Coler, for instance, told his readers that the ancients bought their servants like cattle and were allowed to beat them as much as they liked and, moreover, the book of Exodus did not condemn a master to be a murderer if his servant survived bodily punishment for more than two days. In contrast, during his times servants were "free" and ran away after the slightest punishment.[73] Indentured servants such as one Heinrich von Uchteritz, who worked on a plantation on the island of Barbados in the Caribbean in the mid-seventeenth century, also compared their treatment to that of slaves: they were "sold" to plantation owners on their arrival and had to do the same kind of work as enslaved Africans. Such positions make clear that the distinctions between domestic servitude and ancient and contemporary slavery could be blurred both in theory and practice.[74] Viewed in this way, serfdom and slavery was anything but an American anomaly in the western literature of advice for the domestic sphere, but an integral part of it. Just as the European hinterland was entangled with Atlantic slavery in many ways, as recent research has pointed out, so was the early modern husbandry and home medical literature.[75]

Conclusion

Over the course of the early modern period, authors of advice books for the domestic sphere and their readers increasingly learned about how people in other parts of Europe and on other continents solved day-to-day problems. This occurred as household goods, as well as books for the house, travelled across Europe and across the oceans. Even if some authors attempted to score on the book market by appealing to national sentiments, their writings betray to what extent early modern knowledge of the house had already become entangled in processes of exchange within Europe and beyond. In the colonies overseas, indigenous knowledge and practices amalgamated with European concepts and text-types. The books on family morals, husbandry and home medicine which were produced on the other side of the Atlantic from the early seventeenth century onwards were not simply imported from Europe, they were American. The title of a 1672 publication, *The American Physitian*, self-consciously emphasized this – even though it was actually printed in London.[76] In the eighteenth century, James Grainger's *The Sugar Cane* played off place-specific experience in husbandry and medicine on a tropical island against classical tradition and European academic teaching, and Martín Delgar collected oral medical knowledge from indigenous Peruvian mining workers – both in the context of ongoing contemporary debates about the validity of non-European knowledge. Such debates were related to ongoing inner-European

discussions in the literature of domestic advice about the regional variation of climate and soils, which required the teaching of husbandry and medicine to be based on regional experience.

Yet there were limits to the global entanglement of the genre. Firstly, due to their often place-specific contents, many advice books only had a limited geographical applicability and hence an equally limited impact. This applies more to husbandry and home medicine than to moral advice for the house, which was rather framed by confessional or – in the missions overseas – religious and cultural borderlines. Secondly, entanglement could be a one-way road, as in the case of Hohberg's *Georgica curiosa*, which on the one hand was based on international literature and brought knowledge about global goods into the manorial household in the continental European hinterland, but on the other hand did not have any impact beyond the German-speaking lands. Works like these were like stores of global knowledge, but they were no global players in the genre. Thirdly, the circulation of global knowledge could be obstructed by moral or religious consideration, as the example of Merian's peacock flower has shown, which did not fit into European domestic morality. Fourthly, concepts of the domestic sphere varied considerably in terms of the responsibilities of those involved, from the slave-holding plantations and missionary reductions in the Americas via the various forms of European households to the polygamous families encountered by Jesuits in China. As many advice texts were of course closely related to the concepts of their cultural origin, not only linguistic but also cultural translation was needed to apply them abroad. Even though Swedish missionaries translated the *Haustafel* into Algonquian, they made no attempt at accommodating it to circumstances in North America, whereas back home in Sweden, Petrus Jonae had adapted Luther's teaching to fit with the Swedish situation. Jesuit missionaries in China made a great effort to accommodate European and Chinese concepts of the household. Yet the hybrid result remained in China: in household morals, there was of course no mutual transfer between the Far East and Europe as, for instance, in decorative ceramics.[77]

Finally, an approach towards the literature of domestic advice that takes the diversity of formats and contents into account appreciates the intensified circulation of domestic knowledge around the globe but also acknowledges the dark sides of the genre's global entanglement. The sugar that European cookbooks recommended to add to all sorts of pastries was, after all, produced by slaves on plantations in the Caribbean, which were managed according to advice manuals such as William Belgrove's *A Treatise upon Husbandry or Planting*.[78]

Notes

1 The author wishes to thank Maria Ågren, Sandra Cavallo, Laura Dierksmeier, Renate Dürr, Fabian Fechner and the editors of this volume for comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

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10 Eugène Priadko, "Il metodo comparativo nello studio dei rapporti tra il Domostroj e i suoi equivalenti europei", in Claudia Pieralli, Claire Delaunay and Eugène Priadko (eds.), *Russia, Oriente slavo e Occidente europeo: fratture e integrazioni nella storia e nella civiltà letteraria* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2017), pp. 67–81; cf. also Richarz, *Oikos*, pp. 123–29, and pp. 130–36 on *oeconomica* from Poland and Hungary.

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25 Stevens, *Maison Rustique*, p. 83.

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27 Wendy Wall, "Renaissance National Husbandry: Gervase Markham and the Publication of England", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, 3 (1996), pp. 767–85; cf. also Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

28 Walter Blith, *The English Improver: Or a New Survey of Husbandry* (London, 1649), pp. 2, 20.

29 Hahn, *Haus im Buch*, pp. 247–80.

30 Ulrike Plath, "Stille im 'Haus': Hausvater, Verwalter und transkulturelle Gesellung in der baltischen ökonomischen Literatur zwischen 1750 und 1850", in Inken Schmidt-Voges (ed.), *Ehe – Haus – Familie: Soziale Institutionen im Wandel 1750–1850* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 179–208.

31 Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, vol. 1 [1682] (Nuremberg, 1701), preface to the reader (unpag.).

32 Von Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, vol. 1, preface to the reader (unpag.).

33 Cf. his remarks on education: Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, vol. 1, pp. 150–52. The impression of the isolated manor is conveyed visually by an engraving: ibid., vol. 1, p. 9.

34 Brunner, *Adeliges Landleben*, coined this image.

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37 Haemig, "Haustafel Literature", p. 79.

38 Kekke Stadin, "Hade de svenska kvinnorna en stormaktstid? Stormaktstidens svenska stat och konstruktionen av genus", *Scandia* 63, 2 (1997), pp. 193–225, quote from the English summary on pp. 355–56. I wish to thank Maria Ågren for pointing me towards this article.

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40 Kristina Bake, *Spiegel einer christlichen und friedsamen Haußhaltung: die Ehe in der populären Druckgraphik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), p. 45.

41 Dietrich Briesemeister, "Vives in deutschen Übersetzungen (16.–18. Jahrhundert)", in Christoph Strosetzki (ed.), *Juan Luis Vives: Sein Werk und seine Bedeutung für Spanien und Deutschland* (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1995), pp. 229–46 (242).

42 Charles Fantazzi, "Introduction", in Fantazzi (ed.), *Selected works of Juan Luis Vives*, vol. 6: *De institutione feminae christianae, liber primus* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. xxiv–xxvii; cf. Charles Fantazzi (ed.), "Introduction: Prelude to the other voice in Vives", in: Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); cf. Joachim Leeker, "Das Frauenbild in Vives' 'De institutione feminae christianae' und Castigliones 'Libro del cortegiano'", in Strosetzki, *Juan Luis Vives*, pp. 54–74.

43 Fantazzi, "Introduction", p. xix (his paraphrase).

44 Friederike Hassauer, "Die Seele ist nicht Mann, nicht Weib: Stationen der Querelle des femmes in Spanien und Lateinamerika vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert", in Gisela Bock and Margarete Zimmermann (eds.), *Die europäische Querelle des Femmes: Geschlechterdebatten seit dem 15. Jahrhundert. Querelles Jahrbuch*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997) pp. 203–38 (209–10).

45 An advertisement of the Librerías Hymsa, Madrid, from the 1930s praised it as "Un obsequio para la novia | Un delicado libro para regalo de bodas | Una atención para la esposa": reproduced in Rebecca M. Bender, "The Perfect Wife in the twenty-first century: 'La perfecta casada' en el siglo XXI", cf. www.rebeccambender.wordpress.com (5 February 2014), last accessed on 20 February 2020. I wish to thank Margarita Birriel Salcedo, Granada, for pointing me to this late renaissance of Leon's text.

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54 Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, vol. 1, pp. 762–64; vol. 2, pp. 83–86, 848, 853.

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PART II

Legal settings and domestic hierarchies

3

SPOUSES AND THE COMPETITION FOR WEALTH

Margareth Lanzinger

Introduction

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, everyday marriage and family life was founded on social and spatial proximity. The relationship between generations, genders, siblings and other close relatives was a fundamental element of what constituted a household. Life under the same roof was characterized by a complex set of authorities and hierarchies. Power, conventions, negotiations, recognition and solidarity all played a part, as did conflicts, rivalries and violence.[1] Social environments were fundamentally shaped by legal parameters: by different legal cultures, conceptions and customs, as well as concrete legislation.[2] This was particularly evident in contracts and wills. These two document types were relevant to the everyday lives of all social milieus during the early modern period. Many different situations required the use of various kinds of contracts that regulated inner-domestic matters of marriage, family and kinship. These were often drafted in biographically significant times: surrounding a marriage or death, during an illness, when half-orphans reached legal age or when parents or aunts and uncles wanted to pass possessions onto the next generation. Contracts and wills are legal instruments. Even if the provisions they contained were not always fulfilled, they are still significant sources in a number of ways: they indicate that there was knowledge of laws that governed domestic property concerns and an awareness for what needed to be regulated in writing. Contracts thus indicate what was, in each specific legal context and life situation, regarded as necessary to be regulated. They reveal where, in the perception of the time, the potential for conflict was situated, as well as how personal interests were preserved: who was provided for in what way? Who was 'rewarded' or even 'punished'? The social practice of law was a ubiquitous part of the domestic sphere.

The recorded production of norms increased markedly across European countries in the late Middle Ages and at the beginning of the early modern period. They applied to all stages and areas of life: in the form of city ordinances, local statues and collections of *Weistümer* (local customs), *Landesordnungen* (regional codes) and *Policeyordnungen* (policy decrees), Protestant Church ordinances as well as criminal laws, canon law, Roman law and imperial law.[3] The overwhelming influence of ecclesiastical law on territorial legal systems extended far beyond the early modern period and the Enlightenment. This was particularly

true in the case of the monopolization of marriage as the only legitimate space for sexuality, pregnancy and childbirth.[4] Ecclesiastical and secular law defined the requirements for legal matrimony. They established marital duties and prohibitions, and the criteria for separations and divorces. Moral and regulatory provisions and sanctions would further increase following the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, being widely adopted by society.[5] This resulted, among other things, in the criminalization and stigmatization of pre- and extra-marital sexuality. The conception of public order, which was inextricably linked to that, entered the homes and defined the expectations and duties of 'house fathers' (*Hausväter*) and 'house mothers' (*Hausmütter*).

The moralization of gender relations strengthened marital and familial hierarchies as well as the position of the house father as the legal representative of the household that he headed. The supremacy of the father and husband figure in home, marriage and family – the *patria potestas* – was based on Roman law.[6] Founded on both religious-theological and legal principles, it perpetuated in most of western Europe until far into the twentieth century and based on the assignment of the house father to head the household where he presided over the legal authority to punish his children, wife and servants. However, in the conception of the time, punishment was intended as 'reformation', and thus not only legitimate as an educational measure but – and according to the *jus correctionis* – an obligation. The position of the house father was also associated with duties of protection and correction, and the responsibility for the 'honour' of the house that included the behaviour of everyone who lived under its roof.

For many decades, gender historians have been studying effects, limits and breaches of the rule of the husband and father, which has shaped the domestic sphere in many ways. Around the 1980s – with the transition from women's history to gender history – the restrictions and disadvantages that women faced are still an important aspect. At the same time, a pronounced interest also lies in gender relations and finding out spheres and options of agency available to women and men.[7] In the place of the oversimplified view of women as 'victims' of patriarchal conditions, gender historians have since employed more differentiated approaches that understand gender as a relational category. Gender is studied in connection with other categories of difference such as age, social belonging, marital status, social status, denomination, religion, ethnicity, access to kinship networks, etc. These elements can make a difference in the concrete ways they engage with each other and open up heuristic potential as an instrument for the analysis of gender relations and the domestic sphere.

Since then historians have no longer perceived the law as being equally applied in practice. Concepts of historical anthropology, microhistory and other cultural historical approaches on the relationship of norms and practice were groundbreaking to this end. Together these concepts make up a theoretical-methodological 'toolkit' and invoke questions on forms of appropriation and own perceptions, attributions and creations of meaning and particularly the modes and potentials of negotiations. For the law and practice should not be viewed as opposites but rather as a "complex network of acceptances, violations, compromises and mutual influences"[8] of structuring elements and decisions, as well as interests and rivalries. Norms have always also contained inconstancies, ambiguities and loopholes, being susceptible to interpretations and choices.[9] Men and women certainly were able to make use of the law for themselves and legal institutions for their own interests. The legal plurality that was characteristic of the early modern period resulted in competing systems of norms and legal spaces.[10] That being the case, far from all conflicts in marriages, families or among relatives, neighbours or other contexts were resolved in the

courts or reserved for forms of resolution. Disputes were mediated and settled outside of the courts and this reveals once more the many ways to deal with the law. It also illustrates the interdependence of close social circles and legal spaces of past centuries.[11]

In the past decades, a number of topics have been at the core of discussions through the lenses of gender history, cultural history and social history in which the domestic sphere has been recognized as a legal sphere. In doing so, we must generally differentiate between criminal offences, litigation and civil law. There were various ways in which the domestic sphere could have been implicated: as a place where events occur; as a site from which authority and power stem; or as a referential space. The criminal context included burglary, domestic violence and abuse, murder, infanticide and sodomy. Litigations involved marital conflicts, separations and divorces, refused parental consent and neighbourly disputes. Wedding vow suits did not just affect the 'honour' of the couple but also that of their families of origin.[12]

Civil law concerns primarily affected circumstances of wealth, the transfer, administration and arrangement of assets as well the liability for debts. There is a broad spectrum of questions with regard to these issues: who owned which assets? Who had the authority to dispose of the assets during and after a marriage? What kind of access did wives and husbands have to the assets? How were they divided among generations and siblings? Who beyond the immediate family had any claims to assets? Access to assets was also dependent on a person's legal status. In many western European countries of the early modern period and the nineteenth century, women were not considered legally competent or only limitedly so. Female merchants were a classic exception.[13] With regard to the domestic sphere, the limited legal status of women had explicit implications for the property rights of wives and widows.

As research has shown, there existed a wide range of diverse legal frameworks and structural effects among the various European legal spaces that contained some conflicting provisions and legal situations. The social practice of applying the law was equally diverse and depended not only on specific figurations of persons who competed for wealth but also on diverse logics that prevailed within various social milieus. The following section will first outline significant research results drawn from the abundance of findings on the connection between law, gender and wealth. The third section of the chapter will be dedicated to an empirical immersion into the topic that assumes that axes of competition are fundamental parts to the understanding of the transfer, administration and arrangement of wealth, which generally occurred between spouses and their children or relatives. The potential implications for competitors such as these remain up for discussion – forms of compensation included. In doing so, we can combine the perspectives of gender and generational impacts. The temporal focus of the study lies on the eighteenth century.

The transfer, administration and arrangement of wealth: research perspectives from social and legal contexts

In the past, particularly since the 1980s, the history of the family has focused on patterns of inheritance. In terms of content, the focus centred around forms and logics of inheritances (especially of real estate properties), questions surrounding parent–child relationships[14] and the equal or unequal opportunities of siblings.[15] Equal entitlement of all children, sons *and* daughters, on parts of their parents' properties is characteristic for the areas of partible inheritance. That said, there also existed a variation in which the property was only divided among sons with daughters receiving a mere cash dowry.[16] A second model foresaw the

succession of ownership to only one child, often the oldest or youngest son (primogeniture or ultimogeniture). Ceding heirs usually received parts of their inheritances in the form of cash and/or payments in kind. Beyond these two models there existed a number of variations. Daughters seldomly tended to be in a position of inheriting property, especially if they had any brothers. That being the case, there were some exceptions as could be seen in the French Pyrenees where the priority of the first-born child (regardless of gender) prevailed during the early modern period and up until the 1804 introduction of the *Code civil*.[17] In south-eastern Europe as well as in France and East Tyrol there existed yet another model that depended on specific household formations (the *Zadruga*, *frêreche* or *Mithausereien*),[18] namely the communal inheritance of brothers, which has been widely discussed in the field of the history of the family. These households were comprised of several married brothers and as such were complex domestic arrangements.[19] For gender history, dowry and old-age provision of widows, particularly in Mediterranean and aristocratic contexts, have been at the focus of interest.[20]

During the course of the 1990s, approaches that saw beyond the umbrella terms 'family' and 'household', and looked to the outside of the household, increasingly gained attention. On the one hand, they included broader social networks, cooperation and dependencies surrounding families and households – i.e. relatives, neighbours and friends.[21] On the other hand, the aim was to counteract the suppression of gender hierarchies and unequal gender relations that occurred by focusing on the family as a unit, which raised questions on power relations, decision-making powers and spheres of negotiation.[22] Consequently, one fundamental question in this context is: who disposed of what assets and what rights and entitlements could be derived from that position? This interest in relationship networks and their material arrangements, with all its ambivalences and implications, replaced the interest in formal household structures. Over time, the domestic sphere became increasingly conceived of as a legal sphere. Contracts and wills are particularly pertinent documents in the analysis and reconstruction of domestic relationships and the agency of wealth arrangements.

A study by Lutz Berkner based on intergenerational property transfer contracts marks one of the first explorations into this expanded understanding of the domestic sphere as a legal sphere.[23] Berkner points out that the configuration of households changed frequently due to deaths, marriages, births, old age, etc. The fact that, because of shorter life expectancies, property transfer contracts often only regulated the cohabitation of two to three generations in the same house for several years, does not lower their value as sources. What is essential is that they provide information on concrete configurations of inheritance processes and intergenerational arrangements. These were at times formulated very concisely as witnessed in nineteenth century Westphalia: Christine Fertig concludes that "quite often not very detailed regulations indicate that there was a great deal of trust within these families to find sufficiently workable arrangements".[24] In eighteenth-century southern Tyrol, however, arrangements were certainly formulated with more detail, especially in cases where sons-in-law entered a household through marriage or when a stepfamily was started. The position of the father and whether he remained the head of the household or passed his position on to the next generation, was a decisive factor in these arrangements.[25] Authority and power were distributed among the inhabitants of a household accordingly. In this context, it is noteworthy that the proper term for a contract that regulated a property transfer is 'retirement contract', which inherently implied the retirement of the older generation. However, this was certainly not the case anytime and anywhere.[26] Further exploration is necessary to answer the question of whether and to what extent widows and widowers who

were at the end of their lives continued to work or whether they were provided for. Retirement contracts were especially important with regard to the financial security of widows[27] because men tended to have more access and control over real estate properties than women. Especially in regions where a general community of property regime was not customary, this unequal distribution of wealth affected the situation of widows. As Beatrice Moring revealed, annuities and usage rights arranged in marriage contracts, retirement contracts and wills, led widows to experience a markedly improved standard of living.[28] Whether a widow or her children were given the principal claim of ownership upon the death of the husband was a decisive factor in the contractual arrangement of widowhood and/or old age in various parts of Europe.

In the past years, new research perspectives have focused on issues that include the arrangement of the joint inheritance among brothers, which exhibits a whole range of facets. Joint ownership among brothers was an inheritance model often employed in merchant families, occasionally also among craftspeople and peasants. Joint inheritance arrangements among brothers such as the so-called *fraterne* could be found in merchant families in Venice, Rome, Siena, in the Italian parts of Habsburg Tyrol such as Trento and Rovereto, as well as among the aristocracy and peasantry in the German-speaking region of Tyrol and in the Piemont region under the name of *solido*.[29] In this model, inherited and earned capital remained undivided, which elevated the capital stock and creditworthiness of the commercial enterprise or trade, but also contained a potential for conflicts.

The joint inheritance among brothers was not limited to joint commercial activities, it often also implied sharing a household. In notary records and contracts of seventeenth-century Baroque Rome, which were analysed by Benedetta Borello, *fraterne* were described with the words "guadagnare e mangiare il medesimo pane" (earn and eat the same bread).[30] Or, as in the south of France, brothers decreed "their commitment to living together and sharing the same bread and wine" (*vivere ad unum panem et vinum*).[31] At times, brothers-in-law were included, which had an influence on the choice of partners of sisters since their dowries remained in the *fraterna* and would thus not have to be paid out to another family.[32] Favourable marriage conditions also carried with them the potential for bringing in a considerable dowry and significantly expanding the scope of action of a *fraterna*.[33] Sisters were excluded from commercial enterprises. In most Italian regions, daughters were only entitled to dowries and not to additional parts of their parents' estates. In early modern Tyrol, the joint inheritance among brothers gave brothers an opportunity to exclude sisters from the estate as long as it was not was divided up. While French and Italian dowries have long been included in (gender) historical research, there is a scarcity of relevant studies on marriage portions in urban and rural contexts in the German-speaking world. Apart from aristocratic and Jewish families, the word 'dowry' is for our purposes neither an appropriate term nor perspectivation to clarify the relationship between the property claims of children or – if there was no offspring – relatives and the surviving spouse, for that depended on each respective marital property regime. The marital property regimes that were common among western European countries differed from the *coverture*, under which women commonly married in England. According to Amy Louise Erickson, "Married women under coverture in England were even more restricted than in the rest of Europe, denied any legal identity at all and stripped of almost all types of property (although individual arrangements to the contrary could always be made)."[34] By contrast, large parts of the continent relied on local and regional varieties of marital property regimes such as the marital community of property regime, the marital separation of property regime and the community of accrued gains regime.[35] Despite different logics that informed these wealth arrangements,

they all shared one thing: even as wives, women were at least permitted to own money or moveable assets. Depending on the marital property regime, women were offered ways to own real estate property regardless of their marital status, be they single, married, widowed, separated or divorced. And in contrast to the Italian dowry system, women who were given a marriage portion in the German-speaking world – with the exception of the nobility – were not excluded from any additional inheritance claims.

Comparable to the separation of property regimes in German-speaking areas, strict dowry systems of the nobility and some Mediterranean regions[36] benefited sons, often the oldest and the male lineage on the whole. The community of property regime, on the other hand, had the effect that a surviving spouse – regardless of gender – received at least half of their shared property. If a married couple only had a few children, the proportion would generally have increased. If there were no children then sometimes a smaller portion was bestowed upon relatives. As such, the majority always remained in control of the widow or widower. It would have been unthinkable to achieve this kind of pronounced gender balance with a dowry system or a separation of property regime. These provided that widows regained their dowries or marriage portions and trousseaus, and only had very limited claims to their husbands' assets which were typically transferred in the form of cash or mobile belongings. The only property that was transferred from the male lineage to the widow was the morning gift. In theory, the same applied to men. In a separation of property regime, they also had no claim to their wives' assets. That said, because of common inheritance practices and better access to a wide range of training and employment opportunities, men were generally more likely to own real estate property than women. For this reason, widowers found themselves in a more advantageous position as widows when it came to access to property.

The various marital property regimes interacted with an equally diverse array of inheritance practices. Disentangling the logics associated with this is essential to the understanding of the domestic sphere as a legal sphere. These legal frameworks affected the shaping of gender- and generational relations, as well as of economic activities. Property arrangements did not just affect domestic economies, they also had an effect on economic activities as a whole: on cooperation practices in commercial enterprises or in the administration of real estate properties (as we saw in the case of the aforementioned *fraterne*), on the ways and opportunities of investing, as well as on creditworthiness and liability issues in connection with debt. A key issue in connection with the power balance between spouses is the relationship between the family bond and the inter-marital transferability of wealth.

Recent research has placed an emphasis on the free choice of partners and consensual marriage, (female) wage labour, neolocal residence and the prevalence of the community of property regime as fundamental factors of "power balances between husband and wife" in the early modern period.[37] Doing so once more fortifies the, in many ways, incorrect and simplistic notion that north-western Europe is a special region that is vastly different from the south.[38] However, in north-western Europe, property that was shared during a marriage remained under the control of the husband.[39] This circumstance alone stands in contradiction to the balance of power, since equal access to property is a key condition of balanced power relations. In order to understand the implications of any particular marriage property regime, we must include in our analysis the rights to *and* control of property, as well as what wealth was used for. The same applies to neolocal residences. In order to do so, we must rely on empirical material such as contracts. Martha Howell has revealed that in the late Middle Ages in Ghent a shift of property claims occurred in favour of spouses. The

path thereto entailed a tricky change of code: real estate assets (buildings and plots within the city) were declared mobile assets and thus fell under the joint ownership of the married couple and were no longer primarily reserved for their children's benefit.[40] The patriciate of Venice declared buildings located outside of the city – on the *terraferma* (mainland) – mobile assets and thus more freely transferable.[41]

The following empirically-oriented section presumes that various forms of managing wealth at the time of marriage were integral to the establishment of power relations in marriage and family life. The marriage contracts that were drafted in this context did not only document assets that were brought into a marriage, they also provided regulations for the future: for the time spent during a marriage as well as for various scenarios after a marriage. The options generally varied depending on who died first, the husband or the wife, and whether there were children or not. The fact that wide-reaching regulations such as these were established at the earliest time possible points to the significance ascribed to asset regulations. It is also indicative of the awareness and potential for conflict associated with them.

The assumption is that axes of competition arose in the interplay of kin and marital assets. Who competed with whom depended on the logics of the marital property regimes and inheritance models. In other words, who in practice stood to benefit or was treated preferentially, and who was disadvantaged? Widows vis-à-vis their children or husbands' relatives? Children vis-à-vis their widowed parent or step-parent? Younger siblings vis-à-vis older ones or vice versa? Or daughters vis-à-vis sons? We must furthermore always ask who had a voice in any particular decision as well as who became involved in conflicts, took sides or tried to solve them. Guardians, relatives or in-laws were potentially both involved in a dispute or acted as mediators in a conflict. Structural imbalances that stemmed from gender norms had the potential of occurring, particularly when men married into the property of their wives; in other words, when the wives introduced houses, farms, workshops or businesses into their marriages. The nature and detailedness of the regulations that were established in marriage contracts, provide us with some insight into the fragility of the configuration of the couple. If the groom did not bring a certain amount of wealth into the marriage, then his gender-defined position of domestic power was misaligned with his socio-economic situation relative to that of his bride. As we can infer from marriage contracts, this appears to have been perceived as potentially difficult in the context of the separation of property regime. The community of property regime levelled out any unequal wealth situations that may have existed before the marriage by combining all assets. That said, separations and divorce proceedings have revealed that the couples who were susceptible to crises were those that consisted of women who owned and men who married into wealth. This effect of gender imbalance was also present in the case of, and despite of, community of property regimes.[42]

Kinship and wealth

Legal contexts, continuities and arrangements

In practice, inheritance and marriage property laws were intertwined with each other in very different ways. Since the 1970s, the focus of socio-historical research has chiefly been on inheritance flows. But without taking into consideration the marital property arrangements, we cannot decipher the logics and implications of wealth transfer from the viewpoint of fiancées, wives and widows. The German-speaking world was not only

a patchwork rug with regard to the practice of inheritance but also to marital property laws. According to Gabriela Signori, "different legal habits shaped the cisalpine area from city to city" as well as region to region. Although there is sporadic evidence of shifts to the community of property regime during the late Middle Ages and early modern period, it was by no means a common occurrence. For on the normative level, as well as in practice, it was impossible to "recognize future developments that correlated with broader socio-cultural transformation processes. Entire landscapes favored the community of property regime and in doing so marriage as a unit, others favored kinship ties."[43] This implies that there is no clear tendency or chronology regarding the application of community property regimes versus separation of property regimes that could be identified as part of a modernization paradigm. What is more, there were at times marked differences between the aristocracy, patricians, crafts or tradespeople, the farming community as well as between urban and rural areas.

Gesa Ingendahl found that in the case of a childless marriage, the inheritance law of sixteenth-century Ravensburg designated the surviving spouse as the universal heir and in doing so "entirely repealed the blood-related bonds" that were the norm up until that point. This move resulted in persistent legal conflicts among relatives throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A reaction such as this, Ingendahl suggests "that the law set forth by the municipality contradicted the customs practised by its population".[44] The Bamberg provincial law of 1769, on the other hand, de facto equated a "true marriage" with a community of property regime and in doing so recalled the view of the "subjects", who had "largely always believed [...] that they were no true and genuine spouses if they did not, just like body and soul, also unite their mutual wealth".[45]

Some legal spaces demonstrated clear continuities in the law and/or practice that remained in place beyond the classic threshold between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. This was evident, for example, in Southern Tyrol as well as Lower Austria. The Tyrolean code of 1532 and 1573 left the kind and manner of inheriting largely unregulated. That said, sons were entitled to an "advantage" commensurate to the "preservation of the family line and name".[46] This formulation provides us with some insight into a logic of kinship[47] that was also characteristic of the clearly defined marriage property laws which were ruled by the marital separation of property regime and advantaged children and relatives over spouses. This allowed assets to remain within lineages. We have found the separation of property regime in notary documents from the region that date back as early as the late Middle Ages. The applicable law of the time was not communicated in writing.[48] Separation of property regimes appeared in various contracts throughout the early modern period. In the case of inheritance practices, we have come across partible inheritances (in the western part of Tyrol), impartible inheritance as well as joint inheritances among brothers. The first legal changes to take effect in this regard occurred with the 1786 Josephine law code and the special peasant inheritance law of 1787. The latter called for, among other things, the succession law of the eldest son and impartible inheritance. Because of many complaints, Leopold II lifted the provision of the special peasant inheritance law as early as 1790 so that the usual practices of before could be continued. The Josephine law code as well as the 1811 *Allgemeine Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch* (ABGB, general civil code) enacted the separation of property regime. From the point of view of Tyrol, this had an effect on certain details, while the elemental logic behind the separation of property regime remained intact.

Lower Austria, where the early modern *Landsbrauch* (land customs) allowed for the community of property regime, experienced the change of law differently to Tyrol. In rural

areas, the popular convention was to pass on property to the youngest son. By prescribing the right of succession to the eldest son, Joseph II's special peasant inheritance law rendered the act of bequeathing an estate to the youngest son, as well as transferring property to a widow following a community of property regime, ineffective. Starting in 1790, it once again became possible for the youngest son to claim an inheritance, and the law now stated that "if, however, the surviving spouse, be it husband or wife, already part owns the farm, the one or the other may receive the other's part, i.e. the whole farm".[49] The shared property of spouses was documented in so-called seigniory *Gewährbüchern* (guarantee books), in which a new spouse (by marriage or remarriage) was entered. However, the 1811 general civil code did proclaim the marital separation of property regime as the statuary property regime (§§ 1233, 1237–1239), but left another option open: those who wished to engage in a community of property regime were required to sign a contract (§ 1233). Random samples of marriage contracts after 1811 from seigniory protocol books, as well as from notary records after 1848, reveal that the community of property regime was continually in use – at least in rural areas. At the same time, marriage contracts adapted to the new legislation. This is evident in that community of property regimes were now being introduced from the very beginning – such as in the marriage contract signed by Joseph Kaiser and Theresia Punzin at the administrative office in Pfolsau in April 1813. It reads: "Firstly, both husband and wife shall establish with the consent of their representatives, a general and therefore absolute community of property with regard to their past and future assets, including any assets gained from labour or acquisition."[50] The more-than-seven-pages-long marriage contract, signed by Anton Kalchhauser from Ebersbrunn and Anna Jungmayer on April 11, 1896 under the supervision of notary Karl Leisser in Ravelsbach, begins with the words:

> Firstly, both husband and wife shall with immediate effect establish a general community of property over their entire wealth which they already own or will inherit or own in the future or which they will acquire in one way or the other.[51]

Even in times of the National Socialist *Reichserbhofgesetz* (land heritage law), which in Austria went into effect in 1938 and allowed for sole ownership by the farmer and the father-to-son succession of ownership, the *Ehegattenerbhof* model, which enabled widows to inherit the family farm, could still be enforced in Lower Austria.[52]

Besides the separation of property and community of property regimes, communities of accrued gains regimes were also prevalent, including among the urban commercial bourgeoisie of Salzburg as well as in the rural areas of Württemberg.[53] A community of accrued gains was an economic partnership between spouses for the duration of the marriage: husbands and wives shared the same rights on earned profits, but also shared any losses or debts. However, any assets brought into the marriage from either side remained the individual property of each spouse. In marriage contracts from Salzburg these assets – both of the bride and the groom – were called *Paraphernalgut* (*paraphernalia*) and used jointly by both parties during their marriage in the sense of the usufruct. In 1772, Johann Ignatz Heffter and Maria Antonia Viktoria Rauchenbichlerin had their marriage contract altered – ten years after it was initially drafted. They agreed that the paraphernalia should remain "in the hands" of the widower or widow, depending on which one would die first, provided they did not have any children at the time of death. If they had children, then the paraphernalia would be divided into two halves: one half was bequeathed to the children and the other half remained with the widower or the widow as the usufruct. If the widow

were to remarry, any commercial licence would remain the property of the children and could not be transferred to the second husband.[54]

In contrast to the separation of property and community of property regimes, community of accrued gains regimes proved relatively balanced with regard to the interests of children as well as widowed spouses since the property was divided among them. The provisions contained in marriage contracts that regulated the death of a spouse were written for both the widow and widower, that is in a balanced way between the genders. In Salzburg the children of a first marriage were generally the preferred heirs, as was the case with the Heffter family. At the same time, it was not made more difficult for a widow to remarry by, for example, entirely revoking living and usage rights. Depending on the contract of a first marriage, an eventual second husband may have had no access to the assets of his wife. In the case of a childless marriage, marriage contracts generally contained provisions that benefited the surviving spouse and not – as was commonly the case with the separation of property regime – the relatives of the deceased husband or wife.[55] Usufructuary rights allowed for strategic and temporary access to assets in certain situations – typically in the form of usufructs of widowed parents, while their children controlled the property.[56]

Marriage contracts and wills as records of security and relationship configurations[57]

Arrangements between engaged couples from different legal spaces can be particularly revealing with regard to the need for social, legal and economic security in relationship configurations. We are aware of lengthy marriage contract negotiations in connection with transdynastic marriages among the high aristocracy. However, because of transregional work and marriage migration in the early modern period, negotiations between different legal cultures were not that uncommon. Cases that originated in Tyrol provide insight into potential issues that required arrangements in marriage contracts of such couples. Ursula Kurtzin of Thurn was originally from Niederdorf (court district of Welsberg), a village located in today's South Tyrol. In 1740, she married Johann Andree Decrignis, who worked as a town clerk in Wolfsberg, Carinthia, at the service of the Prince-Bishopric of Babenberg. In the same year, Kurtzin appeared at the offices of the district of Welsberg where she presented a marriage contract that was drafted in Wolfsberg. She asked the court to enter it into the protocol book of the court belonging to her place of origin. In her plea she requested that, should it become necessary, the marriage contract be also adhered to and applied in Welsberg.[58] What does this mean from the perspective of the domestic sphere? These actions were informed by the logic of social, legal and economic security, which exceeded the marital and domestic unity and included the place and family of origin as guarantors for the agreements contained in the contracts. They also express the fact that wives – especially in the contexts of dowry systems and separation of property regimes – found themselves in an in-between space: between their marriage and their husband's household and their family of origin, which is from where the wealth that they brought into the marriage originated. Despite marriage, a wife's family of origin retained legal powers and, in the case of conflicts, was a significant authority. This could also be observed in the context of the spatial distance between a wife and her family of origin, either in the form of detailed marriage contract provisions or – as in the case of Ursula Kurtzin of Thurn – by depositing a copy of her marriage contract at the court of her place of origin.

What were the contract stipulations based on? In most points, they did not correspond to what was considered standard in Tyrol during the early modern period. The groom would match the 300 gulden marriage portion of his bride with 300 gulden of his own. The purpose of this so-called *Widerlage* (counter-dowry) was to provide financial security to women who were widowed. In many cases the *Widerlage* was arranged in such a way that the capital remained in the husband's family and the widow could profit from the interest it accrued for the duration of her life. In Tyrol, the *Widerlage* was not a customary marriage good. The contract did not stipulate that if she were to die before her husband, the marriage portion would fall to her children or relatives. Instead – and in this point the marriage contract explicitly refers back to the Corinthian 'allgemeinen lants gebrauch' (general territorial custom) – the 600 gulden of the dowry and *Widerlage* shall be made freely available to the surviving spouse. The kinship ties to the dowry that were common in Tyrol were thus lifted. The fourth and last point was also unusual for Tyrol: the groom would transfer all assets acquired during the marriage – with the exception of a fee (*Hinterfall*) of five gulden – to the bride as her property, regardless of the couple having children or not. The custom in Tyrol only corresponded to point three: in it, the bride would supply the groom with a usufruct of 1,300 gulden, but only as long as she was alive – "and not beyond".[59] That meant any potential descendent or other blood relative retained the right to the pre-marital property of both parties with the exception of the 300 gulden marriage portion and the *Widerlage*. Interests of the bride's family of origin clearly played a role here, especially due to the usufruct provisions and the financial security of the bride were she to become a widow. In Wolfsberg, a witness, the groom and the bride as well as two additional advisers signed the contract – a practice that was not customary in Tyrol. Joseph Andre Leys von Paschpach signed the transcript as the bride's *Geschlechtsvormund* (gender guardian), which was necessary for contracts to be considered legally valid in Tyrol.[60]

A common marriage pattern among men in the context of migration was to marry into the homes or households of their wives. Transregional mobility also caused different legal systems to collide. In these cases, we must also assume – just like in the aforementioned Corinthian case – that the local law was applicable. Franz Anton Spängler (1705–1784) came to Salzburg from Dietenheim near Bruneck, today located in South Tyrol, where in 1731 he married Maria Catharina Prötzin, née Ingerlin (1699–1743), the widowed daughter and heir to a commercial enterprise.

The end of the marriage contract, which comprised of 12 points, contained an explicit reference to the rights of the Holy Roman Empire and the urban and rural statutes of the Prince-Archbishopric of Salzburg. Here too the groom matched the bride's marriage portion of 600 gulden with an equal amount. In hope of matrimonial love and good friendship, Maria Catharina transferred an additional 200 gulden to her groom to use at his free will.[61] From a gender perspective this gesture of 'providing' for the groom or husband is very interesting and unusual. If this contribution were still available at the time of the husband's untimely death, it would be returned to the widow together with the marriage portion. That being the case, the wife apparently anticipated that her husband would only spend the interest and not the principal. If necessary, the principal could be used until the husband received his fatherly inheritance. In accordance with the communities of accrued gains regime, which was the standard among Salzburg merchants, any additional assets that the bride or groom owned prior to their marriage remained their own separate property. This also applied to any future gifts or inherited assets to either spouse, which during the marriage also counted as paraphernalia that they used together as a usufruct in their

handelsschaft (commercial activities). Maria Catharina Prötzin furthermore transferred the 'Tuch-, Seiden- und Knopthandlung' (fabrics, silks and notions store), which she owned, to her husband for the duration of his life. Both spouses were entitled to the business profits. Maria Catharina retained the right to decide what should happen to the store after her husband's death, for she had two sons from her first marriage: Franz Anton was born in 1722 and Martin Adam was born one year later.[62] Upon her death the *Widerlage*, which as the usufruct made up a part of the widow's pension, was intended to fall to his 'heirs' – either his children or close relatives. This illustrates how predominant kinship ties were regarding wealth in Tyrol and was affirmed in the contract with the words "wiederum *sicherlich* zukommen möge" (in turn *surely* goes to).[63] Point ten of the marriage contract addresses concerns over any potential control or presence of Franz Anton Spängler's relatives in the home or store. Were Maria Catharina Prötzin to become a widow, she should be 'spared' from her husband's relatives when surveying and inventorying the estate. Therefore, the groom explicitly pledged to bequeath a certain 'quantum' (amount) to his relatives in his will. There was also a regulation in place in case he would unexpectedly pass away before having drafted a will: after up to three years of joint economic activities (*haußung*), the widow should not have to pay her husband's relatives more than 300 gulden from the couple's shared profits. If he passed away after more than three years of joint economic activities then his relatives would receive 1,000 gulden.[64]

In comparison to other marriage contracts of the time, it was uncommon for Spängler to include his relatives in his will while keeping them away from his home and business after his death. We can view this ambivalence from the logic of various marital property regimes: in Tyrol the kin-asset connection was significantly stronger and more far-reaching than in Salzburg, where by contrast it was significantly less pronounced. We are also able to draw conclusions on the significance of kinship by looking at Spängler's career. In 1729, the beginning of his career in Salzburg, he began working as a bookkeeper at a freight and commission business as well as at the Laimpruch family trading post, where he was involved in various capacities. He was given this position by recommendation of his uncle Mathias Spängler, a merchant who worked primarily in Venice.[65] We can see from Franz Anton's 1784 draft of his will that he must have had a special relationship to his uncle Mathias. Point six, which followed religious bequests, alimony stipulations and claims of 'servants', was amended and symbolically charged: in it, Franz Anton Spängler declared that mid-month he had already gifted a "diamond ring, a present" from his deceased uncle Mathias Spängler of Venice to his son Franz Joseph, the owner of the house. And he requested that he give the ring to the next owner of the house in case it would be one of his other children or a grandchild.[66]

Before his marriage, Franz Anton Spängler's annual salary at the Laimpruch family trading post around 1729 was 300 gulden. The *Widerlage*, which was allocated to his bride, thus amounted to two annual salaries. Following his father Georg's death in 1759, Franz Anton inherited over 3,500 gulden.[67] Maria Catharina Prötzin owned the commercial enterprise that he married into. This imbalance was compensated by the fact that it was transferred to him for the duration of his life as well as by the fortune that the couple expected to inherit from his family. Couples such as Franz Anton Spängler and Maria Catharina Prötzin (née Ingerlin) needed to tread a balance between which assets were transferred and used together and which ones were reserved. For Franz Anton the marriage and the contract conditions were a "ticket into the Salzburg merchant class".[68] Maria Catharina's capital and concession met with his practical skills, which he had acquired from his networks and contacts that came with his experience working in commercial enterprises.

These were the ideal preconditions for economic success and familial continuity. When Franz Anton died in 1784, he had had three marriages and left behind a fortune of over 200,000 gulden – 94,000 of which remained after all debts were settled.[69] The community of accrued gains regime was instrumental in creating balanced relationships.

For Maria Catharina, reservations had come into play as she had been engaged in a stepfamily. That being the case, both of her sons from her first marriage did not stake any claims to the business after her death: Franz Anton Prötz entered the clergy, and Martin Adam Prötz settled in Salzburg as a merchant after years as an apprentice in places such as Venice and Trento. In 1748, however, he married the heir of the Frankenberger fashion accessories store, where he used to work as a chief clerk.[70] A letter from Franz Anton Spängler's uncle Mathias from Venice addressed to his nephew reveals Anton Spangler's concerns that Martin Adam Prötz would stake any potential claim to the inheritance. In it, he expressed his contentment over the condition that the trading licence would continue to be in the hands of the Spänglers via his marriage to Prötzin.[71]

It was not until 1751 that a final inheritance settlement could be reached and payments made to both of Maria Catharina Prötzin's sons from her first marriage. As a result, the Spänglers secured the *Handlungsgerechtigkeit* (commercial licence) beyond Franz Anton's generation. When children from various marriages competed with a (step) father for property and inheritance claims, second or third marriages caused potential conflicts or at least situations that required a settlement of claims. Along with legal guardians, there were also other people involved in the administration of family assets who represented the interests of the (half) orphans.

Conclusion

Contracts and wills provide insights into the entitlements, negotiations and conditions of women and men in significant moments of their lives, especially in connection with the establishment of marriages, new households or transfers of wealth to the next generation. Contracts and wills expressed expectations and preferences, and anticipated the potential for conflict. Proper arrangements and regulations were designed to avoid disputes. At the same time, the agreements and regulations that were drafted in these documents oriented themselves on the respective applicable regional laws as well as on societal norms, that is on what seemed appropriate for the respective social milieus. Women and men appropriated these norms, made them more precise or modified them according to their personal convictions or the possibilities and demands of certain situations.

At the same time, various contexts became apparent that point to relationships, claims and responsibilities beyond the domestic sphere: families of origin, relatives, guardians, etc. Consequently, and in addition to the usual categories (class, gender, ethnicity), wealth can be viewed as a significant category of difference. It is tempting to view wealth as an indication of a person's social status. However, a person's social status did not automatically grant access to wealth, which can be interpreted as a significant criterion in the balance or imbalance of gender relations. The question of who had the authority to dispose of wealth is aimed particularly at wives and widows. What economic possibilities did wives have when their property or parts of it were administered by their husbands? What options did widows have if the assets that they brought into the marriage were not returned to them? Or if they took over the bulk of the shared property? Ultimately, however, we have observed that women who had greater access to wealth were able to offset implications of gender imbalances to a certain degree.

Questions surrounding wealth focus on the way and manner in which pecuniary agreements and arrangements as well as transfers of wealth have entered and helped shape the domestic sphere. One way to gain nuanced insights into the relationships between the genders and generations is via approaches pertaining to the social practice of law as well as various modes of access to wealth. From this perspective we can reflect on dynamics of marital and familial coexistence. The respective concrete legal contexts are essential in understanding the underlying logics and associated consequences. However, it is not enough to include inheritance law and its practice into the analysis. What gender-specific arrangements and safeguards were in place primarily depended on the respective marital property regime. From a European perspective, these were designed to be much more complex and varied than the inheritance practice. The versatility of the marital property regime and the configuration of marital and post-marital wealth contracts and entitlements were significant challenges for international exchanges, even within Europe. This dialogue could be simplified and accelerated by answering questions that include: who had access to basic structures of shared or separated wealth (or a combination of the two)? What were the dominant axes of the competition? And who had the authority to dispose of wealth?

Translated by Penaloza Patzak & So.

Notes

1 For an overview see Silvia Sovič, Pat Thane and Pierpaolo Viazzo, "The History of European Families: Old and New Directions", in Sovič, Thane and Viazzo (eds.), *The History of Families and Households: Comparative European Dimensions* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 1–19.

2 The paper is based on approaches and results that were developed within the framework of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) project "The Role of Wealth in Defining and Constituting Kinship Spaces from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century" (P 29394-G28); cf. https://kinshipspaces.univie.ac.at/en/, last accessed March 13, 2020.

3 See, for example, Simon Teuscher, *Lords' Rights and Peasant Stories: Writing and the Formation of Tradition in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012). In 1505, for example, the *Leyes de Toro* came into effect in Castile. See Manuel Ángel Bermejo Castrillo, *Entre ordenamientos y códigos: Legilación doctrina sobre familia a partir de las leyes de Toro* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2009). Starting in the sixteenth century, German territories established a large number of so-called *Policeyordnungen* (policy decrees), in Austria *Landesordnungen* (regional codes). The *Maximilianische Halsgerichtsordnung* of 1499 is considered the first penal law in the German-speaking world. The *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* of 1532 applied to the entire Holy Roman Empire as well as in the territories of the Swiss Confederation.

4 Silvana Seidel Menchi (ed.), *Marriage in Europe, 1400–1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Daniela Lombardi, *Matrimoni di antico regime* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001); Daniela Lombardi, *Storia del matrimonio: Dal Medioevo a oggi* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008); Kate Lowe and Trevor Dean (eds.), *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

5 A classic text on this topic: Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

6 In the most extreme form: Yan Thomas, "Parricidium: I: Le père, la famille et la cité (la lex Pompeia système des poursuites publiques)", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Antiquité* 93, 2 (1981), pp. 643–715.

7 Claudia Ulbrich, *Shulamit and Margarete: Power, Gender and Religion in a Rural Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

8 Gerhard Jaritz, "Norm und Praxis in Alltag und Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters: 'Widerspruch' und 'Entsprechung'", in Jaritz (ed.), *Norm und Praxis im Alltag des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), pp. 7–19 (18), (this and all other quotations are translated by Penaloza Patzak & So.).

9 Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory", in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives in Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 93–113.

10 Arne Karsten and Hillard von Thiessen (eds.), *Normenkonkurrenz in historischer Perspektive* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2015).

11 Benoît Garnot (ed.), *L'infrajudiciaire du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine* (Dijon: Editions Universitaires de Dijon, 1996); Margareth Lanzinger, Janine Maegraith, Siglinde Clementi, Ellinor Forster and Christian Hagen (eds.), *Stipulating – Litigating – Mediating: Negotiations of Gender and Property* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

12 See Susanna Burghartz, "Competing Logics of Public Order: Matrimony and the Fight against Illicit Sexuality in Germany and Switzerland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century", in Seidel Menchi, *Marriage in Europe*, pp. 176–200; Ulrike Gleixner, *"Das Mensch" und "der Kerl": Die Konstruktion von Geschlecht in Unzuchtsverfahren der Frühen Neuzeit (1700–1760)* (Frankfurt: Campus 1994); Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland 1400–1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Arno Haldemann, *Prekäre Eheschliessungen: Eigensinnige Heiratsbegehren und Bevölkerungspolitik in Bern 1742–1848* (forthcoming).

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45 *Des Kayserlichen Hochstifts, und Fürstenthums Bamberg verfaßtes Land-Recht: Desselben Erster Haupt-Theil von Civil- oder sogenannten Bürgerlichen Sachen handlend* (1769), quotation from: Peter Landau, "Bamberger Landrecht und eheliche Gütergemeinschaft", in Horst Gehringer, Hans-Joachim Hecker and Reinhard Heydenreuter (eds.), *Landesordnungen und Gute Policey in Bayern, Salzburg und Österreich* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 2008), pp. 1–18 (5–6).
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59 SLA, VB Welsberg 1740, fol. 255′–257, 256–256′.
60 SLA, VB Welsberg 1740, fol. 255′–257, 257: "als der Jungfrau prauth von hochlöblicher oberösterreichischer regirung in Tyrol beglibter anweiser".
61 Family archive of the Bankhaus Spängler, marriage contract between Franz Anton Spängler and Maria Catharina Prözin, née Ingerlin, from July 16, 1731, fol. 1–7, here fol. 2 (henceforth: Spängler family archive, marriage contract of 1731). I would like to thank Erich Erker for providing the scans. I quote, "wegen verhoffent conlicher liebe und guotten freundtschaft willen".
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63 Spängler family archive, marriage contract of 1731, fol. 4. Italics added by the author.
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65 Reith, "Familie, Haushalt", pp. 24–25.
66 "Testamentsentwurf des Franz Anton Spängler 1784", in Reinhold Reith (ed.), *Das Verlassenschaftsinventar des Salzburger Tuch- und Seidenhändlers Franz Anton Spängler von 1784* (Salzburg: Roser, 2015), pp. 63–65 (63–64).
67 Reith, "Familie, Haushalt", pp. 24–25, 39. Maria Catharina's first husband, Bartolomä Prötz, was also from today's South Tyrol, from Sterzing.
68 Sabine Veits-Falk, "Wirkräume und Rollen der Ehefrauen", in Reith et al. (eds.), *Haushalten und Konsumieren*, pp. 93–106 (94).
69 Reith, "Familie, Haushalt", p. 47.
70 Reith, "Familie, Haushalt", p. 35.
71 Reith, "Familie, Haushalt", p. 35: "und höre gern, das dardurch die Gerechtigkeit derer besitzenden Handlung nicht allein nicht prejudiciret, sondern vil mer favorisiret bleibet". Excerpt of a January 5, 1748 letter written by Mathias Spängler from the Bankhaus Spängler family archive (I. A.2.5.3).

4

CONSTRUCTING AND CHALLENGING DEPENDENCE

Masters and servants

Raffaella Sarti

Introduction

In 1740, Giuseppe Belloja, a footman of Taddeo Bolognini, an Italian noble in Bologna, went to the "shops in the livery of this Lord to buy several things", reported the house steward. Giuseppe's livery was enough to convince shopkeepers to sell him goods, putting the cost on his master's account.[1] Some 20 years later (1763), the French glassworker Jacques-Louis Ménétra accepted a job with Jean Charles Philibert Trudaine, looking after windows and greenhouses at his residences, especially the castle of Châtillion. "I am going to have a livery made for you and you will wear it in the house", Trudaine told Ménétra one morning as the glassworker wrote in his journal. "Monsieur, I have never been in livery and never intend to be", Ménétra replied. "Hence, Monsieur, it is my honour to resign from your employ".[2]

In London in 1727, Jane Peareth described her master, Mr Hall, as "a person of low, lewd and wicked life" who attempted to rape her. He told her that "he had lain with all his maids and that he would lie with her". "In all appearance he did then design and with all his power then endeavour so to do", Jane explained. "For preserving herself" she had been "obliged to quit her service".[3] The attitude of Reverend John Murgatroyd of Slaithwaite in West Yorkshire towards his servant Phoebe Beatson was completely different, as his journal reveals. Phoebe started to work for Murgatroyd and his wife Ann when 19, in about 1785. When, around Christmas 1801, she became pregnant by George Thorp, the Reverend, a widower in his eighties, did not dismiss her as he lawfully could have done, and tried (unsuccessfully) to convince George to marry her. On 29 August 1802, Phoebe gave birth to Elizabeth. Both lived with Murgatroyd until the Reverend, who had fallen in love with the baby, died, leaving a substantial inheritance to "his faithful Servant" and her child.[4]

These fragments of lives offer rather differing images of the master–servant relationship: empowerment for Giuseppe Belloja, threats for Jane Peareth, protection for Phoebe Beatson and something to be avoided for Jacques-Louis Ménétra. Nonetheless, each of them gives part of the complex history of master–servant relationships and domestic hierarchies analysed in this chapter.[5] After briefly overviewing research on domestic service, I will illustrate the

representations of the family as a hierarchical community and the laws targeted at shaping it in that way. This multifactorial construction of domestic hierarchies, aiming at subjecting wife, children and servants to the family head, was functional to social order well beyond the walls of single households: there were intimate connections between the domestic sphere and the state. Special attention, therefore, will be given both to the use of domestic service to solve social problems such as vagrancy and to a political theme such as servants' exclusion from citizenship because of their domestic subordination to a master.

However, such construction suffered from internal inconsistencies due, among other things, to the limits of obedience and to the authority that servants somehow might have. These inconsistencies weakened the edifice of patriarchy. The efforts to keep each family member 'in their place' did not prevent negotiations and conflicts: families were an arena of struggles among their members, especially masters and servants, often defined as domestic enemies.[6]. However, this did not preclude solidarity, affection and love, and they, too, involved servants. While gender and generation were crucial in structuring the patriarchal edifice, they also offered opportunities for sometimes unexpected alliances. Although, according to the law, the male father/husband/master was the family head until recently, the domestic sphere – especially from the nineteenth century – experienced a feminization, both at symbolic and social levels. It was increasingly perceived as a place of, and for, women, and the feminization of domestic staff contributed to this. In turn, such feminization was both cause and consequence of a loss of social recognition of the domestic sphere, where (paradoxically?) patriarchy survived longer and democratization arrived later than in the 'public' sphere.

State of research on domestic service

Research on domestic service has a long tradition in Europe.[7] For instance, in 1814, the Abbé Grégoire published a book describing its historical transformation.[8] Later, between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the so-called servant problem prompted research into the reasons for the growing scarcity of (good) servants.[9] Some people dreamed of restoring – idealized – old servants,[10] while others suggested revolutionary innovations, such as German socialist leader August Bebel, who called for communal kitchens and laundries equipped with electric appliances, which would make both servants and mistresses disappear.[11] The belief that modernization would bring about the disappearance of servants was widespread. This reduced interest in studying them, despite their high numbers.[12]

A new interest developed after the Second World War. In 1956, Joseph Jean Hecht published a study of middle- and upper-class domestic staff.[13] In 1965, John Hajnal argued that western Europeans married late because they had to accumulate the means to support a family before marrying. They generally did so working as servants. People who stayed single all their life mainly worked as servants, too.[14] Developing this interpretation, Peter Laslett introduced the concept of life-cycle service (1977).[15] According to these scholars, the so-called European Marriage Pattern (EMP), excluding part of the population (namely servants) from marriage and having children, allowed a good balance between population growth and economic resources. While in the 1960s and 1970s family change was mainly seen as a consequence of industrialization, Hajnal and Laslett argued that EMP enabled economic development.[16] This hypothesis is still discussed today.[17] However, while in its early formulation the EMP was considered a peculiar feature of Europe to the west of a line ideally connecting Saint Petersburg and Trieste (the Hajnal Line), research shows not only

a plurality of patterns in the Mediterranean[18] and to the east of this alleged line but also that the most extreme cases of the EMP – with particularly high rates of unmarried servants – existed in Denmark, Norway, Iceland and some Polish and Alpine regions rather than in the cradle of industrialization, that is in England.[19]

While the servants' condition is often associated with dependency, this strand of studies also analysed service as a road to independence.[20] The early severing of family ties by children working as servants made it necessary to develop public assistance for family members needing care ('nuclear hardship').[21] According to David Reher, leaving one's family to serve in another was more common in northern and continental Europe than in the Mediterranean, and this helps explain why, today, in Spain and Italy, assistance is largely provided by the family, whereas in central and northern Europe public welfare is more widespread.[22] Yet in Italy service was not as uncommon as often suggested and did not imply cutting family ties. Moreover, there was an early development of public welfare, which frequently placed assisted children as servants. Assistance was provided thanks to a complex intermingling of institutions and families.[23]

The role of service in family ties was investigated as early as 1960 by Philippe Ariès. He argued that, in medieval and early modern Europe, the relationship between parents and children was rather distant because, among other reasons, most knowledge and values were passed on, rather than through schooling, from masters to servants, apprentices or pages who lived with them rather than with parents.[24] In the 1970s, Lawrence Stone stressed the role of the growing distancing from servants in making the affectionate nuclear family.[25] While today most scholars reject the idea that in the past parent–children relationships were unaffectionate, several studies have focused on domestic service's role in circulating culture (and thus for European identity, too[26]) and on domestics as mediators among the upper/middle and lower classes.[27] Furthermore, they have analysed the emotional and cultural influence of servants, wet nurses, nannies and governesses on their masters' children, while also exploring the relationship between servants' and masters' families,[28] as well as their 'openness'.[29]

Servants' role as intermediaries was linked to their mobility. People moved to work as servants over short, middle and long distances; conversely, migrants often found employment as servants.[30] Servants were crucial to the sex ratio of pre-industrial cities, where women generally outnumbered men,[31] urbanization,[32] colonization and globalization.[33] For a long time, however, such flows, largely of women, were overlooked by scholars, who associated migration with men and the modernization of women's lives with factory work. Recognizing that millions of rural women became integrated into modern urban culture and society through a 'backward' occupation like domestic service implied a radical change of interpretation.[34]

Today umpteen studies address the contemporary 'resurgence' of domestic work.[35] On the contrary, in the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists, economists and other social scientists disregarded domestic workers, seen as survivors of an outdated past destined to vanish because of economic growth, modernization and democratization,[36] although many middle-class families still resorted to domestic help, generally on an hourly basis.[37]

Of course, democratization of the domestic sphere owes a lot to feminists, even though sisterhood with domestics was problematic.[38] Searching for the roots of female oppression, feminist scholars focused on the history of domestic service, analysing its feminization in the nineteenth century; its importance in life cycle, marriage and/or celibacy, migration, urbanization and the functioning of the labour market; its connection with illegitimacy and prostitution; and its role in alienation and suicide while also offering the chance to improve

one's status or to travel.[39] Leonore Davidoff and other women historians highlighted similarities between maids and mistresses, domestic service's role as 'preparation' for marriage and the common female oppression in patriarchal households, despite also stressing the class divide between them.[40]

Race and ethnicity, too, often divided mistress/master and servants. This was obviously the case in colonies. While European indentured servants, governesses, etc., played an important role in colonization, colonial domination implied that white masters employed coloured servants, exploiting them heavily, often inferiorizing them (for instance calling adult servants 'boys') and distancing them to avoid 'contaminating' influences, especially upon masters' children.[41] However, servants also included slaves, from Africa, Asia and the Americas, in Europe, too.[42] Simultaneously, the limits of 'free' servants' freedom are scrutinized and the traditional opposition between western Europe as characterized by free labour and eastern Europe by serfdom is blurred.[43]

Domestic service has thus been studied from a growing number of perspectives and is now considered important or crucial for countless issues: population growth, economic development, the making of the modern family, education, gender identity, racism, welfare systems, work, colonization, urbanization, modernization and democratization. In the following pages the construction and challenging of domestic hierarchies and the master–servant relationship in early modern and nineteenth-century western Europe will be analysed. Yet, who were servants? People likely to be defined as such were ubiquitous in early modern society,[44] and a 'domestic footprint' characterized many work relationships other than domestic service.[45] Renate Dürr has pointed to servants as the lowest strata of the domestic community.[46] This is a good starting point although the servant staff was also highly hierarchical, especially in upper-class households. Hierarchy was in fact crucial to the cultural, legal and socio-economic construction of the domestic sphere over a couple of millennia.

Hierarchy as the long-term root of the family

When speaking of domestic hierarchies, let's start from the etymology of family, *famiglia, famille, Familie*, etc. albeit that they are not perfect synonyms for the domestic sphere. They derive from the Latin *familia*. Originally *familia* referred to servants (*famuli*) who worked for the same master. Since the number of slaves/servants mirrored one's affluence, the word also took on the meaning of patrimony. Furthermore, it could refer to all people subject to the same family head (*paterfamilias*), that is servants, children and others, or to all descendants from the same progenitor who were, or had been, subject to the same *paterfamilias*. Dependency was the feature common to all meanings. Consistently, according to Roman Law, the *paterfamilias* was the man with legal authority over the *familia*, not necessarily the father.[47]

However, according to several scholars, often referring to Aristotle, a family encompassed three different, but all hierarchical, relationships: husband–wife, parents–children and masters–servants. The husband-father-master was the head and had the right/duty to rule and correct his subjects. He enjoyed political rights, whereas his subjects did not. While the influence of Aristotle and/or of Roman Law was not the same everywhere, people with otherwise different ideas shared the belief that the family was and must be a hierarchical community.[48] Even Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), a philosopher committed to democracy, argued that women, under-age children and servants, being dependent, should be excluded from the franchise.[49] These ideas affected the law and, in complex ways, people's expectations and behaviours.

Many women contested such a patriarchal model, from Christine de Pizan in her *Cité des dames* (1405)[50] to Moderata Fonte with her dialogue *Del merito delle donne* (1600), to quote but two. "The heart that dwells within my breast is free; I serve no one, and belong to no one but myself", Corinna, one of the characters in the latter proudly maintained. "Remarrying, eh?" says the widow Leonora, another character. "I'd rather drown than submit again to a man. I have just escaped from servitude and suffering and you're asking me to go back of my own free will and get tangled up in that again. God preserve me!"[51]

From the eighteenth century especially, (young) men, too, contested patriarchy. According to the Italian philosopher Cesare Beccaria, if human society is considered as a union of families, "each composed by five people, including the head who represents it", "there will be twenty thousand men and eighty thousand slaves; if the association be one of persons, there were will be a hundred-thousand citizens and no slaves at all" (*Dei delitti e delle pene*, 1764).[52] The bitter reply of Saint-Albin to his father who ordered him not to marry his beloved in Diderot's comedy *Le Père de famille* (*The Father of the Family*, 1758), could be a manifesto of young men's growing intolerance towards patriarchal authority: "Fathers! Fathers! There are none ... there are only tyrants!"[53]

Despite commonalities, there were important differences in the prerogatives of the family head according to place and time. Some scholars even attempt to measure levels of patriarchy.[54] In Protestant, unlike in Catholic, Europe couples could divorce, although this happened rarely.[55] Furthermore, in north-western and northern Europe spouses generally held property jointly, although with local, social and historical peculiarities; the wife was dependent on her husband, who managed the marital estate and in Britain even enjoyed sole ownership of it, except for the wife's freehold/copyhold land, which he managed. If he squandered the marital estate, this was not legally valid ground for a wife's complaint.[56] Conversely, in southern Europe spouses generally held separate assets; here, too, the husband managed them, but dowries were legally protected to grant widows the resources to survive. Without the authorities' permission, they could not even be used to pay creditors, and husbands could be prosecuted if they squandered them.[57]

Let's turn to the father–children relationship. Where Roman Law was strictly followed, the father's authority over his offspring lasted until his death, unless they were legally emancipated, whereas elsewhere, when children reached adulthood – at different ages according to the context – and/or married, they became independent.[58] According to English jurist William Blackstone, "the power of a father" "over the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty one". "The empire of the father" gave then "place to the empire of reason".[59] Different inheritance systems, giving fathers varying freedom in choosing heirs, also contributed to shaping patriarchy in single contexts, as well as customs of family formation and forms, since marriage might imply independence of the new couple or cohabitation with the older generation, which might hold power. During early modern times, however, the power of the male family head increased until the eighteenth century; then lessened over children while continuing or strengthening over wives.

While the law aimed at fixing roles and powers, everyday life created cases which did not fit within the model. In destitute families, each member had to contribute to the family budget or provide for his/her upkeep, and this might weaken the father's authority. Many families were headed by lone women (single, abandoned wives or widows), and there were families without servants.[60] Furthermore, family members negotiated to alter the roles fixed by law and religion. To pursue more autonomy some women and young people protested they were not slaves/servants, thus implicitly legitimizing slaves' and servants' subordination.

While to understand the master–servant relationship it was necessary to illustrate the domestic hierarchy where it was embedded, we can now focus on the lowest rung of this hierarchy, namely servants.

Masters and servants: constructing the hierarchy

The representation of the family as a community structured around the husband–wife, parents–children and master–servants relationships inspired people for centuries. According to Aristotle, the family head's authority over servants was that of a master and was more extensive than that over the wife, seen as a kind of republican government, and that over children, considered monarchical.[61] He defined the *doulos* (slave, servant) as a living tool of the master.[62] It was a powerful image, still used two thousand years later. For instance, Simon Nicolas Linguet, a French eighteenth-century supporter of slavery, argued that a slave was a tool or pack animal.[63] As late as 1843, the Italian Catholic philosopher Antonio Rosmini-Serbati wrote that servants were living tools.[64] Early modern household management handbooks also explained that servants were tools necessary to family heads, though admitting that most servants were no longer slaves (but there still were slaves in Europe).[65] Such representation of the servant was echoed in the attitudes of the shopkeepers who gave Giuseppe Belloja the goods he demanded: they assumed that being a servant he was executing orders of his master, who would later pay.

To illustrate the master–servant relationship, the metaphor of the family as a body, whose parts work harmoniously together, was also used: "Has anyone ever heard of hands complaining that stomachs get fat from their work?"[66] Furthermore the biblical commandment to "honour thy father and thy mother" was extended to all superiors and was thus common to children and servants.[67] Other directions, taken from St Paul's and St Peter's letters, were peculiar to the staff: "Slaves, obey your earthly masters with respect and fear, and with sincerity of heart, just as you would obey Christ";[68] "Slaves, obey your earthly masters in everything; and do it, not only when their eye is on you and to curry their favor, but with sincerity of heart and reverence for the Lord"[69]; "Slaves, in reverent fear of God submit yourselves to your masters, not only to those who are good and considerate, but also to those who are harsh".[70]

These discourses offered a static representation of the master–servant relationship loaded with political implications. They had an obvious performative value, aiming not only at describing social reality but also at shaping it: they aimed at petrifying the domestic hierarchy, eliminating – or reducing – the possibility for servants to negotiate their status and chaining them in their inferior position. This was crucial for the whole society, since the family was conceived as its basic cell. Many authors thought of sovereigns as *paterfamilias* who ruled over the state as over a family. But many writers who, conversely, distinguished between domestic and political government also agreed with Agrippa von Nettesheim's claim that those who had not learnt to rule a house were not worth ruling the commonwealth.[71]

Domestic service certainly contributed to guaranteeing what the ruling classes considered public order and proper socio-economic hierarchies. It subjected to the family head potentially unruly youth, and helped in preventing vagrancy and disciplining people seen as marginal and dangerous. While independence was crucial for the respected *paterfamilias*, the independence of vagrants, beggars, charlatans, thieves and prostitutes worried the ruling classes. One strategy to reduce the threatening freedom and independence of masterless people[72] was thus to give them a master and, often, to oblige them to enter into annual

contracts – often renewed on Michaelmas, Martinmas or other dates. Such provisions forced them to work and fixed them in one place and 'at their (lower) place'. Limiting their freedom to quit reduced their bargaining power and provided masters with a cheap workforce.[73]

For instance, in England, the Ordinance of Labourers (1349) and the Statute of Labourers (1351) established that people without means of subsistence aged less than 60 had to work for anyone requesting their services.[74] In 1547, the Statute of Legal Settlement ruled that non-working people able to work should be considered vagrants. If they refused to work for a master requesting their services, he could bring them before two Justices of Peace who would make them his slaves for two years.[75] The Statute of Artificers (1562–1563), repealed between 1813 and 1875[76], established that single people below 30 with a training and single women aged 12 to 40 could not refuse to serve a master and highlighted categories of people aged 12 to 60 who were forced to work in agriculture on an annual contract.[77] According to the 1601 Poor Law, overseers of the poor, churchwardens and justices of peace could place poor children as apprentices or servants.[78]

In Germany in 1553, the *Bayerische Landesordnungen* established that homeless or jobless single people unable to feed themselves should compulsorily enter domestic service. Servants marrying without authorization and abandoning their masters should be captured and sent back. In 1616, it was clarified that servants could not marry before completing their agreed term of service. In other German states and cities, too, there were similar rules,[79] and/or rules allowing unmarried rural women to migrate to the city only to work as servants.[80]

In Norway, forced service for the poor dated back to the thirteenth century. The 1687 Code laid down compulsory service for unmarried people without a farm or other resources. In 1754, it was clarified that their service should be annual, forbidding daily wages.[81] There were similar provisions in Denmark (1683 Law Code[82]), Iceland[83] and Sweden (after 1644), where landless people had to serve with yearly contracts to avoid punishment as vagrants. Until 1833 shorter contracts were forbidden. The obligation to serve was abolished in 1885.[84] Although compulsory service was more common in northern and central Europe than in southern Europe, in Navarre, in 1604, to combat vagrancy, unemployed young people were forced to serve for at least one year.[85]

Domestic service was thus often legally constructed to keep social order and limit servants' wages. Whether the obligations to serve were systematically enforced remains an open question. As for breaches of contract, the following description of eighteenth-century France, where farm servants should serve by the year, probably applied to many other places:

> in big cities it is rare that a master wants to retain a servant who asks for his leave. There, it is easy to find servants when one needs them, so that one pays without difficulty the wages of those who want to leave, proportionally to the time they have served. But it is different in small towns and especially in the countryside: there it is important to maintain in all their force the regulations which subject servants to fulfil the time of their commitment.[86]

The patriarchal edifice: internal inconsistencies

"The householder is called Pater Familias, that is father of a family, because he should have a fatherly care over his servants as if they were his children."[87] Many early modern people agreed with this statement; Rev. Murgatroyd interpreted it an extensive way. The master's

fatherly and ruling role also implied responsibility for servants' proper behaviour.[88] But what about the proper behaviour of the master himself? Many authors argued that servants had to obey bad masters, too.[89] Yet what should they do if the orders were against Christian precepts or the law? It was a thorny issue and not every author dealt with it. But many did, sometimes clarifying that masters who gave orders against Christian precepts acted against God, the source of their authority: "Beware of obeying in such cases!", one author wrote.[90]

The case of maids sexually harassed by masters was particularly tricky. Eliza Haywood, in her *Present to a Servant Maid* (1743) frankly admitted that "Being so much under his Command, and oblig'd to attend him at any Hour, and at any Place he is pleased to call you, will lay you under Difficulties to avoid his Importunities", especially because "a vigorous Resistance is less to be expected in your Station".[91] Therefore, if "you have Reason to fear he will make Use of Other Means than Persuasions to satisfy his brutal Appetite", "you have nothing to do, but [...] to go directly out of his House". He would not refuse to pay a month's wages, fearing she would make public why she was leaving. However, "it is much better you shou'd lose a Month's Wages, than continue a Moment longer in the Power of such a one".[92] God would help the virtuous maid who fled the vicious master, reassured another writer.[93] We may wonder whether God helped Jane Peareth find a good place after she left her service with the abusing Mr Hall "for preserving herself". Until then, she had often been rescued by Hall's wife, who told him "that if he must have a whore he should go abroad for one and not meddle with her maids, for as they came honest into her house she desired they might go away so." Although the patriarchal household boosted mistress–maid conflicts (the maid could become the master's mistress), there was also room for solidarity or alliances.[94]

Maintaining that servants had the right/duty not to obey orders against Christian rules or the law, opened new, potentially destabilizing, scenarios. It implied considering them not as passive tools but as beings able to distinguish right from wrong, free to choose proper behaviour and equipped with agency. In fact we know many cases of servants mistreated by their masters precisely thanks to their agency, which led them to go to court for justice.[95] However, servants might also express their agency in manipulating, to their own advantage, the idea that they were their masters' tools and/or in exploiting their proximity to the latter. We know about the footman Belloja because he enjoyed for "his own use" the goods he got from shopkeepers and also stole some cutlery from his master's household, eventually being discovered and condemned.[96] Significantly, domestic theft, a source of growing concern in early modern times, implying a loyalty breach, was generally considered an aggravated theft.[97]

Inconsistencies of patriarchy emerged not only in the case of misbehaviour: some were paradoxical consequences of its enforcement. Servants, both young and adult, were culturally and legally constructed as minors to be taught and corrected. Some appropriation of the masters' culture by the servants was therefore obvious. Yet, domestic service's educational function might produce results undesired by the elites, which frequently complained that servants aped them, confusing social ranks.[98] It was not just passive aping: rather, servants adopted the masters' manners, customs, etc., actively adapting them to their needs and desires.

Although considered as minors, servants – in a kind of role reversal – were often surrogate parents and/or teachers of their masters' children, and sometimes of their masters themselves.[99] Some were hired to carry the language and customs of their own hegemonic countries into their masters' families. They were "imperialistic servants".[100] "I am planning to hire a German woman to care for the baby to make the baby learn as first tongue the

more difficult one and that of the nation, which rules us", the Italian philosopher Pietro Verri, from Milan, then under Austrian rule, wrote in 1776, worrying about the education of his still unborn baby.[101] In fact, in early modern times foreign language teaching and learning often took place at home thanks to teachers who were part of the domestic staff in its broader sense.[102]

From the second half of the seventeenth until the late nineteenth century, the European elites often hired French governesses, servants and cooks to become accustomed to the French language, manners and cuisine, then particularly fashionable.[103] Yet in the nineteenth century, according to the English Bea Howe, "our reputation abroad stood very high and the snob-value of acquiring a respectable and well-connected English governess was recognized by all upper-class foreign families."[104] "A gigantic fifth column operated by a devoted body of genteel ladies and apple-cheeked nannies, which was to exercise enormous power and disseminated the traditional English way of life through European society, had sprung into being."[105] In a sense, the flux of nannies and governesses mirrored the changing balance among the great European powers. In the age of imperialism, it also unveiled their power outside Europe, where local elites often hired European governesses and nannies to become acquainted with dominant western nations' culture.[106] Halidé Edib (1884–1964), a woman of the Turkish elite and a nationalist, feminist and novelist, had had an English governess with the "fixed idea that the Turks were some sort of natives, inferior to the English": she took seriously her role of agent of British imperialism.[107] Such governesses' attitudes eventually stimulated nationalism.[108]

Halide's governess "had been the wife of a well-to-do tea-planter in India" and told "all sorts of interesting personal adventures".[109] Governesses and nannies employed abroad travelled long distances and were independent women.[110] Maids and servants, too, usually experienced mobility and short- or long-term migration. Domestic service usually implied displacement from one's house to the master's, although live-out servants also existed. The circulation of servants, stimulated by the households' need of additional, possibly cheap, staff, clashed with using domestic service to enhance social order by trapping young, marginal and/or lower-class people into domestic hierarchy and to reduce their bargaining power by limiting their ability to refuse work or quit masters. There was a tension between dependence and independence: the servant was the icon of dependence, but many servants who moved from place to place were highly independent. Servants entering a household thus often arrived from more or less distant places and issued from more or less different social groups. Houses open to these arrivals were battlefields where masters and their 'domestic enemies' carried on their struggles. The domestic sphere was an arena for confrontations among people belonging to different classes, cultures, nations and races.[111]

The servant: from tool to family head?

In 1697 in Bologna, Italy, a confraternity of male servants was founded. One of its purposes was mutual help in illness and old age, since "many poor servants", after spending their best years serving a master, being no longer able to continue, were roaming the streets "without any relief".[112] According to the patriarchal model, the master should take care of the wellbeing of servants: he should not dismiss the sick and/or old but help them.[113] The confraternity, therefore, aimed at taking on a task attributed to masters: a sign of autonomy and independence. Interestingly, however, its members had the right to be assisted if they were ill in "their bed, in their own homes". In Bologna male domestic servants who did not

live with masters were common: from a 1796 census, as many as 72 per cent. A high number were themselves family heads: an inconceivable case, according to the patriarchal model.[114]

Servants' marriage was a thorny issue. French sixteenth-century confessionals stated that masters committed a mortal sin if they denied servants permission to marry.[115] According to José de Caravantes, many Christians would be condemned because they did not marry their children and servants.[116] Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German domestic handbooks (the so-called *Hausväterliteratur*)[117] taught masters to help their servants to establish their own household. Fleury argued that masters, far from discouraging servants from marriage, should make sure they married conveniently after quitting service. He condemned masters who did not hire, or dismissed, married domestics on the grounds that they neglected their master's interest and took all they could to their families, or argued that it was better for them to stay single to keep down the number of the poor. Yet he admitted that "most servants of both sexes cannot marry, or at least can do so only very late in life", denouncing the immoral behaviours this caused.[118] Hume argued that "all masters discourage the marrying of their male servants, and admit not by any means the marriage of the female", adding that lackeys and housemaids "do not serve much to multiply their species".[119] Moheau wrote that high numbers of *domestiques* hindered population growth being often single and/or without children.[120]

These analyses hint at the master–servant tensions behind the European Marriage Pattern. Other sources make a closer look possible. Antonio Guberti, a live-in servant employed in Rome at the end of the eighteenth century by three elderly unmarried siblings, after some years of service was allowed to forsake the livery and marry. Antonio's wife was to become a kind of unpaid servant to his masters. Nonetheless, he had to accept a cut in salary, though possibly compensated by the prospect of some inheritance:[121] marriage was at the centre of complex negotiations.

We should not forget there were different marriage cultures. In central-northern Europe and Scandinavia marriage was a privilege intermingling with economic independence more than elsewhere in Europe. In many places, especially in German-speaking areas, the poor and/or servants were prevented by law from marrying, whereas this was generally not so in Spain, France and Italy.[122] However, the absence of legal constraints on servants' marriage did not mean no constraints at all. Masters might forbid their staff to get married. For instance, Camillo Montanari explained in an 1801 petition addressed to one of the religious authorities in Rome that a woman with whom he had an affair had appealed to the Vicar's court, which had obliged him "to marry her within 15 days". To prevent his master, "who had forbidden him wife-taking", from discovering the marriage and dismissing him, he had asked the authorities to postpone the wedding and not publish the marriage banns.[123]

The approach of Rome's court in forcing Camillo to marry differed from that of those Swiss, German, Austrian and Scandinavian authorities which prevented servants from marrying even though their partner was pregnant. Did Italian servants have better chances to marry? British travellers who visited Italy were astonished at finding many live-out married servants.[124] In Naples, for instance "it is almost universal fashion to keep their men-servants at board-wages, not admitting them to sleep in their [i.e. the masters'] houses", Samuel Sharp noted in 1767. "This naturally leads them into marriage". "The extreme populousness of *Naples* must, consequently, follow from such causes".[125]

Domestic service in Italy appeared to English visitors – mainly focusing on noble households – more proletarianized and monetized than in Britain: servants were poor men who received low wages, lived out and were themselves heads of their own families. They were independent 'masters' in their own homes whereas British servants lived, ate and slept in their master's house, got an important share of their income from tips and were normally

unmarried; they appeared more integrated into their masters' households as one of the family but in the "posture of children".[126] This might sound surprising yet Italy was a highly urbanized country where a market economy had developed early. However, British male live-in servants were increasingly uneasy in the "posture of children" and wanted be included in the dominant adult masculinity.[127] Furthermore there were (married) live-out servants in the United Kingdom, too. Their numbers were probably increasing, as shown by Scottish agricultural servants called hinds,[128] as did those of Swedish rural servants called *statare*.[129] In the late eighteenth century, live-out servants were common in rural Spain[130] and not uncommon in a completely different environment such as Paris, to mention other cases.[131] There were cracks in the patriarchal edifice from its beginning, but in the eighteenth century they seemed to widen. In particular, it was increasingly difficult to think of servants as tools in their masters' hands.

Freedom, equality and the 'voluntary' servants' choice of dependence

According to Aristotle, political participation is open to free and equal citizens; in this perspective, the exclusion of servants, conceived as 'tools', is obvious, whereas it cannot be easily rationalized if masters and servants are both considered free. Over time, authors increasingly argued that there was/is a contract between masters and servants, thus presenting servants' subordination as a consequence of their own choice. Servants now appeared responsible for their servitude.[132]

We might wonder whether during the French Revolution, which emphasized freedom and equality, servants ceased to be considered minors. In fact, the opposite happened. Because of their dependence on their masters, servants appeared unable to make autonomous decisions: they lacked the independence necessary to enjoy civil rights and were thus excluded from the franchise.[133] The new importance given to freedom and equality implied growing stigmatization of servants who 'voluntarily' renounced their freedom. Ménétra's 1763 refusal to become a servant, mentioned in the introduction, was early testimony to this. Some servants reacted: "Do we not have parents, and a Fatherland? Are we not French?" They also expressed the hope that the new regime would reform the unfair conditions that forced many people to "exchange their misery" for a humiliating service, making clear that becoming a servant was far from a free choice.[134]

While the reasons for excluding servants from the franchise were clear, it was not clear who should actually be excluded, since the notion of *domesticité* mentioned in the law was ambiguous.[135] To solve the problem, it was restricted to personal domestic servants: the higher strata of domestic staff – clerks, secretaries, bookkeepers, librarians, and several types of people employed in agriculture such as tenants, sharecroppers and farm workers. Craftsmen who had completed their apprenticeship and shop assistants should no longer be considered domestics.

The servant exclusion was confirmed for the election to the *Convention*, sometimes still presented as an election with universal male suffrage.[136] However, new ideas were spreading. As Condorcet explained,

> the dependence which does not allow us to believe that an individual obeys his own will, could no doubt be a legitimate ground for exclusion; but we have not thought it possible to suppose the existence of such a dependence under a truly free constitution ... the social relations that would suppose such humiliation cannot exist among us.[137]

The belief also spread that servants were wageworkers. Consistently, the Jacobin Constitution (1793) did not exclude them from the franchise, although requiring voters to have a domicile would prevent many servants from voting. However, it was never enforced. In France, domestics were enfranchised in 1848 when universal male suffrage was introduced but suffered from discrimination in being ineligible for town councils and excluded from juries until the 1930s. France was not exceptional: in many other countries, too, male domestic servants long suffered from exclusion from the franchise.[138]

The nineteenth century and beyond: the feminization of the domestic sphere and the endurance of patriarchy

The French Revolution created new expectations among women, as shown by a fictional dialogue between a democratic chambermaid and her aristocratic mistress:

> Mistress: Hurry up, damn you, I must go to a private nobility academy.
> Maid: Be patient a moment, citizen...
> Mistress: Are you calling me a citizen?
> Maid: What? Does this title offend you, perhaps?
> Mistress: Very much so, because I am a lady and want to be addressed as 'your ladyship' [...].
> Maid: I am a republican and nothing else, you pay me and I serve you, and we are equal.[139]

This extraordinary vignette expressed a truly revolutionary transformation: the achievement of equality between maid and mistress, both enjoying citizenship, and the replacement of personal dependency with a contractual exchange of services for wages. Reality was the opposite of fiction. Both in France and Italy equality between mistress and maid did not mean both being enfranchised but both remaining disenfranchised for another century and half: French and Italian women would become full citizens respectively in 1944 and 1945. European women were all enfranchised only in the twentieth century. Furthermore, chambermaids and servants, instead of becoming 'normal' wageworkers, experienced increasing difficulty in being considered proper workers. Significantly, recent campaigns for domestic workers' rights still claim that "Domestic Work is Work!"[140]

Even though for a long time both male domestics and women of any class were disenfranchised, from the late eighteenth century dependency became more gendered, more associated with women: there was a feminization of dependency.[141] This had to do, among other reasons, with the fact that domestic staff were increasingly women: by the late nineteenth century or the first decades of the twentieth, depending on the countries, women made up more than 90 per cent of domestic personnel.[142] The feminization of domestics was also symbolic: in many countries (Italy, France, Britain, etc.) the few surviving manservants even experienced a kind of de-virilization, being forbidden to wear moustaches until the first decades of the twentieth century.[143]

In the age of the 'separate spheres ideology', the domestic sphere was increasingly associated with women. Such ideology, based on the private/public divide, was a cultural construct that inspired many people but did not mirror social reality, which was more complex.[144] Nonetheless, the feminization of domestic staff, implying the disappearance of many manservants, contributed to making the houses of servant-employing middle and upper classes spaces of, and for, women. It contributed to the feminization of the domestic sphere.

New connections developed between women of these increasingly feminized domestic spaces. Maids were not fully recognized as proper workers: their work, though paid, was too close to care work done for free by wives and mothers. Other women, especially married ones, denounced their condition as servant-like: "As everyone sees, the woman, in any marital regime, is slave or minor", Anna Maria Mozzoni protested in 1864.[145] Furthermore the ambiguous character of the housewife, who merged in herself both mistress and maid, started to develop.[146]

Despite its feminization, the domestic sphere was still legally headed by the husband/father/master. While the political sphere tended towards democracy, the domestic continued to be marked by hierarchy, albeit partially different from the early modern. It was home to relationships based on surviving 'despotism' rather than equal rights. In a quickly changing world, patriarchy took refuge in the domestic sphere, in the *oikia* which was its fatherland. The long-term survival of such domestic 'despotism' contributes to understanding why even today domestic workers experience discrimination in the labour market and women as a whole suffer from discrimination in the public sphere.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the domestic sphere, focusing on the master–servant relationship. After a short overview of research on domestic service, it has examined the long-term cultural and legal construction of such a sphere as a hierarchical 'edifice', where not only servants but also wives and children experienced dependence on the family head, although to different degrees. While patriarchy was present all around Europe, laws were different according to time and space. However, patriarchy was contested. Furthermore, high mortality rates, poverty, family disruption, etc. caused numerous families to be different from the patriarchal model.

Domestic staff were the lowest strata within the domestic hierarchy, albeit itself hierarchized, especially in noble households. Domestic service was thus used to guarantee social order and to lower wages. However, although represented as the master's tools, servants might have an authority within the master's family and negotiate working conditions. Moving from one household to the other, they often were very independent. Furthermore, male servants were likely to be family heads. Nonetheless servants continued to be the icon of dependency. As such, they were excluded from the franchise increasingly granted to independent men from the late eighteenth century onwards.

At that time, domestic staff experienced a feminization which contributed to the feminization of both dependency and the domestic sphere, which remained a locus of patriarchy and inequality while society was experiencing growing democratization. Illustrating the intimate relationships between the domestic and the public spheres, this chapter also aimed to unveil the domestic roots of many problems that still plague our lives.

Notes

1 English revision by Clelia Boscolo, University of Birmingham and Christine Brocks. Raffaella Sarti, "Comparir con 'equipaggio in scena': Servizio domestico e prestigio nobiliare (Bologna, fine XVII–inizio XX secolo)", *Cheiron* 16, 31–32 (1999), pp. 133–69.
2 Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of my Life* [1982] (New York: Columbia University Press 1986), pp. 132–33.
3 Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), pp. 107–08.

4 Carolyn Steedman, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 51.
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PART III

The domestic sphere as space of work

5
PAID AND UNPAID WORK

Beatrice Zucca Micheletto

Introduction

This chapter investigates the domestic sphere as a space of paid and unpaid work among the middle and lower classes in early modern and modern Europe.[1] The general view of classic economic history, still echoed in contemporary society's assumptions about economics, is based on the prominence of waged labour and understood in opposition to domestic work. This dichotomy has been transferred to the separation of the public/political and the private/intimate spheres. Moreover, the waged labour/domestic work dichotomy refers to a specific image of society and to distinctive ideals of masculinity and femininity, according to which female and male 'natural duties and behaviours' were clear-cut and well-defined. Therefore, the domestic sphere was the proper place for a woman: a place where she could display her caregiving qualities and engage in housekeeping and other 'naturally' female activities. In contrast, the public sphere, the locus of work and sociability, was reserved for men, although work and sociability were not excluded from the domestic sphere, which was also a space where men could rest and exercise their duty/right as heads of the household, fathers and husbands. By discussing the domestic sphere as a place of work, this paper calls into question the reliability of this cultural model and its applicability to early modern and modern societies in western Europe.

The contribution is organized in three sections. Section two will review the many ways in which the above-mentioned dichotomies are often presented in scholarly literature. This will show that, beyond the well-known 'separate spheres' ideology developed by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, since the last decades of the eighteenth century, many other scholars have investigated the link between women and economy. This is in an attempt to identify a 'golden age', in which females played a significant role in the economy and the labour market, and after which they were progressively marginalized and relegated to the domestic sphere. Even a cursory look at the literature on the topic elucidates that this (alleged) 'golden age' has been generally associated either with the Middle Ages or early modern times. This is to say that the ideology of the separate spheres in its multiple variations is a long-lasting *leitmotiv* of social, cultural and economic history and the premise for a longstanding historiographical debate. The remaining sections will focus on the relevant literature concerning early modern and modern western Europe with a special

attention to Italy, France and England. It will show that (Western) European households were, and probably still are (or have been until recently), a place where different kinds of work have been/are performed. By reconsidering the way in which women, men and children performed their jobs and organized their work, it is possible to show that the domestic sphere was connected to work in a range of different ways. Section three will explore how the concept of separate spheres has been criticized and mitigated by British historiography. In Great Britain the debate has been more intense, attracting the attention of several scholars, mostly because the country saw an early development of industrialization. Section four focuses on scholarly literature about Italy, France and other countries on the European continent. It will discuss how recent studies on gender and family history have called into question the unity and the uniqueness of the domestic sphere as a space of work and production. The section will outline that the recent attention given to the role of women, particularly independent businesswomen (whether or not integrated in the guild system), as well as a more attentive analysis of the allocation of chores performed within the household, have helped mitigate the general idea that husbands and wives of the middle and lower classes were always engaged in common activities which were necessarily ingrained in the context of the family industry. Although the household might have retained its importance as a place of work, women were not necessarily relegated to the domestic sphere.

The first subsection addresses the domestic sphere as a space of work by referring to an inclusive notion of labour that encompasses a range of home-based paid and unpaid jobs – performed for the family's well-being, whether to ensure self-sufficiency or to manufacture products for the market. It presents the results of a project recently undertaken by Anna Bellavitis, Manuela Martini and Raffaella Sarti concerning the nature and social and economic value of work performed by family members in the framework of a family business. The research discussed here has the merit of conveying the longevity of this specific working pattern, which predated the industrialization processes and persisted thereafter. This means that for a large segment of the labour force the domestic space has been, and probably still is, a space of work. However, particularly in the past, work in the domestic sphere and its economic and social value were shaped by hierarchies of gender, age and status of individuals within the family. Further evidence will illustrate the at least partial overlapping of domestic and work spaces, emphasizing the economic value of unpaid caregiving and housekeeping work performed by women within their households.

Finally, the last subsection describes the results of the Gender and Work project (GaW) supervised by Maria Ågren, which has applied the verb-oriented method of collecting and observing "verb phrases describing activities of work in the broad sense".[2] With this method it has been possible to "get data on people's daily activities, regardless of whether these were remunerated or not and regardless of whether the work was highly valued at the time or not".[3] The results of this project suggest that the separate sphere ideology does not adequately describe Swedish society in the long run, and propose to rethink the links between the domestic and work spheres in other preindustrial and industrial societies.

Overall, the chapter reveals a complex picture. On the one hand, for the middle and lower classes throughout early modern and modern (and in some cases also in today's) Europe the domestic sphere has, in general, been a space for work and production, where a range of different economic activities have been performed. At the same time, precisely for this reason, the domestic sphere has never been a place where femininity found its natural space and where women were relegated to after being expelled from the labour market. By considering a more inclusive notion of work and through an in-depth

study of the working paths of women and men, as well as of the division of work among household members, the domestic sphere emerges as a permeable space. It is much more susceptible to being influenced by the external environment than our contemporary notions of work and economy let us to assume. At the same time, the relationship between women and the economy cannot be described as a teleological movement towards female marginalization in the labour market and relegation to an alleged domestic and private sphere. Participation of women both in the labour market and in a range of (more or less) formal and informal economic activities was certainly shaped by different economic, social and cultural factors, which varied depending on different contexts and timeframes. The history of women's work, and more broadly the history of female participation in the economy, therefore, reveals a multifaceted notion of the domestic sphere.

State of research: the 'golden age' of women's work

The separate sphere ideology and the 'golden age' of women's work

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, studies on the Industrial Revolution, the impact of capitalism and the (alleged) emergence of middle-class cultural identity played a crucial role in identifying the development of the separate sphere ideology in these specific phenomena and their social and cultural consequences for European societies.[4] However, a more attentive survey of the literature on women and work will show that a number of scholars working on the Middle Ages and early modernity also attempted to identify a 'golden age' of women in the labour market, to pinpoint when females began to be relegated to the domestic sphere. What follows is an overview of this historiographical debate.

In her pioneering work written at the beginning of the twentieth century, Alice Clark highlighted the negative consequences of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution on women's work. She described three stages of this economic development: in the first stage, spanning the Middles Ages to the seventeenth century, members of a household worked jointly in the 'domestic industry', that is "what we would today call a subsistence economy, in which all production took place within the household and the family consumed everything is produced, without having to purchase additional supplies".[5] In the second, that of the 'family industry', "some members of the family worked for wages but that work, like domestic production, was still carried out mainly within the household, so work was still visibly shared by both spouses".[6] Both the domestic industry and family industry were based on the figure of the husband and father, head of the household, who ruled over all subordinates of the family (wife and children) as well as over the apprentices and servants living in the household who were considered part of the family. Finally, the third stage, which Clark labelled as the phase of 'capitalistic industry', began in the late seventeenth century. In this regime virtually all production was commercial and took place outside the home – in factories. Clark further affirmed that "the wives of the 'capitalist' class, who before had shared in their husbands' business, were now confined to domesticity".[7] In sum, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution had placed women and men in different situations. While women were relegated to the domestic and private space, men left their houses for work. The result was a separation of domestic space from working space, identifying the former with women (or rather with a specific cultural concept of femininity) and the latter with masculinity.

In 1930, adopting a more positive perspective, Ivy Pinchbeck claimed that the Industrial Revolution had led to the separation of home from workplace, which encouraged women to look for work outside their homes and therefore promoted female economic and social independence.[8] Subsequently, many other historians have subscribed to the idea of the Industrial Revolution and capitalism as turning points in the history of women's work. Bridget Hill, for example, clearly evoking Alice Clark's work, maintained that the end of the family economy marginalized women as a labour force and resulted in a decrease in employment opportunities.[9] In addition, other scholars pointed out that the Industrial Revolution not only "helped to promote separate spheres ideology" but, by emphasizing the family wage and encouraging restrictions to the labour market "redefine[d] and revitalize[d] patriarchal forces".[10]

In 1987, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's seminal work *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Classes* rekindled this debate. The two scholars claimed that the ideology of the separate spheres developed in the English middle class between 1750 and 1850 as a result of a growing separation between new forms of business and finance, and the household. They argued that "in manufacturing, the cannibalizing of modest independent workshops by larger, better financed concerns, spelt the doom for many female entrepreneurs", in a way that the role of women in the economy, particularly when they were married, became marginal.[11] Indeed,

> women were increasingly hampered by the growth in scale in manufacturing enterprises. They faced the increased problem of maintaining authority over a larger, more distanced workforce, the need to take a more active part in the formal market and the requirement for heavier capital input and for scientific and technical knowledge.[12]

The economic marginalization of women as a result of the emergence of capitalism went hand in hand with the revival of evangelical religion, which helped to shape specific ideals of masculinity and femininity. These corresponded with the expectation of certain ways of female and male behaviour. At the end of the nineteenth century "the expectation was that middle-class women should not be gainfully employed and many were able to retreat to a domesticated life in their suburban villas and gardens".[13]

As an additional consequence, the separate spheres ideology was further underpinned by the fact that large parts of the English middle classes moved away from unhealthy and overcrowded working-class quarters into new, elegant houses. These overlapping processes had dramatic consequences for women as economic actors. Indeed,

> women's identification with the domestic and moral sphere implied that they would only become active economic agents when forced by necessity. As the nineteenth century progressed, it was increasingly assumed that a woman who engaged in business was one either without an income of her own or a man to support her.[14]

As a result, women started to concentrate on housekeeping and monitoring the servants as well as on child-rearing and their children's education. These activities, which were part and parcel of domestic life, were considered neither economic activities nor actual work, and thus their economic value went unacknowledged. In this way the domestic sphere also became a space for morality, emotion, intimacy and caring, in contrast to the public sphere,

which was dominated by work, sociability etc. Davidoff and Hall's book triggered a heated debate. Their research referred to a specific social and economic context of the English middle class: the emergence of large-scale factories and the concentration of capital and labour force, which inevitably raises questions about the applicability of this concept to other social classes within the English society. This has been highlighted both by recent Anglophone literature on the topic, and in regard with other European contexts.[15]

Closely connected to the ideology of the separate spheres is the ideology of the breadwinner. While the natural place for women was the domestic sphere, intended for intimacy and caregiving, child rearing and housekeeping, men were expected to work and provide for the survival of the entire family. In a recent debate about the diffusion of the breadwinner family concept, scholars have shown that this was well-ingrained even before industrialization.[16] However, as the next sections will demonstrate, many other studies that adopt a more inclusive notion of work suggest not to confuse cultural prescriptions and models of behaviour – to which the breadwinner ideology belongs – with practices of everyday life. Emphasizing the economic value of female activities that contemporaries did not necessarily acknowledge as work or record under professional indicators, these studies have pointed out the importance of the economic contribution of both partners – as well as of the children – to the household economy.

Undoubtedly, the Industrial Revolution has been understood as a turning point in the history of women's work. Yet it would be misleading to conclude that the separate sphere ideology and subsequent devaluation of women's work were merely by-products of the social and economic phenomena connected to industrialization. Well before the second half of the eighteenth century, female work enjoyed very little social and economic recognition. Daryl Hafter has shown that since biblical times the work of women has been described as a service for the well-being of the family rather than as an economic activity.[17] Furthermore, over the last 30 years scholars have suggested different geographical and chronological patterns in order to explain the marginalization of women in the labour market – particularly in the guilds – and their subsequent relegation to an alleged domestic sphere. The so-called 'decline thesis', for example, has been analysed by Martha Howell and Merry Wiesner. According to Howell, production began to move out of the family in northern European cities during the late Middle Ages, which resulted initially in the marginalization and subsequently in the exclusion of women from the labour market. This happened simultaneously with the exclusion of women from guilds. When these institutions gained political power and started to be linked to citizenship women were expelled from the institutions and "lost access to public power".[18] Wiesner suggests that the exclusion of women from the labour market in German cities took place during the Renaissance, at a time when craftsmen started to become more specialized. Competition between men and women in the labour market increased, a new family model and specific ideal of femininity emerged following the Protestant Reformation.[19]

Beyond the separate spheres ideology: the Industrial Revolution in English historiography

In the last decades, women's and gender history has paved the way for an in-depth revision of both the separate spheres and the breadwinner ideologies, or rather these concepts have been put into perspective. The following gives an overview of a range of studies in order to show that public and private spaces, as well as the female and male roles connected to these spaces, were permeable notions in both pre-industrial European societies and industrializing

societies. Several studies have highlighted continuities and changes in female employment patterns during the pre-industrial age, mitigating the severity and rapidity of the social, economic and cultural changes that occurred concurrently with industrialization and urbanization processes. At the same time, they have reconceptualized in an inclusive and more flexible way the notion of work and, in doing so, challenged an excessively restrictive and closed concept of domestic space.

In recent years, many studies, unsurprisingly mainly focusing on England, have drastically reconsidered the connections between the Industrial Revolution, the economic marginalization of women and the development of the separate spheres ideology. A more mitigated understanding of the development and the impact of the Industrial Revolution has acknowledged the relevance of female employment and its crucial contribution to the economy during the industrialisation process.

At the same time, both continuities *and* changes in women's economic opportunities from the pre-industrial past to industrial societies have been emphasized. One of the most important and recent contributions to this debate is by Hannah Barker. In her two recent books *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England 1760–1830* (2006), and *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (2017) she provides an alternative, more stratified picture of the English labour market and economy during the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, Barker challenges the assumption that capitalism worsened the economic opportunities of women and marginalized them, at least in the case of English women from the middle and lower classes for whom the ideology of the separate spheres as described by Davidoff and Hall did not apply. Barker gives three arguments in support of her assumption. First, referring to important and recent findings on the Industrial Revolution, she points out many economic historians "propose a gradual and uneven industrializing process which took place over a much longer period and was marked more by continuity than by profound and rapid change".[20] This has encouraged scholars to reconsider the reliability of the notion of a 'golden age' for women in the labour market, instead emphasising continuity. According to one of the most influential scholars, Judith Bennet, women were required to cope with "profound and enduring disadvantages in their relations with men", at least since the Middle Ages and well before industrialization.[21] In this context, Pam Sharpe has pushed forward the debate. Rather than thinking in terms of 'continuity and change' about the economic history of women, she proposes to focus on crucial yet unexplored topics, such as the presence of women in proto-industry and the links between women's employment patterns and demography, and between consumption and property, as well as "to incorporate social, cultural and ideological factors".[22]

Barker's second point refers to the claim that industrialization gave birth to capitalism in the form of large and (localized) powerful firms with a range of stakeholders and complex financial systems. In contrast to this, she argues that

> in towns across Britain, the rapid urban growth and economic development that certain regions experienced between the last half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century was a process primarily driven by the proliferation of small, often family-run business.[23]

In other words, during the decades of the Industrial Revolution, small and medium-sized firms were the pillars of economic development. This means that families remained central to the organization of enterprises and businesses and that ultimately the domestic sphere was still a bubbling hub of economic activities for both men and women. Finally, by focusing

on women from the middle classes, Barker was able to show the pervasive and relevant presence of independent businesswomen in the English economy, particularly in small and medium-sized businesses, throughout the decades of the Industrial Revolution. Thus, although the economic context changed, women never left the labour market for the domestic sphere.[24]

Reassessing the role of the family industry: businesswomen and independent female workers

Women's history has profoundly changed and enhanced our understanding of the Industrial Revolution, and more generally of the economic growth that took place during those decades. However, the history of women's work has also called into question traditional and established assumptions of the economic history in continental Europe, particularly those linked to the separate spheres ideology. In the following I will discuss how recent literature has challenged two connected concepts: first, the role of the household as the only place for production in pre-industrial times; second, the idea that husband and wife from the middle and lower classes shared the same job or economic activity.

The pioneering outcomes of Anglophone historiography have been particularly successful in promoting research on women in business. Over the last years, numerous studies have investigated the economic and social role of women as independent businesswomen in early modern and modern times in a range of countries in continental Europe. These studies have questioned the separate spheres ideology, or rather, they have shown this concept to have been less a reality than a reaction to the new challenges posed by economic change at the turn of the nineteenth century. Independent businesswomen from the middle and lower classes were employed in a wide range of economic activities. They participated actively in the financial and credit market as well as in business investments. Others headed economic activities in craft and manufacturing or were traders and merchants; finally, many independent businesswomen, probably the majority of them, ran shops, inns, taverns and market stalls while others were peddlers or street-sellers.[25] Recent research on female guilds has produced similar results. In particular studies on French guilds have shown that here women were permitted to take over independent businesses and enjoyed juridical and economic autonomy. Interestingly, these works have also shown that not only widows but also a great number of married women were involved in independent businesses. Even if the topic requires further investigation, particularly regarding how these women were trained or were able to gather resources for their business, these works clearly elucidate that independent businesswomen represented a significant portion of the labour force in pre-industrial and industrializing societies.[26]

In parallel with this strand of research, the fertile dialogue between the history of women's work and legal history has led to interesting results on opportunities and obstacles faced by women in the economy due to their specific juridical status. Indeed, in early modern and modern Europe women, particularly married women, suffered, at least in theory, legal restrictions that hampered them from fully entering most economic sectors. As their legal persona was equivalent to that of minors, they were unable to conclude contracts and take part in economic activities without their husbands' authorization. Despite this, from northern Europe to southern Europe, different legal traditions acknowledged (by means of specific juridical devices or statuses) that married women were able to perform economic activity independently of their husbands. In many northern European contexts (England, Germany, Flanders and the Netherlands), for example, the law gave married

women who ran independent businesses the legal status of the *feme sole* or that of women traders (or *marchande publique* in French, 'public merchant').[27] As a result, women traders throughout Europe had the right to participate in economic activities on their own behalf, with their husbands' more or less formal and explicit permission. Particularly in France, married and unmarried women could acquire this status by becoming mistresses in a female guild. Guild members acquired "all of the rights of the *marchande publique*, as well as the benefits of the guild's collective legal personality". Thus, "guild membership endowed women with the same legal status as men for work-related issues".[28] There is evidence that the juridical figure of the *marchande publique* was also common in the cities of southern France, in Toulouse and in Provence.[29] In Italy, the local statuses of some Italian cities (Venice and Genoa, primarily due to their mercantile traditions, but also Bologna and Rome) recognized women as *mercatrix* (female merchants), while in the majority of Italian cities and towns, women's ability to act from an economic point of view was a *de facto* condition rather than a specific and formal legal status.[30] Only during the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the suppression of the Napoleonic Code, is the juridical figure of the female trader found in Italy, introduced together with the institution of marital authorization. This was necessary for married women who wished to be involved in economic activity.[31] Additionally, throughout Europe it was commonly accepted that married women could manage money, enter into business and sign contracts for the benefit of their households.

The renewed interest in female economic activities performed outside the household and as independent businesswomen clarifies another important point: even well before industrialization, not all members of middle- and lower-class families were employed in the family industry, the household economy or family businesses. In other words, husband and wife did not always share the same economic activity. In recent years, several studies have documented this aspect. In Italy, evidence of these dynamics has been found for late medieval Florence, Genoa and Treviso.[32] My own research on eighteenth-century Turin also confirms this. The analysis of the 1802 population census reveals that out of 1,270 couples in which both partners were engaged in an occupation, 48 per cent (equal to 611) shared the same activity. Out of 1,035 couples that requested poor relief at the *Ospedale di Carità* 36.5 per cent (378) were employed in the same business or economic activity. These percentages decrease when it comes to couples registered in marriage acts set up during the Napoleonic domination (1803–1814): here only 25 per cent of partners (518 couples out of a total of 2,024) were involved in the same activity. In the manufacturing/craft sector, couples typically shared a common activity when they were employed in textile production (silk weavers, ribbon and fringes makers, tailors and seamstresses had high rates of endogamy). In retail and trade, couples mostly worked together in selling foodstuff and running inns and taverns. There is, however, a possibility that the data exaggerate these correspondences, since husband and wife declaring the same occupation did not necessarily mean that they were employed together at the same place or by the same employer. They could easily have been working at different workshops or performing their activities in different environments, for example one of the partners in a workshop and the other one as a home-based worker. However, the data are consistent with findings for other European contexts. According to Peter Earle, who has investigated the female labour market in London, among 256 couples heard before the ecclesiastical court between 1695 and 1725, only 10 per cent (26 couples) shared the same job, a figure that rises to 15 per cent when including other related activities.[33] Similarly, according to Amy Erickson's findings, out of

86 couples appearing in criminal trials between 1730 and 1800, 17 per cent (15 couples) shared the same job or very similar activities.[34] We must also consider that between the two opposite ends of the spectrum were a range of working configurations involving couples that varied according to economic shifts, seasonal trends and different economic government policies. This mixture of home-based labour and work performed outside the household is a long-lasting feature of the labour market, documented for Turin and Paris during the nineteenth century and at least until the beginning of the twentieth century, therefore even during a period of advanced industrialization.[35]

The findings of the above cited studies suggest interesting conclusions for our investigation of the domestic space. They show that the role of the family unit as the foremost working space should not be overestimated. Furthermore, it is necessary to emphasize and better understand the presence of women (and men) in jobs that are not home-based, or at least not entirely home-based. The aforementioned research explains shifts in the patterns of female employment throughout the decades and depending on different geographic contexts as follows in Hannah Barker's words: "the image of women working solely within the domestic setting in the period before the industrial revolution is likely to be a distortion".[36] Secondly, these studies agree, more or less explicitly, on the concept of the two-occupational household. Although the idea of the family was based on the figure of the (male) head of the household responsible for the well-being and the good reputation of all the family members, wives and children were expected to contribute to the family's subsistence, with their work. Third, in this context the domestic sphere has never been understood as a bordered and isolated space or indeed one where women were segregated and marginalized. Rather, the domestic sphere has always been an environment with blurred boundaries, in constant dynamic exchange with other economic actors and institutions.

An inclusive notion of work: from family business to unpaid domestic work and care work

In France and Italy, the debate on the separate spheres ideology and the domestic sphere as a place of work has adopted an *inclusive notion of work* that encompasses different kinds of informal and visible economic activities and jobs. This includes the work performed by the family members in the family business as well as caregiving and housekeeping activities for the benefit of the household. This approach opposes, but does not contradict, the one described above because situations in which all family members were involved in the family business were (and still are) as widespread as those in which husband and wife were (and are) employed in unrelated activities. This perspective offers further evidence of the multilayered and complex links between the domestic and working spaces.

A recent research project coordinated by Anna Bellavitis, Manuela Martini and Raffaella Sarti has brought fresh resonance to the economic contribution made by women and children involved in family businesses.[37] While showing how widespread this kind of work was, they also discuss whether it was rewarded and received any kind of social recognition. The project adopts a long-term perspective, spanning from the Middle Ages to the present, and considers a wide range of different geographical contexts (France, Italy and Spain, but also Sweden, England, the Netherlands, Greece etc.). Of course, an abundant literature on the topic has demonstrated the significance of work performed by wives, daughters, widows and children in family businesses, as well as the importance of home-based work for the economy. Previous research has, for instance, shown that this specific

and relevant labour force existed across different geographical areas over several centuries. The household as a unit of production for the market, and more generally medium-sized and small family businesses such as workshops, shops, retails, trades, inns and taverns were (and are) a long-lasting feature in various European societies. These production units were able to survive after the end of the guild system and well after the beginning of the economic and social dynamics of the Industrial Revolution.[38] The longstanding existence of family businesses, therefore, offers evidence that the domestic sphere was connected to work.

Compared to previous research, the articles collected and published in the framework of the above-cited project have adopted a fresh approach. First, by emphasizing labour in the context of the family over a longer time period, these scholars have avoided to assume *a priori* that the pre-industrial period was the 'golden age' for women and home-based work. Secondly, the project has added nuance by highlighting the fact that understanding the household as a unit of production does not mean that all its members were equal, had the same rights or authority, or even cooperated harmoniously. On the contrary, hierarchies based on sex, age and birth order but also on the relationship with the head of the household influenced the internal dynamics of these businesses, resulting in a spectrum of relational dynamics and configurations, including tensions, conflicts and negotiations. Yet in this regard, historians face the problem that family members working in family businesses are scarcely visible in archival sources. Scholars have therefore discussed the use of historical sources in order to identify and quantify their presence. Moreover, it has become clear that the visibility/invisibility of family members in the labour force is gender biased and that, while the presence of sons and more generally of male members can be easily detected, it is far more difficult to evaluate the presence of wives, daughters and mothers, who were largely underestimated.

The participation of household members in the family business can be investigated and quantified through careful examination of notarial records such as emancipation deeds, wills, dowry or marriage settlements, *post-mortem* inventories and specific agreements signed between different parties[39]. Christine Werkstetter has conducted detailed analyses of the presence of and tasks performed by daughters, wives and widows among artisans in eighteenth-century Augsburg, based on archival material of seven different crafts and guilds.[40] Ariadne Schmidt has provided evidence of the importance of 'assisting labour' performed in family business by women, particularly wives, by analysing tax registers, population censuses and guilds archives of several Dutch cities between the sixteenth and the early nineteenth century.[41] In her study on glass-makers, Corine Maitte has shown how analysis of labour contracts can shed light on the role of women in family businesses.[42] Unsurprisingly, the situation of women changed according to their marital status. Widows were, on the whole, accurately recorded because of their specific legal status and the new position they acquired after their husbands' death in managing the business. In contrast, wives and daughters were often overlooked. A cross reference analysis of different, chronologically close sources might allow for a more reliable picture. During the last years, scholars have become more aware of the gender bias in sources and have shown that, from the Middle Ages onwards, this is a common and longstanding feature of fiscal, demographic and even religious sources.[43]

For Turin, a census of workshops carried out in 1792 provides information for 60 crafts, registering names and birth communities of masters, journeymen and apprentices.[44] It also shows the importance of kinship ties. Sons, sons-in-law, brothers and nephews of the master were recorded as apprentices, journeymen or associates in the majority of crafts. Gian

Battista Reondo, master ribbon-maker, ran his business with the help of his two sons, Francesco and Agostino (together with Lorenzo Martini, a labourer) while Gaspare and Antonio Gerard were brothers and associates in a jeweller's business that also employed three labourers. Concerning women, 76 widows headed a workshop in a variety of crafts including bakers (18), silk weavers (12), shoemakers (nine), spirit-makers (five), food retailers (five), blacksmiths (four) and jewellers (four). However, data are less explicit with regard to masters' wives, siblings and daughters: only a few cases have been recorded in this respect. In the workshop of the silk weaver Giuliano Mariano, 13 journeymen and apprentices worked together with Orsola Mariano, Giuliano's *wife*. Similarly, the Vincenzo Tesio's workshop consisted of his *daughter* Laura and his son Giuseppe as well as three other female workers. In the tripery of Francesco Lanza, his *wife* Giacinta, the couple's two *children*, Domenico and Genoveffa, and a servant were registered as workers while Gioanna Carbonina ran a smithy with three workers, declaring she worked on behalf of her husband, who was "absent from the Kingdom".[45] Aside from these cases, the majority of women and girls involved in family businesses remain sidelined. Cross referencing the names of artisans recorded in the 1792 survey with the population census of 1802 provides evidence of the presence of masters' wives, mothers and daughters, who worked in the shop but were not explicitly registered. Pastry maker Bartolomeo Rachetto, for example, declared in 1792 that he ran the shop with the help of his son, but ten years later his wife Margherita and a second son were also recorded as pastry-makers in the family business. In 1792, the master silk weaver, Agostino Attis, employed four labourers and his son, Agostino Giuseppe, in his workshop while his wife, Teresa, was also recorded as a silk weaver in the population census (whereas Agostino Giuseppe did not declare his own job here). Similarly, in 1792, Gioacchino Bonetto was head of a shop consisting of four journeymen and his son Domenico but, according to the 1802 census, his wife Marianna was also employed in silk weaving, together with another son.

A further problem concerns the economic and social rewards given to this family-based labour force. More than 20 years ago, the feminist scholars Christine Delphy and Diane Leonard introduced the notion of 'unpaid work' to describe economic and social relations among household members in contemporary France, particularly those working in farming and animal husbandry.[46] According to Delphy and Leonard, unpaid work refers to a range of activities performed by women and children – and other dependents living under the same roof – *in* and *for* the household, clearly including direct and informal contributions of family members in workshops, retail shops, farms or other businesses.

This notion is also pertinent for the past: scholars commonly agree on the fact that family members did not receive a so-called salary for their work. Pre-industrial societies did not have a specific juridical approach to the topic, and no law regulated this kind of work. In her study on 'married women as unpaid artisans' in sixteenth-century Lyon, Natalie Zemon Davis notes that "families accounting their household and workshop expenses together could conceive of the idea of a salary for wives, even if it were not used".[47] Nevertheless, in specific situations the economic value of work performed by the wife in the workshop could be estimated, for example in criminal justice trials.[48] Things were further complicated by a cultural factor: work performed by family members was described by expressions such as 'love for the family' and 'filial piety', not forgetting that, according to the Napoleonic family code, it was the wife's duty to assist her husband without being paid. This kind of work was not deemed worthy of a salary and was described as 'familial intimacy' or 'marital duty'.[49]

Research based on pre-industrial notarial archives has shown that, among middle and lower classes, wills provided the opportunity to thank and reward wives and other family members (though not exclusively) for their work in the family business.[50] For example, in his will from September 1751, Gio Batta Martinone, living in Turin, left his adult children 50 livres each while he named his wife Caterina the sole heir of his estate. Gio Batta explained that Caterina had always supported the family with her work; namely, she had worked hard in the shoemaker's shop and run it successfully, particularly when her husband fell ill and was no longer able to work.[51] Similarly, Giuseppe Rocchietti, an innkeeper, bequeathed to his daughter-in-law Maria Caudiano 300 livres in his will from April 1748, "by way of gratitude and reward for her hard work in managing the inn" that Giuseppe owned in Turin.[52] In the same way, wills could be used to punish a son who had failed to contribute to the family business. Such was the case of Gio Spilman, a shoemaker, who, in his first will from May 1755, ordered that his eldest son Felice would not be his universal heir because "he was not yet well economically established" and married without the permission of the father.[53]

Furthermore, household members were treated differently, according to their sex, age and position. Some studies have argued that the share of inheritance or dowry was given as remuneration for the work boys and girls performed in the family business. In eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Catalonia, for example, the firstborn son was the heir of the family business, while siblings received a 'legitim' – a portion of their father's and mother's assets. Daughters obtained their share in the form of a dowry paid upon marriage, while sons received their 'legitim' when they set up an independent business or got married. In both cases, however, the 'legitim' was understood as the remuneration for their contribution in running the family business or shop. Conversely, daughters and sons who remained unmarried and stayed in the paternal house did not receive a 'legitim', "but all their needs were covered".[54] Moreover, *post mortem* inventories show further differences between unmarried daughters and sons. While the former did not have any assets or money, the latter could count on cash and credit for loans, which suggests sons typically "received a salary and had benefitted from the profits" of the household business.[55]

At any rate, while it is clear that bequests and inheritances were declared as rewards, they cannot be considered wages. Yet, a complex mixture of cultural and juridical factors explains why the head of household tended to prudently delay paying his daughters and sons for their work. In areas that followed the tradition of Roman civil law, sons and daughters remained under their father's authority until he died, unless they were released by means of a formal act of emancipation. Sandra Cavallo's research on Turinese artisans and traders demonstrates that a father could claim the salary of an unemancipated son to ensure his own support and that of his other children.[56] Furthermore, according to Corine Maitte's study on family businesses in the Duchy of Tuscany, the contribution of children and wives to the family business was certainly recognized, but it did not challenge or lessen marital or paternal authority.[57] The head of the household also used 'double standards' when it came to rewarding family members for the tasks they performed and time allotted to the family business. This suggests the educational and training patterns of children were also gender-based, as well as being defined by cultural and social expectations.

The fact that family workers were not given a wage is a long-term situation in the history of the family economy, so much so that the topic is still at the heart of sociological and anthropological debates. From the historical perspective, the problem dates back to the pre-industrial age, although the authorities started to pay attention to this issue only at the beginning of the twentieth century.[58] As Martini noted "the legal recognition of unpaid

women's work faced several forms of resistance".[59] The reason for this was the prevailing idea that work for the family business was grounded in the mutual aid and solidarity between members of the family rather than in economic criteria used in the labour market.

Finally, the project run by Bellavitis, Martini and Sarti has shown that family workshops/shops were open to external individuals, namely apprentices and co-resident servants. The household is thus configured as a dynamic space – a locus of interaction with people coming in from outside. Abundant literature on this topic has shown that apprentices and domestic workers living in their masters' households were a common and longstanding feature in Europe and that the phraseology of apprenticeship contracts evokes the ties that bonded family members to the head of the household.[60] However, although contracts were based on the language of familiarity and intimacy, studies have also clarified that the nature of labour relationships, working times and payments varied greatly between contexts and time periods. Moreover, it is evident that apprenticeship contracts were often pieces of legal fiction, since what was established by the contract rarely matched actual practice. On the other hand, these same contracts could serve to strengthen the links between work and domesticity, as these agreements potentially required the apprentice to perform domestic tasks, run for errands and even look after the master's children. In other words, the apprentice's involvement in their master's family life obscured the boundaries between domestic and working space.[61]

So far we have discussed the domestic sphere as a place of work, focusing on market-oriented labour. However, in the last few decades, research on women's and gender history has shown that the notion of work can be expanded to comprise a range of other activities that, albeit not market-oriented, should not be overlooked since they also had economic value (whether or not acknowledged by contemporaries). These non-market-oriented activities offer further evidence of the intersections between the domestic sphere, labour, and, more broadly, the economic sphere. The household was *par excellence* a place where specific unpaid activities, such as housekeeping and caregiving, were performed.

As mentioned above, Christine Delphy and Diane Leonard have introduced the notion of 'unpaid work' to describe the work performed by family members in a family business, or more precisely the work performed by women, children and other dependents living under the same roof *in* and *for* the household. Thus, unpaid work *includes* domestic work carried out by women as caregivers, for the well-being of the family and the upkeep of the house. It also refers to the "emotional, sexual and reproductive labour" of wives.[62] This specific definition of 'unpaid work' has been at the core of the contemporary debate on productive and reproductive work and the social movement it has triggered.[63] For the purpose of this chapter, taking into account 'unpaid work' (irrespective of its economic value), which has not been sufficiently investigated for past societies, can provide further evidence that the domestic and work spheres overlapped.

'Making a living'

In parallel with the development of studies employing an inclusive notion of work, a research project recently developed at the University of Stockholm under the supervision of Maria Ågren, entitled the Gender and Work project (GaW), has given a solid contribution to the debate about women's and men's work. Furthermore, GaW has fostered the development of a more problem-oriented and flexible notion of the household, and therefore has been instrumental in reshaping our understanding of the domestic sphere in pre-industrial societies. Inspired by the work of Sheilagh Ogilvie, the project is based on

a verb-oriented method that involves the collection of verb phrases describing activities of work in the broad sense. It thus takes into account those practices whose end "was to secure a living for the person concerned and those near him or her".[64] This methodological approach adopts the results of recent findings that "women's work tends to become invisible if one conceptualizes 'work' as activities for which payment was given and/or as activities that were officially acknowledged as work".[65] This encouraged scholars to look for new sources and new methodologies, in particular "to find other indicators of what people did to support themselves in the past".[66] The project has used Swedish court records, accounts, petitions and diaries from 1550 to 1799. The results, presented in several articles and an edited volume, are paramount to our understanding of the links between the domestic and work spheres.[67] In terms of how women and men made a living, the GaW database clearly shows that the concept of the household as a well-organized and self-sufficient unity of production, consumption and reproduction can no longer be maintained when considering pre-industrial Swedish society. Clearly, the notion of the household as an orderly unit "serve[d] political interests in the early modern world", but its importance might have been overestimated due to two cultural reasons. First, the tax system "emphasize[d] the household unit and the head of the household" and, second, the symbolic importance of the household was supported by teachings of the Reformed Church.[68] By identifying multiple and varied economic connections between individuals and households, and showing how these economic activities helped foster networks of cooperation and dependence, scholars of the GaW project argue that the definition of the household should be problematized, since "neither their borders nor their internal power structure can be taken for granted".[69] In other words, "households were not self-sufficient monoliths but, rather, dynamic groups of people that had to be flexible to meet varying economic conditions and also ready to interact with people from other households".[70]

The project has furthermore identified another connection between the domestic and work sphere: the term 'wife' not only referred to the marital status but was also used to describe a woman with 'capacity to govern'; a woman who could perform managerial work as 'governor' of the household. Alexandra Shepard has reached similar conclusions in her research on early modern English society. She maintains that it is necessary to recognize "the occupational dimension of 'housewifery'", that is the fact that wives "were assigned responsibility for saving, increasing and accounting for goods".[71] Clearly, this topic needs further investigation. It is still unclear whether the notion of 'housewifery', or condition of 'being the wife of', socially and economically acknowledged female activities, or whether it simply reflected what was considered 'natural female duties' – that is, housekeeping and the capacity to govern and manage a house. Certainly, in many situations these kinds of activities did not entitle women to a salary. Simona Feci, for example, has observed that according to the early modern jurist Zacchia, "wives administering their husbands' assets should receive no salary for such work. Wives were in fact required to obey their husbands and carry out all the activities relevant to their households".[72] This was valid up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Suffice to say that the Napoleonic Code reinforced the duty of wives to assist their husbands.[73] However, acknowledgement of this specific activity as actual work is further evidence of the fact that in early modern and modern societies the domestic sphere was also a working space.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that for early modern and modern western Europe, far from being two separate loci of production, the domestic and work spheres were two

interconnected and dynamic *milieux*. By reviewing the recent historiographical production on the topic, it has shed light on scholars' interest in finding a turning point after which women were relegated to the domestic sphere. Scholars have maintained the idea that females belonging to the domestic sphere went hand in hand with the economic segregation and marginalization of women in the labour market. According to such a view, this marked the end of the so-called 'golden age' and a clear-cut separation, at least for women, of domestic space and the working sphere. However, the debate cannot be resolved with a simple answer. Different studies have in turn resulted in different findings, which vary according to geographical, social and economic contexts and time periods. Ultimately, it is impossible to identify a unique pattern, in spite of the attempts made by Davidoff and Hall, whose study is still the most well-known and debated work. In the last decades several studies have put aside investigations on the origins of the 'separate spheres ideology'. Instead, they have shown, from different points of view, that the links between the domestic and work spheres were blurred, unclear and ambiguous. On the one hand, studies on women's work, particularly those on businesswomen and the range of the activities that women and men performed for 'making a living' – whether or not these were considered a proper job by contemporaries, have challenged the role of the household as the only place for pre-industrial production. At the same time, they have called the idea that husbands and wives from the middle and lower classes shared the same job or economic activity into question. The GaW project in particular has provided important evidence that the household was not a self-sufficient unit and that its members were connected to other individuals and households through multiple socio-economic ties. On the other hand, other studies have argued that in early modern and modern times, the domestic sphere was also a working space. Meaningful results have been obtained by employing an inclusive notion of labour that encompasses not only the work of family members in the family business but also other kinds of home-based work and activities for the household performed mostly by women (namely housekeeping and caregiving) whose economic value was (and often still is) unrecognized.

Notes

1 The author acknowledges the funding received from the Marie Skłodowska-Curie programme under Horizon 2020 (FemEcoMig project n. 703737).

2 Maria Ågren, "The Complexities of Work: Analyzing Men's and Women's Work in the Early Modern World with the Verb-Oriented Method", in Raffaella Sarti, Anna Bellavitis and Manuela Martini (eds.), *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (Amsterdam: Berghahn Books, 2018) pp. 226–42 (227).

3 Ågren, "The Complexities of Work", p. 227.

4 For England this topic has been discussed in depth by Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *The Historical Journal* 36, 2 (1993), pp. 383–414.

5 Amy L. Erickson, "Introduction", in Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. VII–LV (VIII).

6 Erickson, "Introduction", p. VIII.

7 Erickson, "Introduction", p. IX.

8 Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (London: Routledge, 1930).

9 Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); for a useful introduction to the topic see Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, "Introduction", in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 1–28.

10 Hannah Barker, "Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution: Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades, c. 1700–1840", in Barker and Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 81–100 (82).
11 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Classes*, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 273.
12 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 304.
13 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. XIV, "Introduction".
14 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 272.
15 Vickery asks "whether the mid-Victorian gentry differed so markedly in life-style and outlook from wealthier merchants, manufacturers and professionals". In Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Sphere?", p. 395.
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18 Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Martha C. Howell, "Citizenship and Gender: Women's Political Status in Northern Medieval Cities", in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), *Women and Power in Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 37–60; quoted in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, "Introduction", in ibid., pp. 2–3.
19 Merry Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986).
20 Barker and Chalus, "Introduction", p. 13.
21 Judith Bennet, "'History That Stands Still': Women's Work in the European Past", *Feminist Studies* 14, 2 (1988), pp. 269–83 (271).
22 Pam Sharpe, "Continuity and Change: Women's History and Economic History in Britain", *Economic History Review* XLVIII, 2 (1995), pp. 353–69 (363).
23 Hannah Barker, "Gender and Business During the Industrial Revolution", in Deborah Simonton (ed.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 47–57 (53).
24 Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England 1760–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
25 In addition to the work by Barker see Robert Beachy, Béatrice Craig and Alastair Owens (eds.), *Women, Finance and Business in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Rethinking Separate Spheres* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands 1580–1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007); Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, *Travail et propriété des femmes en temps de crise (Turin, XVIIIe siècle)* (Mont-Saint-Aignan: PURH, 2014), esp. chap. 4; Jane Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century England: Engagement in the Urban Economy* (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2016); Carole Gold, *Women in Business in Early Modern Copenhagen, 1740–1835* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculum Press, 2018).
26 Clare H. Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Hafter, *Women at Work*; Daryl Hafter, "Stratégies pour un emploi: travail féminin et corporations à Rouen et à Lyon", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 54, 1 (2007), pp. 98–115.
27 Merry Wiesner, *Working Women*; Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business 1700–1850* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006); Van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship*.
28 Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, p. 224; see also Hafter, *Women at Work*.
29 Jean-Philippe Agresti, *Les régimes matrimoniaux en Provence à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Contribution à l'étude du droit et de la pratique notariale en pays de droit écrit* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires d'Aix-Marseille, 2009); Kathryn L. Reyerson, "Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier", in Barbara Hanawalt (ed.), *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 117–44.
30 Guido Rossi, "Status de la femme dans l'histoire du droit italien: Époque médiévale et moderne", in Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, *La femme*, II partie (Bruxelles: Éditions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1962), pp. 115–34; on female merchants and investors in Venice see Paula Clarke, "Le 'mercantesse' di Venezia nei secoli XIV e XV", *Archivio Veneto* 143

(2012), pp. 67–84; Linda Guzzetti, "Gli investimenti delle donne veneziane nel medioevo", *Archivio Veneto* 143 (2012), pp. 41–66.
31 Monica Fioravanzo, "Sull'autorizzazione maritale: Ricerche sulla condizione giuridica femminile nell'Italia unita", *Clio* 4 (1994), pp. 63–111; Maura Palazzi, "Economic Autonomy and Male Authority: Female Merchants in Modern Italy", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 7, 1 (2002), pp. 17–36; Maria Rosaria De Rosa, *A tempo debito: Donne, uomini, relazioni di credito a Napoli tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Rome: Viella, 2017).
32 Denise Bezzina, "The Artisan Family in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Genoa: A Reappraisal", *Genesis* 16, 2 (2017), pp. 111–30. Bezzina calls into question the artisan family model described by Diane Owen Hughes. See Diane Owen Hughes, "Ideali domestici e comportamento sociale: testimonianze della Genova medievale", in Charles E. Rosenberg (ed.), *La famiglia nella storia: Comportamenti sociali e ideali domestici* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), pp. 147–83; for Florence see Isabelle Chabot, "'Breadwinners': Familles florentines au travail dans le Catasto de 1427", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 128, 1 (2016); for Treviso see Mathieu Scherman, *Famille et travail à Trévise à la fine du Moyen Âge vers 1434 – vers 1509* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2013).
33 Peter Earle, "The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries", *Economic History Review* XLII, 3 (1989), pp. 305–27 (338).
34 Amy L. Erickson, "Married Women's Occupations in Eighteenth-Century London", *Continuity and Change* 23, 2 (2008), pp. 267–307 (272–73).
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36 Barker, "Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution", p. 84.
37 Manuela Martini and Anna Bellavitis (eds.), "Household Economies, Social Norms and Practices of Unpaid Market Work in Europe From the Sixteenth Century to the Present", *The History of the Family* 19 (2014); Anna Bellavitis, Manuela Martini and Raffaella Sarti (eds.), "Familles laborieuses: Rémunération, transmission et apprentissage dans les ateliers familiaux dès la fin du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaines en Europe", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 128, 1 (2016), cf. https://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/2366, last accessed 21 March 2020; Sarti, Bellavitis and Martini (eds.), *What Is Work?*; Manuela Martini, *Bâtiment en famille: Migrations et petite entreprise en banlieu parisienne au XXe siècle* (Paris: CNRS édition, 2016).
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45 All these examples have been taken from the census of Turinese workshops carried out in 1792. AST, I sez., *Commercio*, II add., m. 2, *Volume contenente li nomi, cognomi*.
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6

LOWER STATE SERVANTS AND HOME OFFICE WORK

Maria Ågren

Introduction

In the modern world, the 'home office' is something of an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms, even if many who are self-employed have home offices where they do their work with the help of computers and telephones. The expected arrangement is, nonetheless, for domestic and professional life to be separate from each other: that people eat and sleep and enjoy their leisure in or near their homes, and work and earn a living away from home. This expectation is especially strong if we do not think of office work in general but specifically of government office work. The White House and 10 Downing Street are such well-known sites of power that we take them for granted, but on reflection, is it not rather odd how central government office space and the domestic spheres of president or prime minister are co-located? Is it not strange and at the same time thrilling to think that important decisions of state and everyday family matters take place under the same roof?

We expect the domestic and the professional sphere to be spatially separate from each other because we think of them as ruled by different logics. When the professional sphere is also part of a public, political sphere, as it is in the case of government work, this expectation is even stronger. We fear what might happen if private and public interests come into conflict. Terms for such conflicts are nepotism and corruption, words that are integral to the history of bureaucratization. Assumedly guided by strict rules of impartiality, the bureaucrat's office work is understood as the very opposite of arbitrary and personalized rule. In professionalized democratic society we expect that the difference between private and public interest is unnegotiable. Consequently, we also expect private space and public space to coincide as little as possible.

This distinction is, however, a result of history. A number of historical processes explain our propensity to construe 'domestic' as the opposite of 'professional', just as we construe 'private' as the opposite of 'public'. Before these historical processes were completed, people were not surprised to find state offices taken care of in places that were also the residences of the office holders: modest rooms in poorly insulated wooden buildings or more impressive houses that did however serve many different purposes depending on what particular sidelines the state servant had. State servants carried out work tasks at home and brought work material to their homes; conversely, they could both sleep and take care of

their children in places of work. Such practices make it difficult to identify exactly where the domestic sphere was located. Moreover, the unclear line between home and office allowed for a gender division of work that differs from modern ideas about state service. Such unclear lines can shed new light on practices often classified as dubious or outright illegal. On the other hand, as this chapter will show, the distinction between private and public was not completely absent in the early modern period. The history of the home office is therefore a history of how the distinction has been negotiated in different contexts and with various outcomes.

State of research

The history of the home office is located at the intersection of at least four grand narratives. The first notes how workplace and home were separated from each other historically, being an integral part of the rise of capitalism. Going back to Karl Marx, this account links the separation of workplace and home to changes in the organization of production, i.e. to industrialization and the creation of a working class. Contrary to proto-industry, proper industrial work could not take place in homes; it was too large-scale, required expensive machinery and was often dangerous. It had to be located outside of people's homes. This narrative has influenced the historiography of women's work, as seen for example in the writings of Alice Clark for whom the separation of home and workplace serves as an explanation for the decline in women's status and influence over time.[1] The second tells of a new domestic sphere being constructed alongside a new public sphere. This story has its roots in the works of Jürgen Habermas, who links the distinction to the rise of a new bourgeoisie and to new forms of politics.[2] Later, the distinction between private/public was connected to new gender ideals that placed middle-class men in the public political sphere while middle-class women were confined to the domestic sphere. Here, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's work *Family Fortunes* should be mentioned; they show how the creation of new suburban areas allowed upper middle-class families to establish a spatial distinction between home and work. On the other hand, in the absence of limited liability, 'household matters' and 'enterprise matters' were not clearly distinguishable in these families. Davidoff and Hall also provide many examples of how lower middle-class women worked for the good of their households, despite gender ideals that increasingly depicted men as the only ones who had occupations and worked for money. By contrast, upper middle-class women were, almost by definition, at home full time, although this did not exclude engagement in charity work.[3]

Thirdly, there is the complex narrative of European state formation with the accumulation and exploitation of various forms of resources by the state as one main topic and the state's need for legitimacy as another. This narrative in turn contains the sub-narrative of bureaucratization that goes back to the works of Max Weber. Weber identified three main ideal types of government – traditional, charismatic and legal – and regarded modern rational bureaucracy as an example of the third type. Particularly interesting from the perspective of this volume is Weber's conclusion that in modern bureaucracy (whether in state administration or in private companies), a clear line of demarcation is drawn between the office and the home. Weber described rational bureaucracy as the result of a historical process entangled in the process of state formation, pointing out how the role of state servants developed from what was originally the role of 'private' servants in princely households. According to Weber, it took a long time before state servants regarded themselves as servants not of a person (the monarch) but of an impersonal entity (the state).

The introduction of a basic but predictable salary, career advancement based on meritocratic principles, fulltime employment and uniform application of general laws were among the most important steps in the development of well-functioning bureaucracy.[4] Related to bureaucratization is, fourthly, the subtheme of corruption, a phenomenon that is the opposite of bureaucracy in its ideal form but nonetheless very important both historically and in contemporary societies. One way of describing corruption is to say that it is the undue mixing of private and public interests. Both historians and political scientists have contributed to the scholarship on bureaucratization and practices of corruption, but few have adopted a gendered perspective in doing so. Finally, there is a new type of historiography that looks at state administration and bureaucracy from a cultural perspective, stressing the role of social contacts, emotions and communication.[5] While not necessarily addressing the distinction private/public, this strand of research nevertheless problematizes its usefulness.

It is impossible to summarize the exhaustive historical scholarship on these four narratives that provides the general backdrop to the more specific questions addressed in this chapter. In the following, this chapter discusses how the lives of lower state servant families were organized in terms of home and work, understood both as place and as time. Where did lower state servants work, and how did demands on their time affect the organization of work? The contribution also investigates how the lives of these families were organized in terms of 'private' and 'public', understood as interests. To what extent were private and public interests confused, and what were the reasons for this? Thus, 'the domestic' is analysed from the three angles of place, time and interest. Chronologically, focus is on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; geographically, the empirical cases are mainly from Sweden, as well as including examples from Britain and German-speaking areas. By this approach, the third narrative, on state formation, and its sub-narrative of bureaucratization, is most relevant to the chapter. However, since the gender perspective is under-articulated in the historiography of state formation, it is useful to also take into account the first and second narrative. It is not the purpose of this analysis to discuss whether home and office, private and public, were distinct from each other during the period in question. Historical research has already established that they were not. Instead, what this chapter will focus on is, first, how the boundary between home and work was negotiated in everyday life and, second, how the distinction between private and public became important in specific situations.

Many of the examples used in this contribution are from state official families at the lower end of the customs administration. For this reason, the scholarship on customs and excise and their administration in early modern Europe is of relevance.[6] For Britain, John Brewer's analysis of state finances and public debt in the eighteenth century (*The Sinews of Power*) is an important contribution to the field. Brewer's overarching claim is that the British eighteenth-century state based its economy on public debt secured by incomes from customs and excise. Since, according to Brewer, the levy of these forms of tax was so efficiently organized, creditors trusted the British state and were willing to lend money against low interest rates. Customs and excise increased massively between 1680 and 1780, both in terms of income to the state's coffers and the number of civil servants who administered these taxes. Brewer shows in detail how the levy of excise was organized and claims that the excise administration lived up to Weberian standards of a well-functioning bureaucracy. Clearly, customs and excise were very important to the British government, and the civil servants who handled these taxes were very important too. In this context, Brewer makes an interesting observation that the Excise Board was the government

department that accounted for most contacts with the public;[7] as we will see, the same was true in other places too. People came into contact with the state when they had to pay these taxes, and in these situations the state was represented by customs officials. The contact zones between state and society allow us to discuss how home and work were entangled in the early modern period: how the homes of state servants were indistinct from their work spaces, and how the domestic spaces of customs payers were invaded by professionals representing the state.

Examples and results

Home and work as uses of place

A key characteristic of Weber's ideal-typical 'bureaucratic administration' is the strict separation between officials' private homes and their office rooms. Civil servants had to physically move from one place to another in order to get to work. They did this either by going to another building or (and this applies to the White House and Downing Street) into specially designated rooms, leaving their family, belongings and private persona behind. This idea of spatial separation is central to the concept and even to the term of bureaucratization: specialized office work is assigned to a special place – the bureau or *das Büro*.

Among both higher and lower state servants it was difficult to uphold this distinction during the early modern period. One tangible reason for this was the lack of well-built and well-heated houses. We know that in wintertime the Swedish state occasionally allowed its servants to work from home. Otherwise, the state would have been forced to provide heating material for office buildings. For example, customs official Johan Andersson in southern Sweden described in the 1670s how he worked from home, in a room where "my wife and children and other household members were to keep warm".[8] Swedish court cases sometimes even suggest that officials did their work in bed, probably to keep warm. The combination of a harsh climate and an underfinanced state administration made for unconventional solutions that involved mixing home and work spaces.

In eighteenth-century England too, state servants in the customs administration brought their papers home.[9] At the same time in the Habsburg Empire, new administrative reforms prohibited state officials from working at home. Instead, the state introduced purpose-built office buildings. In 1787, an observer in Vienna described how thousands of state servants walked to their offices precisely at half past nine every morning.[10] Clearly, both the recently introduced regulations and the new buildings suggest that Viennese state officials had previously worked from home (or outdoors). The same had been true of many German cities.[11]

In eighteenth-century Sweden, rules were in place to prevent customs officials from bringing documents home which should be kept in the office. Swedish court cases show that these rules were sometimes difficult to enforce. In reports on fires – a frequent calamity in early modern cities and towns – we sometimes find remarks about how public documents that had been kept in the homes of public servants were subsequently destroyed when the house lay in ashes.[12] Cases like these indicate that working from home was something to which people in public offices often resorted.

The fact that the government had office buildings constructed in the Habsburg Empire during the late eighteenth century illustrates that initially the state did not always have sufficient resources to set up its own official buildings. Instead, it had to borrow houses that belonged to state officials or their families. This was, for example, the case in small Swedish

towns like Strängnäs, Kajana and Nådendal where the state collected customs from privately owned houses. Whether the central customs administration liked it or not, it had to harness private resources to fulfil state functions.[13] These practices created contact zones between home and work, private and public: customs payers had to enter private houses where they encountered both the state, in the form of an official, and the official's family in their private surroundings.

These examples show that officials brought work to their homes. Yet they also brought their homes to work. There is evidence that customs officials used their offices (if they had offices) as places to sleep, sometimes even together with family members; whether this was because their homes were too small and too cold or because the father had to combine his paid work for the state with taking care of his children is not always clear.[14] It is, however, clear that they used allegedly professional spaces for private ends and that – in contrast to Weber's ideas about rational bureaucracy – they cannot have devoted all of their time and attentiveness to their office work. Particularly illustrative of how home and work could merge is the example of elementary school teachers in Austria who officially resided inside the school buildings. The 1812 instructions for schools in the Austrian Hereditary Lands read that schools "should be arranged so that the 'domestic business of [the teacher's] wife, his children and his servants do not disturb the pupils and [so] that the schoolroom is not used for any other purpose than teaching'".[15] It is unlikely that such rules would have been laid down had teachers not sometimes allowed the domestic business of their households to interfere with their work. In Sweden, similar housing arrangements for teachers were put in place over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Thus, many lower state servants brought their work home and some brought their homes to work. However, for customs officials, domestic spheres and professional spheres were particularly entangled. It was part of their job to prevent the evasion of excise, and this task forced them to control various forms of production at the source. For instance, excise was due for commercially produced beer, and in England the production took place at large plants. Specially appointed 'excisemen' controlled the production on site.[16] In Sweden, by contrast, the commercial production of beer was not done on a large scale and often took place in private homes; nonetheless, excise was due in these cases too, and customs officials would regularly inspect the homes of citizens. Swedish customs officials were also responsible for the levy of customs on domestic trade, which involved checking that goods were only sold in designated urban markets places. To prevent fraud and tax evasion, officials had to search the vehicles and luggage of travellers. They also patrolled streets and customs gates. If they found goods that the owner had not declared for custom, these goods were promptly confiscated.

Such intrusions into people's homes and belongings often provoked hostility and threats from the citizens who perceived the practices of disturbing their private lives and domestic spheres as highly offensive. In seventeenth-century England, excisemen were called names such as caterpillars, frogs and locusts – biblical plagues that conjured up images of insatiable and avaricious monsters. Yet within only a short time, English excisemen seem to have become more accepted.[17] In Sweden, by contrast, complaints about the impolite, intrusive and even violent behaviour of customs officials continued throughout the eighteenth century. In Västerås, for instance, a tradesman attacked a customs official in 1715, heaping invectives on the state servant for stopping him at the customs gate. In 1744 in the same city, a married woman attacked another lower customs official, calling him dishonourable and crooked. On the other hand, customs officials were also reported to court for having used foul language when speaking to citizens. The levy of customs and excise clearly caused

emotions to run high. Just like English excisemen, Swedish customs officials were often depicted as thieves and dishonest persons, yet what people most disapproved of was not primarily the aspect of taking the property of someone else, but of invading someone else's private domain.[18]

As we have seen, home and work were entangled spatially in the everyday lives of lower state servants such as customs officials and teachers. In many cases, governments clearly accepted the situation, even if over time they attempted to create a clearer line of demarcation between home and work, for instance by erecting purpose-built official houses where government work was intended to take place. The fact that emotions ran high when officials intruded into private homes suggests that people did indeed harbour ideas of a private sphere that ought to be protected against any form of attack from the outside. Home and work were certainly not distinct, nor did they always coexist harmoniously.

Home and work as uses of time

According to Max Weber, another criterion of bureaucracy is specialization and full-time employment. Weber and the scholarship following him conceptualize office holders in well-developed bureaucracies as specialists who are able to devote all of their time to their narrow field of expertise. Office holders are expected not to engage in other, competing ways of making a living. Of course, every employer wants his employees to do what they are paid to do and nothing else. In the context of state formation and bureaucratization, however, there is a particularly strong emphasis on the importance of full-time employment based on concerns of corruption. The literature on bureaucracy generally assumes that the chief reason for extortion and the acceptance of bribes is insufficient remuneration of state servants. Low incomes and low standards of living are, according to this view, what tempts and bends the state servant: "it is now virtually a dogma among administrative reformers to cite the low income of civil servants as an incentive to corruption". Bureaucracy cannot function well unless there is a well-functioning modern economy to support it.[19]

The eighteenth-century Swedish state never believed that its servants would be able to survive on their salaries alone. In the archives of the customs administration, for instance, we find rosters of customs officials together with a wealth of information about each one of them. The heading of one of the columns in the roster is 'by-employments', a clear indication that such extra incomes were the norm rather than exceptions. The employer wanted to know what these by-employments were but did not frown upon them as such. In England, village excise officials also increased their ordinary incomes, for instance by teaching young men numerical skills in exchange for payment.[20] This seems to have been a common pattern; others in public offices had various by-employments too.[21] A slightly different case is that of postmasters. Swedish and German postmasters were on low salaries or did not receive any salary at all. Yet it was common for a postmaster to be a merchant at the same time, probably because postmasters had excellent access to information that came in handy for businessmen. Postmasters often held several public offices such as mayor, town councillor or customs official.[22] While the office of a postmaster did not necessarily pay well in terms of salary, it offered other benefits that made it attractive. A Swedish royal ordinance from 1707 explicitly stipulated that postmasters were allowed to have sidelines as long as these did not interfere with their work for the state.[23] In addition to these various forms of by-employment, many state servants were legally permitted to ask citizens for small fees in return for service (called *Sporteln* in German and Swedish). Clearly, governments both acknowledged the need for lower state officials to have extra incomes and to a certain

extent even approved of the ways in which they tried to solve this problem. Nevertheless, there was a limit to the government's tolerance of these practices.

Swedish lower customs officials could not afford to be specialists because they were not sufficiently paid. Despite having several regular duties, many of which made them unpopular with the public, they had to supplement their salaries with incomes from, for instance, butchering, selling beer and tobacco (illegally) and teaching and accounting. This does not mean to say that the regular work of customs officials did not require all of their time, but that these offices did not pay well enough, and early modern states did not have the means to fully finance their and their families' living. The archive material suggests that they had too much to do as opposed to too little, and this is also true for lower state servants in general. They could not afford to specialize; yet even with extra earnings, the income would often be insufficient.

As a result, it became necessary for customs officials' wives to contribute to the household income. They baked bread, did laundry, cleaned and ran errands in other households. Many of them were petty entrepreneurs in the service sector. Their work gave them income and probably created and strengthened social ties between households in the local communities. These examples show that households were no closed units; people depended on and interacted with each other. They did this by cooperating, buying and selling goods and services and lending each other helping hands.[24]

Wives, children and servants also helped Swedish customs officials to carry out tasks that were part of their regular job for the state. For example, they helped keep an eye on town entry points so that people did not sneak in and out without paying customs. A case like this can be found in the records of one of the Swedish excise courts in 1752. In this year, customs scribe Moses Lund had left his post at the customs gate to carry out an errand. While he was away, a woman came up to the customs gate bringing with her a cheese for which customs were due. In the temporary absence of the scribe, his wife stepped in and received the monies from the woman. For whatever reason, the exact sum received was not recorded in the customs ledger, and Lund was subsequently suspected of embezzlement; this is the reason we know about this incident. The court investigated the case and admonished Moses Lund to always be on his post and take care not to drink too much. It is noteworthy, however, that the court criticized neither him nor his wife for her presence at the customs gate, nor did they disapprove of her having received monies on behalf of the state. Handling money on behalf of the state was the most sensitive of all state servant work, so the silence on this point is surprising. It can only mean that the court considered the responsibility for the office as being shared between husband and wife.[25] This case is not exceptional; several other cases show customs officials' wives being in the customs houses or near the customs gates. Their presence allowed them to step in to assist their husbands. It could also cast them as witnesses to disturbances at the town entry points.

In a similar way, postmasters' wives would step in for their husbands when this was necessary. Apparently, wives were sometimes more literate than their husbands and in this sense more suitable for the job. There are examples of postmasters having to surrender their positions after their wives' death because the women were the ones who could read and write, and widowers did not have the economic means to hire a clerk to replace the deceased wives. Heiko Droste has shown that in 1705 in the north German town Anklam, it was the postmaster's wife who was trusted and in charge while the postmaster was eventually dismissed for being "incapable and unreliable".[26] Correspondence between other state servants and their wives show how spouses had a system for taking care of the office even when the husband was not on his post.[27] Into the nineteenth century, the wives of

English middle-class families also assisted husbands with their work. Wives of men in clerical or managerial positions were responsible for cleaning buildings and helping out in various ways. Female relatives "of professional men serviced living-in apprentices and pupils, took messages, helped make up drugs, keep books and write letters although it was more difficult for them to make a direct contribution than in other forms of enterprise".[28]

As we have seen, husbands' insufficient remuneration and insufficient time forced households to develop practices that conformed neither to ideals of modern rational bureaucracy nor to ideals of gender separation and idle wives. Husbands had to have various sidelines. Wives, on their part, had to contribute income and could step in to do tasks that were at the core of the state office: receiving customs, monitoring the customs gates, reading and writing state documents. The employer apparently accepted these practices and did not consider state servants to be breaking rules if they shared professional tasks and information with their wives. In practice and at least at this level of state bureaucracy, there was no notion of professional secrets that the men had to guard carefully.[29]

If we see these practices against the backdrop of the assumed gendered separation of private and public spheres during the nineteenth century, we must conclude that this distinction was in fact absent at this time and in these families. Likewise, the ideal and reality of the sole male breadwinner do not apply here. The husband's limited time and family's lack of money created a gender division of work that was at odds with the assumed dichotomy between a private, female sphere and a public, male sphere. These middling families relied on their skills to read, write and do accounts rather than on their physical strength and manual dexterity. They belonged neither to the affluent bourgeoisie nor were they working class in a strict sense. Their work for the state shows that the distinction between female domestic and male professional spheres, which plays such an important role in scholarly debates going back to Weber and Habermas, did not put its hallmark on lower early modern state bureaucracy in this important phase of state formation. Whether this distinction has ever played a role outside a very small circle of wealthy families has to remain open for debate.[30]

The question of whether or not the distinction between private and public existed at this time is, however, complex. As we have seen previously, a major reason why many people took umbrage at customs officials was that they intruded into their homes. Clearly, the sense of the house as a place where members of the household should be secure against threats from the outside did exist in the early modern period and was not a creation of the nineteenth century.[31] State officials opened themselves up to criticism precisely if they or their wives did not respect the distinction between private and public interests. The following two examples will illustrate this point.

Like other customs officials' wives, Margaretha Ström from Örebro, Sweden, took an active part in the work at the customs house where the officials searched vehicles coming into town for hidden goods. On one occasion in 1764, she also availed herself of the opportunity to steal some valuable textiles from a wagon while the owner was inside the customs house to get a receipt. She later resold these and many other stolen items through a criminal network. This participation in criminal activities was problematic both for the husband and the employer. It gave the impression that state servants and their wives were persons of dubious reputation and that honest citizens ran the risk of being robbed every time they approached a customs house. It is particularly revealing what Margaretha's husband said when he visited her in prison; according to a witness, he wailed "because of this, I will suffer and lose my office".[32] He understood the implications of what his wife had done. Not only had she stolen, which was of course a crime, she had also taken advantage of her position as the wife of a state servant. It

was this position that had allowed her to be closely involved with the activities at the customs gate. If customs officials' wives were so often involved in these activities that they were regarded as deputies of their husbands – which is a reasonable interpretation – then it was as bad for a wife to steal from a traveller as it was for a husband to do so.

In another case in 1809, a junior customs official accused his senior of various errors committed while in service. By claiming that his senior colleague had used a third, newly appointed customs official in his own household for his personal benefit, the junior official obviously took a risk. According to him, this third official had to do servant work, he even had to do the work of a female domestic servant: "Asklund [...] was forced to assist in the inspector's kitchen to chop meat and do miscellaneous female servant work". He further claimed that his superior had also abused his position by sending private mail through the state postal service. The senior official in turn accused his junior colleague of being a 'disgrace' to the customs administration. The court summoned the postmaster to testify in the matter of the private mail, and his testimony did not confirm the senior inspector's statement.[33] It is clear from this case, not least from the defensive approach of the senior official, that he knew these were serious allegations.

In a similar manner, it was a particularly serious crime to attack a customs official where and when he was working. Many Swedish court cases show that both customs officials and customs payers were aware that the space used by state servants in office enjoyed a special status. In one case in 1713, an attack on an official had taken place in the customs building which was tellingly referred to as "the king's private house" indicating that the building had a special status. The king embodied state and public interest; yet here, 'his' space was described as private.[34] Customs officials also attacked each other, and the attacker would then typically defend himself by claiming that the attack had taken place outdoors and not in office space. Time was also relevant. It was more severe to attack an official when he was on duty, so when officials had fought they would invariably say that they had done this while on their own time. All of this suggests that even if the dividing line between home and work, private and public, did not always matter in social life, there were situations where the distinction did play a key role.[35]

The involvement of household members in the state servants' professional lives was necessitated by shortage of time and money acknowledged and accepted by the employer, the state. The involvement in state work could however expose state servant families to risks. Both husband and wife could be tempted to avail themselves of the good things that came in their way. If left alone with valuable textiles they might have believed no one would see what they were doing. Faced with household chores that had to be taken care of immediately, such as the chopping of meat, they might have taken the hasty decision of ordering a junior colleague to deal with it.

As we have seen, unrealistic demands on their time forced lower state servant households to divide tasks in ways that mixed private and professional matters and were unconventional when measured by Weberian standards. The employer accepted this, but only up to a point. Going too far in mixing the private and the professional could be seen as illegal. Lower state officials did dispense with the distinction between home and work, private and public, but they did this at a risk.

Home and work as private and public interests

A third key characteristic of bureaucratic administration is the strict line between the means of the master (in this case the state) and the means of the employee. Never must state servants use state resources for their own benefit; this was precisely where the senior

customs official, who used a newly appointed official and the postal service to his own ends, erred. The opposite should also apply; the state must not use the means of state servants. Weber did not emphasize this latter aspect of the relationship as much as the former. The literature on bureaucracy does however mention that in 'traditional' administrative systems officials tend to look upon their offices as their own private property.[36]

Historical realities explain why state servants were often inclined to regard their offices as their own. They, their family members and their ancestors almost invariably invested private means in the offices, so from this perspective it is comprehensible that they saw them, and their lucrative sides, as their rightful property. The investments could take different forms, as we shall see, but very rarely was no investment required at all. This was a major reason for economically weak groups in early modern society to find it difficult to acquire positions in the state administration. They simply could not afford it. As James Scott has emphasized in his work on newly established nations in the modern world, states are so abundantly rich in resources that everyone wants to tap into them.[37] However, this was not always the case in the early modern period. States grew in fiscal and military strength during this time, but they were still economically weak in many ways and relied on various forms of contribution apart from taxes.

One way of investing money in the state was to purchase state offices from the government; France often serves as an example of this system. Here, venality assumed proportions far beyond those in, for instance, Britain or Sweden.[38] Purchasing offices directly from the state was, however, not the only way to invest money. In Sweden, it was common for military officers to buy their offices from the previous incumbent, for whom the transaction served as a sort of retirement arrangement. Those who had bought their offices in this way expected to be able to sell them when they intended to retire, otherwise the investment would be lost. These arrangements were private and did not involve the state.[39] Moreover, to acquire a state servant position in Sweden that involved the handling of state money the candidate had to present economic guarantees. This was a transaction between the state and the state servant-to-be or, perhaps more accurately, between the state and his family. For a young man of limited means, support from family and friends was indispensable to come up with the required amount of money. It is striking that women too provided such sureties or *caution* (as the guarantees were called in the early modern period) although male guarantors were more common. Mothers, sisters, wives, stepmothers and mothers-in-law all came to the assistance of young men who wanted to make a career in the state administration. Providing sureties was not necessarily a sign of love and altruism; they were investments made in the hope that one would benefit from them either immediately or eventually.[40] The sureties were presented at the explicit request of the state and were perhaps rather forced credit than voluntarily given guarantees. It happened that husband and wife would be required to present sureties for the customs and excise they were in charge of, i.e. the state expected wives to contribute not only their time but also their savings to the purpose of customs administration.[41] Consequently, state servant wives contributed to their households not only through paid and unpaid work but also with their property and family network.

These examples show that it is unsurprising early modern state servants and their families often regarded their offices as their property. This is exactly what we can expect in a society where the state asked or forced people to invest in state offices. From a modern point of view, private and public interests were blurred as a result. This was, however, not a malfunctioning of the administrative system; it was a key component of many early modern state administrations. People subsidized states with their private means. This could

take the form of sureties, as in the Swedish case. Here, families had to help their young men to provide money in order to acquire a state office in the first place. In other cases, salaries were so inadequate that only young men from wealthy families could start a state servant career since their families were able to support them during their first years of service. This was, for instance, the case in nineteenth-century Vienna.[42]

And yet for a state servant, having someone who was willing and able to provide surety at the beginning of one's career was not enough. Those who held higher offices would regularly have to pay money out of their own pockets, hoping for later reimbursement through their employer. If for instance a bailiff contracted peasants to do transportation work for the state, he would have to pay them directly out of his own pocket. This forced people such as bailiffs and customs inspectors to have extra economic resources tucked away if some kind of emergency occurred.[43] They had to 'lend' money to their employer. On the other hand, they could also at times 'borrow' money from their employer. The following example illustrates how lower state officials borrowed money clandestinely from the state but also how these practices exposed higher state officials to economic risks. As senior officials, they were obliged to help their subordinates.

In 1764, customs inspector Bergman in Örebro, Sweden, reminded his subordinates, four customs scribes, that all customs and excise had to be delivered to the regional state administration and the accounts finalized once a week. While this was not a new rule, no one seems to have adhered to it and, consequently, the accounts of the scribes were never in balance at the end of a given week. This was a major problem for the inspector since he was ultimately responsible for all customs and excise from his town. While entirely innocent, he had nevertheless incurred his superiors' suspicions and was now threatened by suspension because of major deficits. When the matter was brought to court, it was evident what the underlying problem was. The salaries of the customs scribes were insufficient, particularly as these were years of inflation. What they did was to live off the customs and excise they had recently levied. Not until they received their salaries did they deliver this money to the state. Meanwhile, they lived secretly on the credit of their employer, which explains the deficit in the accounts. This would not have been a problem if the accounts had been checked less frequently, but being checked on a weekly basis, there was little chance of hiding such manipulations.[44]

As we have seen, the distinction between private and public means could not be upheld consistently. The walls between the private house and the state office were permeable. Money passed easily from one sphere to another: the customs scribes received too small salaries and took advantage of the fact that they had state monies at their disposal. Their superior, the customs official, was the one who took the blame and had to advance money to his men and his employer whenever the coffers happened to be empty. The customs scribes stole the employer's money, but claimed to have done so only temporarily. The employer, on the other hand, forced the employees to either starve, 'borrow' illicitly or have cash at hand so that any deficits could be concealed.

Conclusion

This chapter has compared the working lives of lower state servant families in early modern contexts with three aspects identified by Max Weber as crucial to modern rational bureaucracy: the separation of domestic and professional space, the separation of domestic and professional time (including the effects of such separation on the gender division of work) and the separation of private and public interests. It has been shown that not even in households where

we would most expect to find these Weberian traits were these aspects pronounced, that is households working for the state: lower customs officials, postmasters and teachers. Instead, these households were characterized by fluid boundaries between domestic and professional use of space, between domestic and professional use of time, between private and public monies, between what men did and what women did and between one household and another. The concept of the home office encapsulates these results providing we think of the home office as an open unit, manned by both husband and wife.[45]

Though there was an absence of clearly defined distinctions between home and work, and private and public, this does not mean that there was no such dividing line at all. In certain contexts and situations, the distinction became meaningful. Many people greatly disliked having their homes, vehicles and bags searched by representatives of the state, and they verbalized their dissatisfaction in terms of the right to a protected domestic sphere. State officials opened themselves up to criticism if they or their wives did not pay proper attention to the distinction between private and public property. In a country like Sweden, fluid boundaries between state monies and private monies were an integral part of the administrative system. In England, this was less the case, at least if we look at the administration of excise. Yet in Sweden too, there was a clear understanding of the importance of upholding and strengthening the distinction between state means and private means.

Customs officials, who have served as the primary example here, were social outsiders. In the seventeenth century, it was a recurring problem for the Swedish state that customs officials were very unpopular with the public. They were forced to move frequently from one town to another so that they did not start fraternizing with the locals. This did not improve their standing in local communities. Against this backdrop, the social contacts that wives created through their work for other households could be very important to make local society accept the customs officials' families. Wives represented the household and the office just as the husbands did, and a well-liked wife could improve the reputation of the husband and the office. Through their economic contributions and their social contacts, wives not only made life easier for their families but they also indirectly subsidized the state and the process of state formation. Their work made it possible for the household to survive without the husband resorting to illegal activities that might cast a shadow on the state and its claims on local communities. Women and their work were important both to state finances and state legitimacy.

Instead of looking at state formation from the perspective of governments and elites, this chapter has seen the process through the lens of working-class history and gender history. Historians often conceptualize state formation somewhat influenced by what learned contemporary scholars thought the early modern state should be: the Leviathan, free of limitations and incredibly powerful. In fact, early modern states were often restricted and weak. Consequently, they had to harness the human resources of ordinary men and women to the best of their ability. States could do this because of the open and permeable character of early modern households and because of people's lack of occupational specialization. Indeed, the blurred distinction between private and public, between domestic and professional, was an important reason why even insufficiently funded early modern states could function as well as they did.

Notes

1 Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* [1919] (London: Routledge, 1992).
2 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* [1962] (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).

3 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 2002), esp. pp. 24, 200–11, 264–69, 357–96.
4 Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundrisse der verstehenden Soziologie*, 5th rev. edn (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1972), in particular vol. 1, Erster Teil, Kapitel III, pp. 122–40. Weber presents his three forms of government on p. 124. The scholarship on Weber's ideas is extensive and cannot be summarized here. A useful volume (in Norwegian) is Max Weber, *Makt og byråkrati* [1971], 3rd edn (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk, 2000) that offers a concise exposition of Weber's ideas on bureaucracy, particularly as these were developed in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*.
5 See for instance Arndt Brendecke, "'Monitor Yourself!' The Controlled Emotions of Spanish Office Holders in the Early Modern Period", *Administory: Zeitschrift für Verwaltungsgeschichte* 3 (2018), pp. 20–29; Peter Becker, "Decency and Respect: New Perspectives on Emotional Bonds between State and Citizens", ibid., pp. 80–95.
6 See for instance Gerald E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625–1642* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Miles Ogborn, "The Capacities of the State: Charles Davenant and the Management of the Excise, 1683–1698", *Journal of Historical Geography* 24, 3 (1998), pp. 289–312; Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 233–80; Maria Ågren, *The State as Master: Gender, State Formation and Commercialisation in Urban Sweden, 1650–1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); Gautham Rao, *National Duties: Customs Houses and the Making of the American State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). A general presentation in English of Nordic state administration in the eighteenth century is Harald Gustafsson, *Political Interaction in the Old Regime: Central Power and Local Society in the Eighteenth-Century Nordic States* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1994).
7 John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), esp. pp. 66, 68, 79, 88–89, 102.
8 Riksarkivet Stockholm (RS), Äldre commissioner 167, letter from Johan Andersson; also quoted in Ågren, *State as Master*, p. 106.
9 Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, pp. 82–83.
10 Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), p. 60; for a more detailed discussion see Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen: Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich 1780 bis 1848* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1990).
11 Bernd Wunder, "Die Kanzlei", in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (ed.), *Orte des Alltags: Miniaturen aus der europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994), p. 164.
12 Ågren, *State as Master*, p. 107.
13 Ågren, *State as Master*, p. 108.
14 Ågren, *State as Master*, p. 106.
15 Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 66.
16 Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, esp. pp. 109–10, 214–17.
17 Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 263.
18 See Ågren, *State as Master*, pp. 31–57 for other examples of attacks on customs officials and pp. 38–40 for a discussion of customs officials as thieves. The example from Västerås can be found in Uppsala Landsarkiv (UL), Västerås stad, Accisrätten F no. 1, 1697–1810.
19 Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, p. 126; Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, pp. 115–20. The quotation is from James C. Scott, *Comparative Political Corruption* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1972), p. 67.
20 Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, p. 225.
21 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 121, 247, 254, 261.
22 Heiko Droste, "The Terms of Royal Service: Post Servants' Finances, c. 1700", in Heiko Droste (ed.), *Connecting the Baltic Area: The Swedish Postal System in the Seventeenth Century* (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2011), p. 127.
23 Droste, "The Terms of Royal Service", p. 164.
24 Ågren, *State as Master*, pp. 58–87. There is a rich historiography on women selling services and goods in early modern European cities and towns. See for instance Anne Montenach, "Legal Trade and Black Markets: Food Trades in Lyon in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries", in Deborah Simonton and Anne Montenach (eds.), *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640–1830* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
25 UL, Västerås stad, Accisrätten F no. 1, 1697–1810. In Dutch towns, the spouses were jointly responsible for the public office in a formal sense, but this was not the case in Sweden. Cf. Manon

van der Heijden and Ariadne Schmidt, "Public Services and Women's Work in Early Modern Dutch Towns", *Journal of Urban History* 36, 3 (2010), pp. 368–85.
26 Droste, "The Terms of Royal Service", pp. 136, 157, 165.
27 Ulrike Ludwig, "Verwaltung als häusliche Praxis", in Arndt Brendecke (ed.), *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit: Akteure, Handlungen, Artefakte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015), pp. 196–97.
28 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 264–69, 247, quotation p. 264.
29 Waltraud Heindl, *Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich*, vol. 2: *Josephinische Mandarine: 1848–1914* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), p. 210.
30 Heindl, *Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich*, vol. 2, pp. 209–17, describes the male breadwinner as a much coveted but seldom realized ideal among late nineteenth-century Austrian state servants. While the autobiographies of state servants convey the impression that "dem bürgerlichen Wertekanon und dem Beamtenethos zufolge Ehemann und Ehefrau in getrennten Welten lebten", in ibid., p. 210, Heindl shows that in real life this was seldom the case. See also Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *The Historical Journal* 36, 2 (1993), pp. 383–414.
31 Ågren, *State as Master*, pp. 34–38.
32 Ågren, *State as Master*, pp. 78–79.
33 UL, Västerås stad, Accisrätten A 1, 28 October, 4 November 1809, 16 May, 28 May 1810 (quotation from 16 May 1810). The work of a female domestic servant: *pigsysslor* in Swedish.
34 UL, Västerås stad, Accisrätten F, 10 August 1713.
35 Ågren, *State as Master*, pp. 42–43.
36 Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, pp. 113, 118; Scott, *Comparative Political Corruption*, p. 39.
37 Scott, *Comparative Political Corruption*, p. 12.
38 For a comparative discussion of England and France in this respect, see Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, pp. 15–20.
39 Fredrik Thisner, *Militärstatens arvegods: officerstjänstens socialreproduktiva funktion i Sverige och Danmark, ca 1720–1800* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2007).
40 Maria Ågren, "Providing Security for Others: Swedish Women in Early Modern Credit Networks", in Elise M. Dermineur (ed.), *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018), pp. 121–42.
41 Ågren, *State as Master*, p. 66.
42 Cf. Heindl, *Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich*, vol. 2, pp. 131–46, 211–14.
43 See also Droste "The Terms of Royal Service", pp. 164–65.
44 Ågren, *State as Master*, p. 63.
45 See also Droste "The Terms of Royal Service", pp. 127–28, 170, for the same conclusions.

7

SCHOLARLY HOUSEHOLDS

Sebastian Kühn

Introduction

If there had been such a thing as science[1] in early modern times – where would we find it? At scholarly institutions such as universities and libraries, academies and observatories? This has for long been a favoured approach and has strong links with the narrative of the scientific revolution. It has even been proposed that, with the creation of national scientific academies, eighteenth-century European science emerged from an "organizational revolution".[2] The founding of the Royal Society in London (1660), the *Académie des Sciences* in Paris (1666), and the *Societaet der Wissenschaften* in Berlin (1700) mark a few of the more prominent examples in this Whiggish history of rationalization, professionalization and institutionalization. And these strong scholarly institutions seem to fit perfectly into the exclusion of women from science – until the twentieth century, not a single woman was a member of these academies. The non-admittance of Margaret Cavendish at the London academy in 1667 or of Maria Margaretha Kirch at the Berlin academy in 1710 can thus be labelled as a "turning point" in the history of science, where women were formally, and for centuries on, excluded from science.[3]

But this perspective, looking to the top of the formal institutions, paints a superficial and sometimes misleading picture. Doing so, it fails to consider what lies behind the public display and recognition of knowledge that has been created in other locations including gardens and shops, taverns and coffeehouses, market places and ports, princely courts and, above all, in the domestic sphere.[4] In looking at scholarly households, the complex interactions involved in the 'doing' of science come to the fore.[5] What does this view of the domestic sphere mean in respect to science's persons, actions and contents?

By examining the social setting of the domestic sphere, it is possible to outline a wide range of people involved in the pursuit of natural knowledge. Not only scholars but also their wives and children, employees and servants as well as disciples and guests come into play. The interaction of their diverse daily practices and social relations does not always leave a self-evident scholarly mark, but can nevertheless prove to be crucial to knowledge production. In considering all these people and their roles in the household and beyond, science essentially appears to be a collective rather than an individual enterprise. Focusing on the domestic sphere allows us to leave behind individualistic and dichotomous categories

(inside/outside, public/private, inclusion/exclusion, science/non-science, male/female) and to look instead at the domestic community, with its inconstancy and its asymmetries. By considering the broad range of daily routines, relations and conflicts in this volatile community, it eventually emerges what can, perhaps, be called science. This approach not only registers the variety of people and practices of science but also develops an analytical position: to consider other perspectives on science which do not necessarily correspond to its images and categories coined by scholars. This de-centring approach can dissolve the seemingly inextricable connection of science, masculinity, erudition, formal institution and social rank.

Thus, asking where scientific activities took place leads us to two fundamental questions: firstly, who was doing science? Was it merely the scholar or did his wife and children, domestics, apprentices, visitors and disciples also contribute? And secondly, which activities can we label as scientific work? Does only reading and writing, teaching and observing qualify as 'scientific' or is the hierarchically connected organization of work in the domestic sphere also part of the scientific process? These questions are related to aspects of gender and social hierarchies; they address both the division and links between work in the domestic sphere and the character of science itself.

However, this approach to the domestic sphere as a scientific workplace can be misleading and deserves some further explanation regarding its two key concepts: science and work. In terms of the former, it is firstly far from self-evident to look for science only in scholarly households, as scientific inquiry was practised widely within all social classes, from princes and nobles to the middling people, to the lower social strata in villages and towns.[6] Scientific work was, secondly, not restricted to the domestic sphere but also took place in the above-mentioned locations (in formal institutions as well as informal places). The coordination of these various locations could have had an impact on the organization of work inside households. Thus, scholarly households differed considerably in size and shape, as well as in occupation and the field of inquiry. Running an astronomer's household and producing calendars required a different organization of the domestic sphere to, for instance, a university professor's household that was casually engaged in botany. Thirdly, notwithstanding this diversity, scholarly households were not solely – and maybe even not primarily – concerned with the pursuit of knowledge. It would be short-sighted and one-sidedly finalistic to subsume all activities within a household under the sole aim of acquiring knowledge. The professorial households of the German university of Helmstedt, for instance, not only taught their students in their home and gave some of them bed and board but also cultivated gardens, bred cattle and brewed beer.[7] Focusing solely on scholarly activities from the outset not only excludes other activities and people but also furthermore fails to fully understand the scholar. Finally, scholars were largely part of a social elite; yet in their domestic sphere a wide range of people beyond both family and friends and those with lower social backgrounds can be encountered who are otherwise difficult to trace: workers, domestic servants and disciples. There is no simple answer to the question of who might have been an actor of science.

The same applies to the second term: work.[8] Maria Kirch, the wife of Berlin-based astronomer Gottfried Kirch, explained at the beginning of her 1701 observation journal that the activity of weather observation proved useful for farming, which in turn benefited cities and the authorities. For her, all strata and professions of society were parts of a body and contributed to the collective good of a divine order. In her view, all activities could be regarded as work, insofar as they were useful and in line with the faith.[9] But within this religiously motivated, broad concept of work, she allowed for some divergence. Farmers, for

instance, 'worked' physically, whereas the activities of other people were described differently. Regarding her own activities, Maria Kirch referred to her "force of mind", and in doing so, she distinguished her scholarly activities from the labour in farming and craft.[10] The Berlin scholar Johann Leonhard Frisch (1666–1743) likewise discriminated between the chemical "work" of his assistant Diessbach and his own "studies".[11] Clearly, the concept of work did not fit the self-image of scholarly culture. For scholars, only products of intellectual activity could be called 'work', but not the process of its production.

However, the concept of work was not entirely absent from scholarly culture, especially in regard to the practice of natural science and its laboratories. Until the mid-eighteenth century, the notion 'laboratory' was used exclusively for chemical works, referring to an artisanal practice, and lacked a specifically scholarly meaning.[12], The term 'work' was used within this chemical practice: in the second half of the seventeenth century, Claude Bourdelin, an apothecary at the *Académie des Sciences*, entitled his chemical analyses "work on urine".[13] But, like other chemists, Bourdelin did not indicate the origin of the work, instead using the passive voice in his explanations. 'Work', for him, was the effect of nature rather than of human agency. When concerning human activities, the term 'work' clearly referred to a context of subordination. Leibniz connected *scientia* and *labores* only in applying for financial support.[14] The concept of work contained coercion; it indicated social dependence and economic necessity. 'Work' was a hierarchizing concept. It did not correspond with the scholars' self-perception and was used by them, if at all, to distance themselves from working people.

'Work' is also an anachronistic concept that has social and symbolic asymmetries inscribed within it. But as such, it is a fruitful term precisely for the analysis of these asymmetries, when bearing in mind its subsequent limitations. It invites us to revise some seemingly self-evident categorizations and look beyond the conceptual framework of some of the language that was used to phrase these practices – mostly from the perspective of male scholars. For them it was unreasonable to place Latin conversations on the same level with chatter in courtyards, reading and writing in the study with exhaustive collecting of stones or plants, or exact observation of the night sky with washing laundry. However, in order to analytically grasp the practices of science in the domestic sphere in all their divergences, one initially has to do exactly this: place all activities on the same level and consider them as work. It is a controlled anachronism, the rational use of an ahistorical concept.[15] The very differentiations inherent in the concept of work are thus used to elucidate the domestic sphere as a scientific workplace.

State of research: sciences beyond science

This chapter draws primarily on three interdisciplinary shifts in the history of sciences during the last decades, mainly informed by sociology, gender studies and anthropology. The historiography of science has thus since evolved considerably. A first step in this evolution was taken in the middle of the twentieth century, when the so-called Zilsel thesis challenged the traditional view of science as an individualistic endeavour of outstanding male scholars, suggesting the origin of modern science could be traced back to the social class of artisans. This proved fruitful insofar that it emphasized the role of other social groups in science beyond scientific institutions and below the upper or middle classes.[16] Artisans and many medical practitioners from the lower classes in particular came to the fore in these works. However, on the whole two groups still remained under-researched: firstly, people from the lower classes who – like a great part of the learned scholars or the

emblematic English gentleman-virtuoso – were only engaged in the study of nature casually and not necessarily as their main profession. Leibniz, for instance, wanted to visit a "baker who builds machines" in Berlin and a "peasant [...] who is said to be a good mechanic".[17] Secondly, rural areas are in general often ignored, unless as an object of learned Enlightenment.[18] The knowledge of peasants as experts in nature (concerning not only animals and plants) is certainly misunderstood as 'popular knowledge' in contrast with the perspective of the learned scholar. However, important contributions to better understand different practices of knowledge production came from anthropology and ethnology.[19] Thus, the growing interest in cultures of knowledge beyond learned elites generally contributed to a debate on concepts of science and knowledge, including concepts of implicit knowledge, practices and competences.[20]

A second shift was initiated by gender history and theory from the 1980s onwards. In focusing primarily on the role women played in science, pioneering works by Carolyn Merchant and Londa Schiebinger opened a thrilling field of research in which the domestic sphere came increasingly into view.[21] The contribution of wives and daughters as 'assistants' to their husbands led to a general re-evaluation of the household as one of the main locations of knowledge production in early modern times. A major question was how to conceptualize the historical connection between household science and science that was increasingly institutionalized. Was the household replaced or just obscured by the professionalized science and its institutions? Was the development of science thus a history of increasing female exclusion? These questions became more complicated through further studies on work inside the household and scientific institutions as well as reflections on gender as a category of analysis beyond simple dichotomous oppositions: household vs. science, male vs. female.[22] The attention paid on gender as an analytical tool turned out to be very fruitful as it led to a re-examination of the concepts and categories underlying the discourses and practices of science. Other hierarchizing categories (such as race and class) and their interdependence were discussed, and those sciences beyond institutions and scholarly or noble households were more systematically analysed. With that, other fields and practices of knowledge, and the social mechanisms of hierarchization came into view, concerning not only the wives and daughters of scholars but also a wide range of actors in the domestic sphere.[23]

A third shift (remarkably largely unconnected with the former one), stemming from different historiographic traditions but sharing the assumption that knowledge is socially constructed, proved itself crucial. Programmatically, these works were primarily interested in social practices of knowledge production rather than the products of science (the materializations of famous discoveries and inventions, be it as printed texts or technology).[24] As a result, the interest in tangible local contexts, linked with the so-called 'spatial turn' and a concept of 'local knowledge', led to the examination of different sites of knowledge production – in addition to universities, libraries or laboratories it focused on 'informal' sites of knowledge production such as the household.[25] In doing so, other actors of knowledge production came to the fore: male assistants, guests, servants and workers.[26]

Thus, the importance of the domestic sphere as a site of knowledge production within the everyday interplay of various people can be shown on three different levels. Yet the question remains how to evaluate the collaboration of these actors. The early modern term 'assistant' (German: *Gehilfe*) mirrors the normative view of the male scholars, establishing a distinctive hierarchy between the scholar and the assistants merely following orders. In contrast, the concept of the working couple analyses the roles of the scholar and his wife as rather complementary. Or is it, alternatively, possible to see women in science as being independent

from their male counterparts but nonetheless excluded from history?[27] Furthermore, some authors stress the importance of the male scholar working in solitude, whereas others point to the collaborative organization in the domestic sphere, regarding its publicly invisible hierarchy.[28]

Thus, case studies of households are a cornerstone in the historiography of early modern science. The household of the Berlin astronomers and calendar-makers Gottfried Kirch (1639–1710), his wife Maria Margaretha née Winckelmann (1670–1720) and their children Theodora (1683 – after 1710), Christfried (1694–1740), Christine (1697–1782), Dorothea (1701–1771) and Margaretha (1703–1748) has increasingly attracted attention in this context, partly thanks to the rich source material and relations to the Berlin academy.[29] In the following, these households will be presented from diverse gendered perspectives, according to the changing age and status positions of Maria Margaretha as child, wife, mother and widow. The findings will be compared especially to other academician households in Berlin, Paris and London.

Science in the domestic sphere – the Kirch family in the eighteenth century

Living in the domestic sphere

In Berlin, the Kirch family was housed in different rented apartments before they moved into the "Societätshaus", a house owned by the academy and used by various people.[30] The domestic sphere was not an enclosed spatial entity and cannot be compared with modern urban houses, especially not in major cities such as Berlin, London or Paris.[31] Tenancy, subtenancy and multiple use of rooms in houses were by far more common.[32] In Paris, most academicians lived and worked in rented apartments, frequently in small rooms and under the same roof with other families. This applied even to wealthy scholars such as the astronomer Philippe de La Hire who lived with ten family members and an unknown number of servants in some rooms in the *Observatoire*. The same was true for the families Cassini and Couplet. The *Bibliothèque du Roi* housed the meeting rooms of the *Académie des Sciences*, its laboratories and the households of several academicians at the same time.[33] In London, the Royal Society resided in Gresham College, but some college professors also lived there or sublet their lodgings. Robert Hooke occupied some rooms and let one of them to the Society. John Woodward, another Society member and physician, rented a spacious house and let an apartment.[34]

From these circumstances frequent conflicts with neighbours and other users arose that influenced the scholarly activities. Gottfried and Maria Kirch complained not to have been able to observe the sky as the access to the garret was blocked by other tenants who used it for drying their laundry. In the new house of the Royal Society in London, the mechanical assistant was ordered to remove his instruments as the room was needed for another assistant's kitchen. Several flasks broke in the laboratory of the *Académie des Sciences* due to building works in the neighbouring house.[35] At the same time, similar conflicts over the use and appropriation of the rooms flared up. Was the young astronomer Christfried Kirch allowed to show visitors the observatory and the mechanical cabinet (and emphasize his right to hospitality), or was the council of the Berlin academy the only one able to provide access to these rooms? Could only the scholar dispose of instruments or did, as the owner, the institutions have the same right?[36]

The members of these academic households, particularly the servants, hardly had any privacy to speak of. The laboratory assistant of the *Académie des Sciences* slept on a mattress in

the laboratory, which was moved out of the way by day – a rather common arrangement for servants.[37] But even scholars with several rooms at their disposal usually had no place for privacy. For security reasons, they used chests to keep valuable things such as money or manuscripts. The rooms themselves were more or less openly accessible to other household members, neighbours or guests. John Woodward, living in a spacious apartment together with his two servants and at least two assistants, locked his most valuable manuscripts in a chest; Robert Hooke stored his considerable sums of money in an iron chest.[38] To be sure, an increasing number of scholars – Gottfried Kirch was one of them – had private studies at hand; however, they rarely worked alone in these rooms but together with other household members. It was here that they also received guests and friends.[39] This multiple and collective use of various rooms is mirrored by different daily activities of household members, forming a volatile and permeable domestic community. All of them, in their unequal rights, possibilities and constraints, constantly had to live alongside each other. From the perspective of the domestic sphere, taking the washing from the line was thus systematically (and not only coincidentally) related to astronomical observation.

Learning in the domestic sphere

Maria Margaretha Winckelmann, born in 1670 as the daughter of a clergyman in the vicinity of Leipzig, grew up in the household of her brother-in-law, successor to her late father in the parish. Her interest in astronomy was probably sparked by a peasant in a neighbouring village, a certain Christoph Arnold, who had regularly begun to observe comets and other celestial phenomena.[40] It could have been here, due to the contact with a peasant-astronomer, that she learned her first lessons in astronomy, astrology and meteorology.

We do not know much about informal apprenticeships during this time, but they seem not to have been uncommon. In general, boys and girls attended co-educational primary schools, and Maria certainly attended the parish school in her village. But girls had no access to higher schools and universities, and they were not allowed to join other households as learning companions or students.[41] Nonetheless, they were trained in various fields at home, usually together with sons, servants, pupils or apprentices. This could also apply to traditional scholarly knowledge: Maria Merian was trained to draw, Anna van Schurmann received her classical education at home, just as Ursula Margaretha Schickhardt, daughter of the professor for Hebrew and astronomy in Tübingen, and Maria Einmart, daughter of a Nuremberg astronomer, acquired their astronomical knowledge at home.[42] Maria Winckelmann too could read Latin, and she had learned at least some basic Hebrew. Her daughters, however, did not master these scholarly languages, unlike her son Christfried, who had learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew at school.[43]

Astronomy in particular seems to have been a field of knowledge which was taught in the domestic sphere rather than in formal institutions. Young men sought after an astronomer's household where they could undergo a more or less informal apprenticeship. This type of scientific education in the artisanal tradition was also widespread in other fields of knowledge, above all in those which had links to cooperatively organized professions and aimed at practical application such as in the medical sciences, pharmacy, metallurgy, chemistry and mechanics.[44] The fact that universities only had limited significance for the education of natural sciences is reflected in the low number of academy members with an academic degree. If they did have a degree, it was often achieved in a different field to the one they represented at their academy.[45] Until the nineteenth century, the pursuit of natural

knowledge was less formalized and more connected with artisanal traditions and training schemes within the domestic sphere.[46]

Boys and young men could become scholars by joining other households in combination with formal higher education. This applied to Gottfried Kirch, the future husband of Maria Winckelmann, even though he was merely a tailor's son. After spending some time at the universities of Jena, Leipzig and Königsberg (without taking degrees), he mainly received his training in the households of several calendar makers and of the Gdansk astronomer Johannes Hevelius.[47] Kirch's son Christfried attended schools in Berlin and Halle, subsequently enrolling with the university of Leipzig, however, alongside his training at home he spent some time in the household of a Nuremberg astronomer.[48]

In contrast, girls could acquire scholarly knowledge only in their parental households. For them, the transition to another household was possible only by offering their service or by marriage.[49] They could, however, learn not only from their parents or other household members but also from neighbours and friends. For example, Maria Kirch née Winckelmann found her way to astronomy by her contact with a neighbouring peasant-astronomer. Later, Kirch's daughters learned the art of astronomy (observing, naming, measuring, calculating and using instruments) at home. The astronomy journals of their parents frequently mentioned that the daughters observed the sky and measured time, temperature and air pressure. Similarly, a daughter of the Parisian astronomer Philippe de La Hire made astronomical observations and assisted her father.[50] It is fair to assume that she had been taught together with her brother at home; yet in contrast to her, he benefited from a more formal education and succeeded his father in becoming a member of the *Académie*.

The domestic scholarly teaching of children by their fathers was also common in other fields. Martin Lister, an English physician, taught his daughters Susanne and Anna (11 and nine years old) how to draw natural specimens. On a visit to France, he sent them special paint and brushes, giving his wife detailed instructions: "I would have thee lock ym carfully up, till I returne, for they know not yet ye use of ym".[51] Apparently, they were quick students, producing over 1000 drawings for his natural history book of shells within seven years. They were well known to other scholars as "pupils" of her father, and this was by no means an exception.[52]

Domestic living, learning and working were thus inextricably linked. Children were an indispensable part of the household, which was a working unit where everyone's skills were used and trained. The rich illustrated works of Lister and others would probably not have been printed if the drawings and copper plates had to be paid for. Several persons were required for astronomical observations: one at the telescope in the garret, a second one at the perpendicular clock a floor below and a third one measuring the altitude at the quadrant. It was, above all, practical skills such as these that were taught in the household. Coordinating people and workflow during the production of illustrations, for instance, required a structured working-together, which could be problematic when external collaborators were involved. A Berlin scholar, who had produced several drawings of insects, wrote that "in order not to be dependent on someone else's obstinacy [...], I had them engraved and etched by my little boy in my house".[53] Several artists of the *Académie des Sciences* were employed to produce illustrations for the projected *Histoire des plantes*. Numerous boxes with sketches, revisions and modification requests by various scholars illustrate how difficult it was to work together.[54] Living and working together in the domestic sphere was more suitable for these collaborative works.

As well as other household members, children learned by observing and imitating, by getting advice and semi-methodical instructions and by trial and error. This kind of learning required permanent spatial proximity between the people involved, thereby ensuring working structures of repetition and trust, which allowed for the transmission of even more complex skills and knowledge. Handling astronomical instruments and chemical equipment, learning specific techniques, focusing on specific phenomena – all these rather implicit types of knowledge could be acquired without necessarily being verbalized or reading books.[55] Scholars could also learn from other household members. Johann Leonhard Frisch, for instance, acquired practices of chemistry and alchemy from the dyer Diessbach. For 14 years, Frisch wrote to Leibniz, he had housed Diessbach. But even then, he (Frisch) was unable to explain the chemical handling in words: it "cannot be described exactly to someone who is not watching the practice".[56]

This example illustrates the knowledge transfer from subordinate actors to scholars in the domestic sphere. However, even in this case the hierarchy was clearly marked. Frisch emphasized: "in chemical practice, he [Diessbach] is excellent, but he has no basic knowledge of sciences or of nature".[57] Scholars, even when praising artisanal skills, devalued them in comparison to their scholarly scientific knowledge. Although division of work in the household varied widely, it was generally shaped hierarchically. Gottfried Kirch, for instance, noted during a solar eclipse in 1693: "I, my wife and my son Kielmann, my daughter Dorothea and my cousin Martin Gerl, we observed diligently the image of the sun". The order of names indicates the hierarchy. When regarding observations, Kirch used "we" to mean himself and his wife, while regarding more complicated procedures, he used "I". The sketches were produced by his children.[58] This hierarchy shaped the distribution of work and limited the range of activities. Thus, 12-year-old Christfried Kirch noted regretfully in his observation journal: "the dear father observed the lunar eclipse from the garret, and I had to stay at the clock. Therefore I was unable to observe the eclipse accurately. But, I have, after all, taken the Diametrum Lunae".[59] The options to learn and to act depended on one's position in the household hierarchy.

Sons benefited from a more methodical training than daughters. Gottfried Kirch described the observation of a solar eclipse by his 16-year-old daughter Theodora:

> I instructed my daughter how to do it. Namely, I gave her a [...] telescope, showed her how she should let the sunlight fall to the floor, and as soon as she would notice the eclipse, she was supposed to mark the time at the surface of the sundial [...]. She did accordingly, but missed the exact beginning because she could not bring the sun into the focus of the telescope.[60]

Theodora was instructed how to use a telescope exclusively for the occasion of this extraordinary occurrence and without previous training. When she made a mistake using the telescope, her father criticized her. A similar incident occurred with the La Hire family in Paris. During the absence of Philippe de La Hire, his daughter had to measure the solar altitudes, after receiving only basic instructions beforehand. On his return the father commented on the results: "The following observations are a bit dubious".[61] In contrast, Christfried Kirch was presented with an observation journal at the age of ten, and his father methodically instructed him in observing and calculating. He also got his own telescope and was encouraged to take observations on a daily basis, even while attending a school in Halle. The Parisian apothecary Geoffroy let his sons participate in scholarly gatherings at his house. Both sons were admitted to the *Académie des Sciences* at a young age. Claude

Bourdelin, chemist at the *Académie*, employed other academicians as tutors for his son, who likewise followed his father and became a member of the *Académie*.[62] The formation of the male scholar was thus encouraged in the domestic sphere.

Marriage, dynasties and celibacy

For daughters, other strategies seem to have been common. They collaborated in the scholarly household, but at the same time, their education had to be tailor-made for the marriage market. Therefore, it could be an advantage to have been educated in several fields. Female education was thus not aimed at a profession but at matrimony. As future housewives they needed a broad training of which scholarly education could be a part. Some scholars explicitly searched for learned spouses as future assistants for their work. For instance, the Zurich physician Johann Jacob Scheuchzer enquired about scholarly skills and knowledge in mathematics, astronomy and languages before proposing to the daughter of a Nuremberg astronomer.[63] She declined and, after the death of her father, married his disciple and successor in the observatory – a common social strategy to ensure the transgenerational transfer of the household via matrilineal practices. Daughters of scholars were appreciated for their learned skills. On the other hand, women could pursue scientific interests in scholarly, rather than in other households.

Although no exact figures are available, we can, at least approximately, identify some trends concerning the marriage of children from scholarly households.[64] Children of academicians rarely married other children of academicians. In contrast, marriages within the milieu of the urban elites were very common: municipal or court officials, guild provosts, merchants and clergymen. This social model also applies to the Kirch family: Theodora married a cantor in 1709, and Dorothea a pastor in 1739. Scholars were integrated in the local community via marriage.[65]

This, however, was only one possible marital strategy. Another trend of trans-generational procedure was the establishment of scholarly dynasties. These dynasties were particularly common at the Parisian *Académie des Sciences*, shaping scientific life for decades. Some families were able to monopolize a certain scientific field during the entire Ancien Régime, as the Delisle/Buache family did with geography. This was only possible because the widow Delisle gave her daughter away in marriage to the former assistant of her late husband therefore ensuring by means of patronage his succession to the academy. Similarly, the families La Hire and Cassini/Maraldi dominated the field of astronomy for two or three generations, as did the Bourdelins, Geoffroys and Boulducs in chemistry, and the Marchants and Jussieus in botany.[66] In the Berlin academy, the Kirch family was a prime example of this social strategy. Assisted by his mother and sisters, Christfried Kirch succeeded his father. After the death of Christfried in 1740, his sisters continued the astronomical work and production of calendars for the academy until the 1770s, without having a title or an office but with remuneration. Other Berlin dynasties include the Speners (active as clergymen, physicians and publishers) or the Naudés (mathematics). But due to the shortage of relevant posts in Berlin, dynasty building seems to have been difficult. At universities, however, the 'inheritance' of professorships was not uncommon, and in Italy, even women would occasionally succeed their fathers as university professors.[67] As a result of the predominant celibacy at English universities, dynasty building has rarely been observed there.

Thus, Maria Winckelmann was no exception when she married the Leipzig astronomer and calendar-maker Gottfried Kirch in 1692. They had met through the peasant-astronomer Arnold and the Pietist network in Leipzig. Originally, she was to marry a pastor, but she

preferred the widowed astronomer, 30 years her senior.[68] Having shown an interest in astronomy from an early age, she apparently saw a chance to pursue this inclination after marriage.

Marriage was not a matter of course for scholars. Not only in England, an increasing number of scholars lived in celibacy.[69] However, even unmarried scholars headed a household consisting of domestics, assistants, disciples and, very often, female relatives. The Parisian botanist Jean Marchant was a bachelor living with his unmarried sister, and the widowed Berlin astronomer Johann Heinrich Hoffmann shared a household with his mother and sister who collaborated in his meteorological observations.[70] Kirch's only surviving son Christfried, having succeeded his father as astronomer at the academy, remained unmarried and lived together with his mother (until her death in 1720) and his sisters Margaretha, Dorothea and Christine. The women ran the household and continued their astronomical collaborations. A friend of the family described the division of work inside the household as follows: the youngest sister, Margaretha, operated the telescope and observed; the oldest sister, Christine, remained at the clock or made calculations; Dorothea ran the household.[71] The siblings formed a domestic community that made it possible, at least for two of the sisters, to continue their scientific work after the death of their parents. After the death of Christfried in 1740, Margaretha and Christine remained unmarried and continued providing the academy with calendars and astronomical calculations for an annual salary of 400 thaler.

Such a spinster household was no exception. During the eighteenth century, up to 20 per cent of marriageable women could be husbandless.[72] Most of them lived and worked together with male relatives. This seems to have been an alternative social model for unmarried women. Bachelors, on the other hand, especially scholars, could follow the established model based on the separation of matrimony and erudition. As the English apothecary James Petiver put it: "Wou'd you be free, take this from me. Never Marry, & you can't miscarry", mirroring the traditional misogynous topos of the benefits of a scholar's life free from the burden of a family with science as the only and real wife.[73]

Matrimony and 'assistance'

Thus, the gendered codification of science was inscribed in the practices of the domestic sphere. Women in scholarly households were to collaborate and their contribution was appreciated – but only as auxiliary work of 'assistants'. This perception is reflected in the division of work. Fathers and not mothers were responsible for the scholarly education of their children. However, the married Maria Kirch did take care of her children's scientific training, for which she was severely criticized by Gottlieb Kirch, a son from Gottlieb's first marriage. He pointed out that she did not instruct his sister Theodora in "female tasks" such as sewing, knitting and spinning.[74] Nevertheless, Maria Kirch seems to have been in charge of the astronomical instruction of apprentices, disciples and even other scholars.[75] Her skills and knowledge were also recognized by the academy. Although not a formally admitted member, she was asked to instruct the successor of her late husband on how to produce calendars.[76] Therefore, she clearly did not fit the prevailing image of the female assistant. The contemporary term 'assistant' or 'helpmate' (*Hilfe, Gehilfe*) can be misleading. It was generally used by male scholars for wives, children, domestics, employees and disciples alike, not only referring to subordinates. Maria Kirch used it herself in self-descriptions.[77] It is an asymmetric concept indicating dependencies and responsibilities, but hardly describing scholarly practices.

'Helping' and 'assisting' varied largely, as is shown in the context of an observation of the northern lights in 1707. Gottfried Kirch noted:

> As I observed Jove in the south with my telescope [...], a certain person told me to look towards the north because something unusual appeared in the sky. When I did so, I saw a bright, white light in the north.

Gottfried, the observer and discoverer, was "told" by an unnamed person. Maria Kirch's description of the same incident was remarkably different: "As my dear husband observed the southern sky, I looked towards the north and instantly saw a white, bright band or arc". Here, Maria was the active observer. Her story reveals that she was the "certain person" who drew her husband's attention to the phenomenon. However, her description of the scene was also shaped by a certain perspective as there are other versions of the story in which children and disciples appeared as observers and *Gehilfen*.[78] Thus, the representation of the activities within the domestic sphere could vary depending on the perspective of the narrator and on the addressee. Accordingly, different people were referred to as *Gehilfe* or indeed not mentioned at all. For Gottfried, his wife was a *Gehilfe*; for her, the children and disciples played this role. And it is doubtful whether they saw themselves only as assistants. At least Maria, in her journal books, presented herself predominantly as an independent scholar, rarely referring to her husband. She considered non-scholarly activities (birthing, illness, 'household dealings', political events) as a hindrance to her scientific tasks of observing and writing. Just like Gottfried, who recorded the names of the household's visitors (patrons, friends, neighbours) in Hebrew letters, Maria also used Hebrew letters to indicate the dates for the laundry or the production of candles (see Figure 7.1).[79]

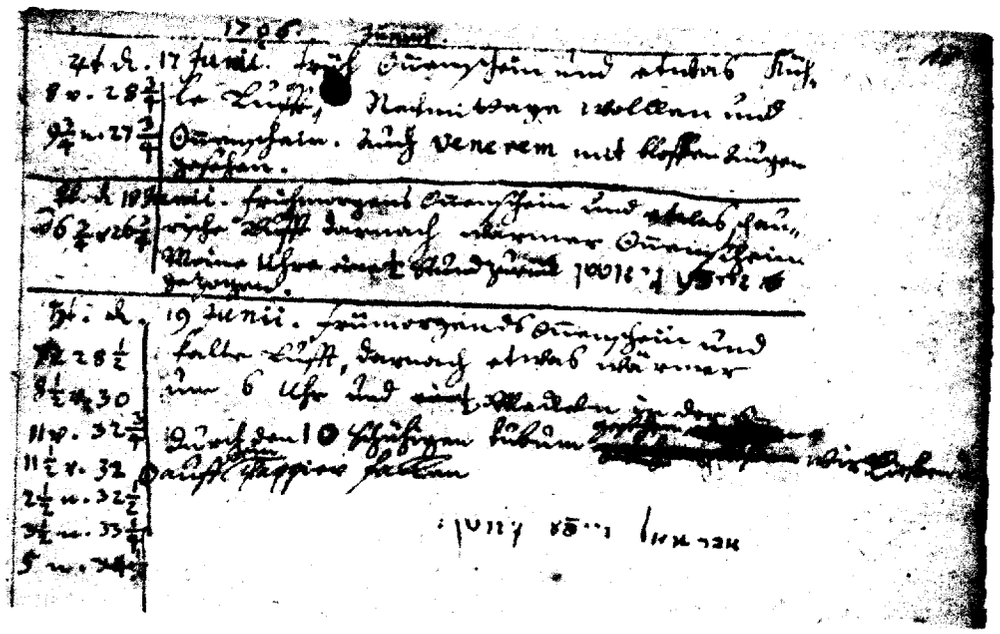

Figure 7.1 Maria Margaretha Kirch, *Wetter-Buch (Weather Book)*, 1706, p. 17 (detail), BBAW Nachlass Kirch 119

In contrast, reports aimed at the public referred to the authority of the male scholar as head of the household and witness. The same applies to the discovery of a comet in 1702 – an extraordinary event which was immediately communicated to the city, the court and other scholars. While Gottfried was asleep, Maria observed the night sky and discovered the comet. She noted in her journal book: "I noticed a comet"; however, the next morning her entry read "my husband saw the comet". In a report written for other scholars, she explained that she "believed" it to be a comet, "as it has been proven afterwards" – referring to her husband's authority. And he, accordingly, noted in his journal book: "My wife found a comet in the sky, whereupon she woke me up and I found that it was indeed a comet". Finally, Maria's name was omitted from the reports destined for the public and only Gottfried's name remained.[80] The status of a *Gehilfe* therefore did not necessarily entail less important work but was accredited very different roles. Nevertheless, it did enable wives, children and other household members to publicly practise science. While only as helpmates, their work would be nonetheless appreciated.

However, the status of other household members, be it servants, disciples or employees, was by far more questionable. Usually, these 'assistants' remained unmentioned. Even Maria Kirch referred to her helpmates only in passing. Whereas wives and children are much better documented, there is little evidence of this group, about which we, as a result, know very little.[81] In the Kirch household not only children, disciples and friends but also maidservants had astronomic skills and knowledge, were responsible for the clock and observed the sky, although mostly without instruments: "My maidservant, Anna Maria Dorannium", Gottfried wrote, "could see the star moving in front of the moon with the naked eye". And Maria noted that when she was unable to observe the sky due to an illness "at about six, my little daughter beside my maidservant saw Mercury with the naked eye".[82] 'Assistance' was not necessarily gendered, but hierarchized by age and social status. Indeed, the status of 'assistant' could change and was the result of ongoing negotiations and conflicts, concerning scholarly assistants in particular. Was Denis Papin only Robert Boyle's assistant or rather a scholarly client? Was John Ray Francis Willughby's assistant or a scholarly friend? Who was knowledge attributed to?[83] The term 'assistant' encompassed competing relationships and claims.

For the scholar Gottfried Kirch, the afore-mentioned 'peasant-astronomer' Christoph Arnold belonged precisely to this group. Even when Arnold discovered a much-looked-for comet in 1686, Kirch presented him, unlike other astronomers, essentially as a simple peasant: "And in the village of Sommerfeld, not far afield, [the comet was discovered] by Christoph Arnold, though a peasant and (except of a single telescope) without any instruments, not unexperienced in astronomy".[84] His observations were appreciated but socially devalued by regarding them as an exception. At the same time, Kirch railed against other illiterate astronomers: "It is a nasty thing that shoemaker, tailors, clothiers, carpenters, millers, winemakers and even peasants dare to write calendars".[85] This shows that Christoph Arnold was one among many unknown people, mainly from the lower classes, whose scientific work was an integral part of the domestic economy of scholars yet still devalued as mere 'assistance'.

However, it is fair to assume that the scholars' view of them as helpmates or charlatans was not the only one possible. A different one is visualized by a portrait, depicting Arnold as a typical scholar with astronomical manuscripts and instruments (see Figure 7.2). The inscription identifies Arnold as a resident of a village owned by the city of Leipzig and as an independent astronomer instead of a mere peasant. The portrait was designed for the municipal library of Leipzig, and it served to document the (scientific) potential of the city vis-à-vis the autonomous university.

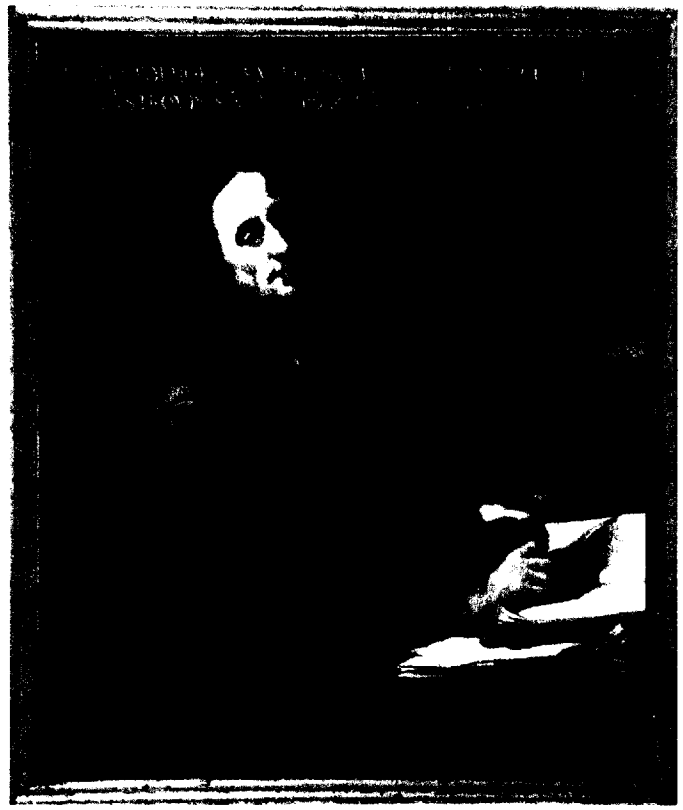

Figure 7.2 Heinrich Am Ende, *Christoph Arnold*, c. 1690, oil on canvas, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig

In his writings to the Leipzig council and to the public, Christoph Arnold presented himself in a completely different way (in line with the characterization by Kirch) as a "simple-minded peasant" inferior to the "scholars".[86] He defined his position as a subject to the city of Leipzig and inferior to the city councillors and scholars, as a free peasant. This was a common technique of subordinates in order to claim recognition and privileges and subtly reverse the hierarchies in place. At a later date, Maria Kirch presented herself in a similar manner, playing with the volatile meaning of simple-mindedness and her status as a helpmate. Regarding a time specification by a learned physician following the traditional way of three Lord's Prayers, she wrote tauntingly to a scholar: "I am only a simple-minded woman and he is a great physician, but his observation seems to be so elaborate that one cannot get it together".[87] By seemingly reconciling herself to the inferior status that was traditionally ascribed to her, she was able to present herself as an independent astronomer. As did Christoph Arnold in his astronomical notes and "philosophical questions".[88]

Wives, albeit only 'helpmates', were privileged insofar that they were widely acknowledged and mentioned in the source material. The cooperation with husbands is shown in the portrait of the Gdansk astronomer Hevelius and his wife Elisabeth Koopman (see Figure 7.3).[89] In the domestic sphere wives were not excluded, neither from scientific activities nor from scholarly sociability. Customs such as hospitality and exchanging gifts through wives intensified the relations of scholarly and local households. In terms of access

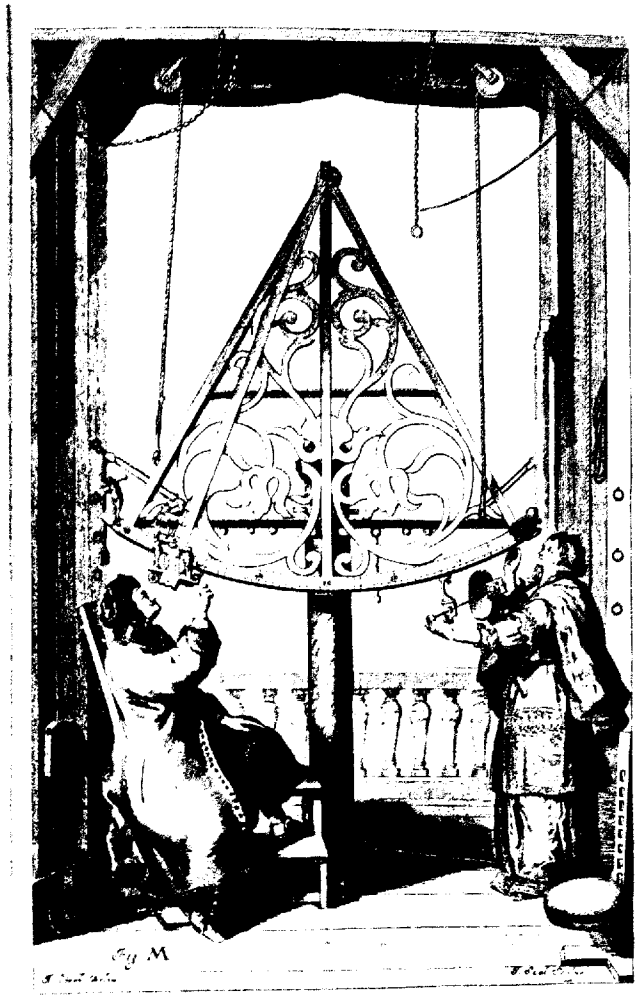

Figure 7.3 J. Steré and I. Saat, *Elisabeth Koopman and Johannes Hevelius Observing at the Quadrant*, in Johannes Hevelius, *Machinae coelestis pars prior*, (Danzig: by the author, 1673), p. 222

to scientific activities, wives benefited far more from living in scholarly households than other members, as the Kirch household shows, although we do not have much information about other scholarly families. It is documented that the wife of Johann Leonhard Frisch also 'helped' him with his chemical experiments.[90] On the household of the Parisian geographer Delisle, however, we only have detailed information for the time of his wife's widowhood.

Widowhood and succession

After the death of her husband Guillaume, the widow Delisle asked for a pension for herself and her daughter, promising to arrange her husband's papers and make them accessible to

the *Académie*. She also suggested to marry her daughter to Guillaume's former apprentice and admit him to the academy. All her requests were granted. Years later, she signed letters together with her son-in-law.[91] As a widow, she acted officially as her son-in-law's mentor. The status of widows differed from that of wives; they could act more independently and as the head of a household.[92] The widow Delisle utilized these advantages and, as a result, was able to secure the status of the household for the next generation.

Maria Kirch acted similarly after Gottfried's death in 1710. She wrote to the council of the *Societaet*, referring to herself as a "deeply grieving widow". She did not ask for admission to the academy but for employment to continue the production of calendars. It was an economic necessity and common practice of widows (also in artisan households) to continue the business until a son or son-in-law could take over. In her letter to the *Societaet*, Maria argued exactly in this vein, proposing to instruct her son and arrange the papers of her late husband. However, the council of the academy declined her employment request.[93]

Previously, Maria Kirch's example has been used as evidence for the exclusion of women from science. According to this view, exclusion is based on the assumption of a homogeneous and strictly institutionalized science. This, however, was not the case, nor did the *Societaet* represent 'the' science. The academies recognized scholarly activities of wives, and particularly of widows of scholars. No one prevented Maria from instructing her son in astronomy; on the contrary, that fact that she taught her son was accepted as customary by the male scholars. They even asked her to 'assist' her husband's successor and introduce him to the practice of calendar calculation. Although he was a studied scholar and former disciple of her husband, the academy recognized that only she had the necessary practical and theoretical knowledge to produce calendars.[94] After the death of this astronomer in 1716, she succeeded in achieving her son's admission to the academy as an astronomer. The academy decided that his salary should go to "the Kirch widow and her son". She again became a 'helpmate', this time to assist her son. However, he was accepted by the academy on the condition that his mother would instruct and assist him.[95]

In this widow household, domestics, friends and apprentices continued to work scientifically. The journal books even suggest that hierarchies were less pronounced and that the household was more dependent on their qualified collaboration. The 13-year-old Christine Kirch (unlike Theodora during her father's lifetime) regularly carried out observations with instruments.[96] The need to work offered them new possibilities in acquiring and applying knowledge.

Thanks to the organization and transmission of knowledge within the domestic sphere, the Kirch family was able to successfully establish an astronomer dynasty in Berlin. The academy tried several times to gain access to this knowledge, however, Maria declined the offer to sell her husband's astronomical journal books. Being used as a source of information and to document the scientific capacity of the entire domestic group, they were invaluable for the household.[97] In the same vein, the widows of John Flamsteed and Hevelius published their late husbands' main works posthumously; as did the sons and grandsons of Johann Leonhard Frisch.[98] The families attempted to keep control of the transmission of knowledge produced within the domestic sphere – or to conceal it. After Maria Kirch's death, the *Societaet* ordered Christfried to instruct another astronomer in calendar production. Although he was paid an additional salary, he refused to pass on any more than basic knowledge. The conflict lasted for years; the academy remained dependent on domestic knowledge.[99]

For this reason, the Kirch household was able to work for the academy for many years, even as a spinster household after Christfried's death in 1740. Dorothea married in 1739 but

returned to her childhood home as a widow; Margaretha died in 1748, and Christine continued her astronomical work, assisted by domestics and friends, among them the mathematicians Augustin Grischow and Leonhard Euler.[100] Her position was so secure that she, in 1772, was able to pass the household onto the next generation, that is to the new astronomer of the academy, Johann Elert Bode. His appointment contract reads that he (the scholar!) was supposed to "assist Miss Kirch with the calendar work" in order to learn it. He later married a grand-granddaughter of Maria Kirch, Johanna Christiane Lange, who was already familiar with astronomical calculations.[101]

Conclusion

Until the gradual shift during the nineteenth century towards the separation of home and scientific work, the academies remained largely dependent on knowledge production within the domestic sphere. The example of the Kirch family seems not to be an exception; a similar organization of scientific work in the domestic sphere was adopted in France and England.[102] The focus on the domestic sphere can thus provide a much broader and deeper picture of science, both as practice and as a way of life, than concentrating solely on institutionalized science. The case of the Kirch family, particularly from the perspective of their female members, showed science as collective working of a volatile domestic community. Science was, in practice, not primarily a scholar's endeavour but dependent on the collaboration of all household members. In the domestic sphere, it was not only possible but necessary that they all cooperated. However, this working community proved largely hierarchical – in terms of work distribution and learning possibilities, access to certain activities and instruments, and above all in terms of the public display of the products of this domestic work. Wives and children, disciples and servants, friends and guests could act only as inferior, dependent 'assistants' to the male scholar. Within this concept, a variety of practices and relations were possible, conditioned by the interplay of gender, age, social rank and marital status. Thus, the possibilities and needs to carry out science differed considerably, depending on whether one was a boy or girl, a wife or widow, a neighbouring peasant or a servant. Sons were privileged, but daughters and wives, in turn, had better possibilities to work scientifically than domestics or disciples. In the end, all had to show, according to their current status in the domestic community, a great deal of initiative in order to learn and work beyond the necessary.

Notes

1 The modern concept of science does not correspond to the early modern and much broader meaning, including philosophy and religion. The term is used here to refer to fields such as natural history, astronomy, astrology, meteorology, chemistry and other types of knowledge of the natural world.

2 James E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), chapter 2.

3 Londa L. Schiebinger, "Maria Winkelmann at the Berlin Academy: A Turning Point for Woman in Science", *Isis* 78, 2 (1987), pp. 174–200.

4 William Eamon, "Markets, Piazzas, and Villages", in Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3: *Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 206–23; Alix Cooper, "Houses and Households", in ibid., pp. 224–37; Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

5 Andrew Pickering, "From Science as Knowledge to Science as Practice", in Pickering (ed.), *Science as Practice and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 1–26.
6 See Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Margaret Pelling, "Thoroughly Resented? Older Women and the Medical Role in Early Modern London", in Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *Women, Science and Medicine 1500–1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 63–88; cf. the contributions of Sandra Cavallo and Maria Ågren in this volume.
7 Elizabeth Harding, *Der Gelehrte im Haus: Ehe, Familie und Haushalt in der Standeskultur der frühneuzeitlichen Universität Helmstedt* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2014), pp. 81–112.
8 Cf. for the following Raffaella Sarti, Anna Bellavitis and Manuela Martini, "What is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present", in Raffaella Sarti, Anna Bellavitis and Manuela Martini (eds.), *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Berghahn, 2018), pp. 1–84.
9 Crawford Library of the Royal Observatory Edinburgh (CR), Ms. 2.33. I'm grateful to the staff of the Bibliothek des Deutschen Wetterdienstes in Offenbach who made available to me the microfilms of the Kirch journals held in Edinburgh. The passage is edited in Gustav Hellmann (ed.), *Das älteste Berliner Wetter-Buch 1700–1701 von Gottfried Kirch und seiner Frau Maria Margaretha geb. Winkelmann* (Berlin: Dobrzynski & Walter, 1893), pp. 20–21.
10 Hellmann (ed.), *Das älteste Berliner Wetter-Buch*, p. 21.
11 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek/Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover, Nachlass Leibniz, LBr 289, fol. 62–63.
12 Claire Salomon-Bayet, *L'institution de la science et l'expérience du vivant: Méthode et expérience à l'Académie royale des sciences 1666–1793* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), pp. 372–406.
13 Archive de l'Académie des Sciences (AcSc), carton I, cahier VI, fols. 10v and 106v.
14 Adolf Harnack (ed.), *Berichte des Secretars der Brandenburgischen Societät der Wissenschaften J. Th. Jablonski an den Präsidenten G. W. Leibniz (1700–1715) nebst einigen Antworten von Leibniz* (Berlin: Verlag der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1897), pp. 36–37.
15 Peter von Moos, "Das Öffentliche und das Private im Mittelalter: Für einen kontrollierten Anachronismus", in Gert Melville and Peter von Moos (eds.), *Das Öffentliche und Private in der Vormoderne* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), pp. 3–83.
16 Edgar Zilsel, "The Sociological Origins of Modern Science", *The American Journal of Sociology* 47, 4 (1942), pp. 544–62; Paolo Rossi, *Philosophy, Technology, and the Arts in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); cf. Pamela O. Long, *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400–1600* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2011).
17 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, vol. IV, 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 562–69 (564).
18 Peter Jones, *Agricultural Enlightenment: Knowledge, Technology and Nature, 1750–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
19 See esp. for the differences between 'learned' and 'popular' cultures of knowledge Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978); cf. Eamon, "Markets, Piazzas, and Villages"; central reference for an anthropological approach is Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).
20 See esp. Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1966).
21 Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980); Londa L. Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press, 1989); See for a critical understanding Margaret J. Osler: "The Gender of Nature and the Nature of Gender in Early Modern Natural Philosophy", in Judith P. Zinsser (ed.), *Men, Women, and the Birthing of Modern Science* (DeKalb: Norther Illinois Press 2005), pp. 71–85.
22 The literature is very vast. See esp. Hunter and Hutton (eds.), *Women, Science and Medicine*; Monika Mommertz, "The Invisible Economy of Science: A New Approach to the History of Gender and Astronomy at the Eighteenth-Century Berlin Academy of Sciences", in Zinsser, *Men, Women*, pp. 159–78; Donald L. Opitz, Staffan Bergwik and Brigitte Van Tiggelen (eds.), *Domesticity in the Making of Modern Science* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

23 See Christine von Oertzen, Maria Rentetzi and Elizabeth S. Watkins (eds.), "Beyond the Academy: Histories of Gender and Knowledge", *Centaurus* 55, 2 (2013), special issue.
24 See esp. Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Beverly Hills: Sage Pub., 1979); Andrew Pickering (ed.), *Science as Practice*; Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*.
25 See esp. part II of Park and Daston (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3, entitled "Personae and sites of knowledge"; for households, see esp. Steven Shapin, "The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England", *Isis* 79, 3 (1988), pp. 373–404.
26 See esp. Steven Shapin, "The Invisible Technician", *American Scientist* 77, 6 (1989), pp. 554–63.
27 Cf. Annette Lyknes, Donald L. Opitz and Brigitte van Tiggelen (eds.), *For better or for worse? Collaborative Couples in the Sciences* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2009); Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am (eds.), *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
28 Gadi Algazi, "Scholars in Households: Refiguring the Learned Habitus, 1480–1550", *Science in Context* 16, 1–2 (2003), pp. 9–42; Mommertz, "The Invisible Economy".
29 Schiebinger, "Maria Winkelmann"; Monika Mommertz, "Geschlecht als 'tracer': Das Konzept der Funktionsteilung als Perspektive für die Arbeit mit Geschlecht als analytische Kategorie in der frühneuzeitlichen Wissenschaftsgeschichte", in Michaela Hohkamp and Gabriele Jancke (eds.), *Nonne, Königin und Kurtisane: Wissen, Bildung und Gelehrsamkeit von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Königstein: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2004), pp. 17–38; Monika Mommertz, "The Invisible Economy"; Klaus-Dieter Herbst (ed.), *Die Korrespondenz des Kalendermachers Gottfried Kirch (1639–1710)*, vol. I (Jena: IKS Garamond 2006), pp. LXXXI–LXXXIV. Sebastian Kühn, *Wissen, Arbeit, Freundschaft. Ökonomien und soziale Beziehungen an den Akademien in London, Paris und Berlin um 1700* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011), pp. 88–122.
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31 Cf. Joachim Eibach, "Das offene Haus: Kommunikative Praxis im sozialen Nahraum der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38, 4 (2011), pp. 621–64.
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33 David J. Sturdy, *Science and Social Status: The Members of the Académie des Sciences, 1666–1750* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. 274; Guy Meynell, "The Académie des Sciences at the rue Vivienne, 1666–1699", *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 44, 132 (1994), pp. 22–37; Alice Stroup, *A Company of Scientists: Botany, Patronage and Community at Seventeenth-Century Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 41.
34 Archive of the Royal Society (RS), CMO II, p. 91; British Library (BL), Add. 6271, pp. 17–18.
35 Archiv der Berlin-Brandenbugrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW), I–XIV-26, pp. 79–82, 90–91; Archive de l'Observatoire, B 3.5, Observationsbuch 1706, p. 175; RS CMO II, p. 193; Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), n.a.f. 5147, p. 25r.
36 BBAW I–XIV-26, pp. 147r–148v.
37 BNF n.a.f. 5147, p. 35v. Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 77–83.
38 BL Add. 5860, pp. 154v–155v; Michael Hunter, "Hooke's Possessions at his Death: A Hitherto Unknown Inventory", in Hunter and Simon Schaffer (ed.), *Robert Hooke: New Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 287–94; cf. Vickery, "An Englishman's Home", pp. 164–66.
39 CR, Ms. 2.33, pp. 39 and 2.37, entry for the 4 August 1705.
40 His observation journals in Observatoire, B 3.9 and Universitätsbibliothek (UB) Leipzig, Ms. Rep. III 30a.
41 Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Landstube Akten, vorl. Sign. 2527; cf. Jean-Luc Le Cam, "L'éducation des filles en allemagne à l'ère de la confessionalisation (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)", in Francine Wild and Danielle Morali (eds.), *De l'instruction des filles dans l'Europe des XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Nancy: Université Nancy 2, 2006), pp. 13–38; Anne Conrad, "'Jungfraw Schule' und Christenlehre:

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42 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge,MA: Havard University Press, 1995), pp. 140–201; Brita Rang, "In Distanz zur Moderne: Die gelehrte Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678)", *Querelles* 1 (1996), pp. 23–47; Benigna von Krusenstiern, "Gelehrtenexistenz im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Wilhelm Schickard in seinen Briefen", in Alf Lüdtke and Rainer Prass (eds.), *Gelehrtenleben: Wissenschaftspraxis in der Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), pp. 33–45; Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?*, pp. 68–82.

43 Observatoire, B 3.7, no. 83, p. 41 B; Archives Nationales de France, Marine 2 JJ 65, 118a; Franckesche Stiftungen Halle (FrSt), S L 1, p. 211; see Sebastian Kühn and Bill Rebiger, "Hidden Secrets or the Mysteries of Daily Life: Hebrew Entries in the Journal Books of the Early Modern Astronomer Gottfried Kirch", *European Journal for Jewish Studies* 6, 1 (2012), pp. 147–68.

44 Cf. René Taton (ed.), *Enseignement et diffusion des sciences en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hermann, 1964).

45 Cf. Robert G. Frank, "Science, Medicine and the Universities of Early Modern England", *History of Science* 11, 4 (1973), pp. 194–216, esp. p. 198; Sturdy, *Science and Social Status*, pp. 260–61; Erik Amburger, *Die Mitglieder der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1700–1950* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1950).

46 Cf. Alwin Hanschmidt, "Elementarbildung und Berufsausbildung 1450–1750: Inhalte und Institutionen", in Hanschmidt and Hans-Ulrich Musolff (eds.), *Elementarbildung und Berufsausbildung 1450–1750* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 19–46; Dorinda Outram, "Before Objectivity: Wives, Patronage, and Cultural Reproduction in Early Nineteenth-Century French Science", in Pnina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram (ed.), *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women in Science, 1789–1979* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), pp. 19–30; Mary Terrall, "Masculine Knowledge, the Public Good, and the Scientific Household of Réaumur", *Osiris* 30, 1 (2015), pp. 182–201.

47 Herbst, *Die Korrespondenz*, I, pp. LXXXI–LXXXIV.

48 BBAW, Nachlass Kirch 119; Alphonse de Vignoles, "Eloge de M. Kirch le Fils, Astronome de Berlin", *Journal littéraire d'Allemagne, de Suisse et du Nord* 1 (1741), pp. 300–51; Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Nachlass Bernoulli (Basel), L Ia 699, pp. 218–19 and 223–24.

49 Cf. Renate Dürr, "Von der Ausbildung zur Bildung: Erziehung zur Ehefrau und Hausmutter in der Frühen Neuzeit", in Kleinau and Opitz, *Geschichte*, pp. 189–206.

50 Observatoire Mss. B 2.13 and 3.1–6; CR Mss. 2.34–2.51; Observatoire D 2.1 (19 August 1683); Sturdy, *Science and Social Status*, pp. 197–98.

51 Oxford, Bodleian Library (Bodl.), Mss. Lister 4, fol. 77–78.

52 Bodl. Lister 2, fol. 22–23; Martin Lister, *Historie sive Synopsis Methodicae Conchylorum*, 4 vols. (London: Martin Lister, 1685–92); cf. Anne Marie Roos, *Web of Nature: Martin Lister (1639–1712), the First Arachnologist* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), chap. 12; cf. the similar case of the Danzig physician Johann Philipp Breyne: Forschungsbibliothek (FB) Gotha, Nachlass Breynius A 782, fol. 783a.

53 Johann Leonhard Frisch, *Beschreibung von allerley Insecten in Teutsch-Land*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Nicolai, 1730), Vorwort, n.p.

54 Paris, Muséum d'histoire naturelle (Muséum), Ms 89, cahier 1 and 2; Ms. 448, fol. 66; Ms. 450, fol. 45–331.

55 See Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension*; cf. for the learning of women in the crafts Christine Werkstetter, "'... da ich meinem vater Tochter, Gesell, Junge und handtlanger gewesen': Arbeitsfelder, Ausbildung und 'work-identity' von Frauen im Augsburger Zunfthandwerk des 18. Jahrhunderts", in Mark Häberlein and Christoph Jeggle (eds.), *Vorindustrielles Gewerbe: Handwerkliche Produktion und Arbeitsbeziehungen in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Konstanz: UVK, 2004), pp. 163–79.

56 LBr 289, fol. 62–63. and 79–80.

57 LBr 289, fol. 63.

58 Observatoire B 3.4, fol. 347–50.

59 BBAW, Nachlass Kirch 119, fol. 26.

60 Herbst, *Korrespondenz*, II, p. 372.

61 Observatoire D 2.1, entry of the 9 September 1683 (n.p.).

62 BBAW, Nachlass Kirch 119–20; BBAW I–XIV-26, fol. 7; Sturdy, *Science and Social Status*, pp. 307–08 and 324–41.

63 Zentralbibliothek (ZB) Zürich, Nachlass Scheuchzer H 297, fol. 61–70.

64 See the prosopographic information provided by Sturdy, *Science and Social Status*, and my own data for the academies in London, Paris and Berlin.

65 Cf. for the sixteenth century Algazi, "Scholars in Households".

66 Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (Institut), Ms. 2003, fol. 7; BNF f.f. 22226, fol. 263–68; Sturdy, *Science and Social Status*.

67 See Paula Findlen, "Translating the New Science: Women and the Circulation of Knowledge in Enlightenment Italy", *Configurations* 3, 2 (1995), pp. 167–206; cf. for German scholarly dynasties Wilfried Euler, "Entstehung und Entwicklung deutscher Gelehrtengeschlechter", in Hellmuth Rössler and Günther Franz (eds.), *Universität und Gelehrtenstand 1400–1800* (Limburg: Starke, 1970), pp. 183–232, with the argument that dynasties largely followed matrilineal logics.

68 UB Leipzig, Ms 092, pp. 427–31; Alphonse des Vignoles, "Eloge de Madame Kirch à l'occasion de laquelle on parle de quelques autres Femmes & d'un Paisan Astronomes", *Bibliothèque Germanique* III (1722), pp. 155–83.

69 Cf. Elizabeth Harding, "The Early Modern German Professor at Home: Masculinity, Bachelorhood and Family Concepts (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)", *gender & history* 27, 3 (2015), pp. 736–51; cf. for the crucial role played by mothers and sisters of bachelors Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy: Identities, Families and Masculinities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 164–68.

70 Muséum, Ms. 89, cahier 1. BBAW I-IV-6, p. 110.

71 Vignoles, "Eloge de M. Kirch", pp. 349–50.

72 Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 270; cf. Raffaella Sarti, "Nubili e celibi tra scelta e costrizione: I percorsi di Clio (Europa occidentale, secoli XVI–XX)", in Margareth Lanzinger and Raffaella Sarti (eds.), *Nubili celibi tra scelta e costrizione (secoli XVI–XIX)* (Udine: Forum, 2006), pp. 145–318.

73 BL Sloane 3360, fol. 5 (for the quote) and Sloane 2311, fol. 10.

74 FrSt H D 121, 52, fol. 213–18.

75 Herbst, *Korrespondenz*, II, pp. 498–99; Basle, L Ia 724, fol. 218–42; BBAW Nachlass Kirch 7, fol. 20.

76 Harnack, *Berichte des Secretars*, pp. 96–97.

77 Cf. Anke Bennholdt-Thomsen and Alfredo Guzzoni, "Gelehrte Arbeit von Frauen: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Querelles* 1 (1996), pp. 48–76; Katherine R. Goodman, "Learning and Guildwork. Luise Gottsched as 'Gehülfin'", in Hohkamp and Jancke (eds.), *Nonne, Königin*, pp. 83–108.

78 BBAW, Nachlass Kirch 124. Cf. CR 2.39, entry for the 6 March 1707.

79 CR 2.31–2.51, e.g. here 2.34, p. 43; for the Hebrew transliteration of German words see Kühn and Rebiger, "Hidden Secrets".

80 Maria Kirch's journal book: CR 2.34, pp. 29–30; her report: Observatoire B 3.7, No. 83,p. 41 B; Gottfried Kirch's journal book: Observatoire, B 3.5, Beobachtungsbuch 1702, p. 33; His public reports BBAW, Nachlass Kirch 32.

81 Cf. Shapin, "The Invisible Technician"; Margareth Lanzinger, "The Visibility of Women's Work: Logics and Contexts of Documents' Production", in Sarti, Bellavitis and Martini (eds.): *What Is Work?*, pp. 243–64.

82 Observatoire, B 3.1, entry for the 14/24 November 1683; BBAW Nachlass Kirch 7, fol. 20.

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90 Johann Jacob Wippel, *Das Leben des Weiland berühmten Rectors an dem Gymnasio zum Grauen Kloster Berlin, Johann Leonhard Frisch* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1744), p. 16.
91 Institut Ms 2003, p. 7. BNF f.f. 22226, pp. 261–68; Nelson-Martin Dawson, *L'Atelier Delisle: L'Amérique du Nord sur la table à dessin* (Sillery: Septentrion, 2000), p. 74.
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94 BBAW, I–IV–6, p. 32.
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97 BBAW, I–IV–6, fol. 34. Harnack: *Berichte des Secretars*, pp. 77–78.
98 Iliffe and Willmoth, "Astronomy and the Domestic Sphere"; Johann Leonhard Frisch, *Vorstellung der Vögel* (Berlin: Frisch, 1734–63).
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100 BBAW, Nachlass Kirch 118b; CR 2.72; Eric J. Aiton (ed.), *Leonhard Euler: Commentationes machanicae et astronomicae ad physicam cosmicam pertinentes* (Basle: Birkhauser, 1996), pp. LXIX.
101 Friedhelm Schwemin, *Der Berliner Astronom. Leben und Werk von Johann Elert Bode 1747–1826* (Frankfurt: Deutsch, 2006), pp. 23 and 143–44 (144).
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PART IV

Leisure and sociability

8

LEISURE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

Catherine Richardson

Introduction

In order to see what is at stake for our understanding of households in the subject of domestic leisure, we need to step outside the door of the house and into the more public spaces of the town. Isaac Tiler, a 60-year-old weaver of the City of Worcester in the English Midlands, came to court in 1621 to depose about a slander. Sometime between last May Day and Whitsuntide, "this deponent beinge in the house of John Atherie in the parishe of St Peters", which was apparently an alehouse because Isaac was "drinkinge with some Companie", he witnessed "the plaintiff and defendant [both male] with other Companie at Shove groate". Things began to go wrong when,

> uppon some difference of their game there were many speaches passed betwixt them. And this deponent heard the defendant verie maliciously and in great Anger use these wordes unto the plaintiff [...]. Thow art a drunckard and drunckardes maynteyne thee and thou arte a theeffe for thou did steele a Cloth of the hedge of William Davies and madest therewith Foresleeves.

He spoke these slanderous words "in the presence of him this deponent [...] with divers others".[1] It is a short and simple tale that could be repeated time and again from the local court materials of early modern England. Its dynamics of drinking, gaming, bad behaviour and semi-public slander outside the domestic environment form what was seen by contemporaries as the dark and immoral 'other' for the activities explored in this chapter.

The relationship between leisure and domestic space was at the heart of a series of moralized discourses around wasted time, sin, public order and the lure of the capital city across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. The broad structures of these debates, and their seriousness for the individual soul and the state of the nation, provide a sometimes surprising context for what we might think of today as the light-hearted matter of recreation. In the first place, leisure pursuits attracted the ire of the godly. Philip Stubbes, in his popular *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), railed particularly strongly against disrespectful uses of the Sabbath, which he saw spent by many,

> in frequenting of baudie Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of misrule [...] May-games, Church-ales, feasts and wakeesses: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse playing: in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like [...] In foot-ball playing, and such other devilish pastimes: reading of lacivious and wanton bookes, and an infinit number of such like practises and prophane exercises used uppon that day, wherby the Lord God is dishonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his sacraments contemned and his People mervelously corrupted, and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes.[2]

In cataloguing abominations, Stubbes offered a handy list of the most prevalent forms of leisure activity in popular use at the time: both 'traditional' (Catholic) practices of ritual seasonal festivity such as May games, and the range of entertainment to which early modern men and women could subscribe at periods of rest during the working week. In his more detailed anatomy of each of these abuses, he was sensitive to the locations within which they took place, showing how setting might turn potentially healthful activity into sin. The use of music "priuatly in a mans secret Chamber or house for his owne solace or comfort to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, solicitude, care, sorrowe", for instance, "were very commendable and tollerable", and "would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to serue God the better".[3] Domestic entertainment was preferable to attendance at "gaming houses", where "swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the Name of GOD, [...] stinkinge Whordome, Thefte, Robberie, Deceipt, Fraude, Cosenage, fighting Quareling, and sometymes Murder [...]" follow gaming, "as the shadowe doth follow the body".[4] The richness and rhetorical force of the language shows how crucial the religious context of the period is for understanding the significance of leisure pursuits.

Such "Puritans and precise people" as Stubbes, with their Sabbatarian leanings, found, however, no lesser an adversary than King James I, who published his *Book of Sports* in 1618, in which he defended the "common people's" "leave to exercise", arguing that this must take place "upon the Sundayes and Holydayes, seeing they must apply their labour, and winne their living in all working dayes".[5] This takes us straight into the status distinctions around leisure activities: the rich had perpetual leisure and risked boredom and inactivity; the poorer had too little and risked exhaustion and the damaging effects of a lack of recreation; the middling sat uncomfortably between the two. The type of physically beneficial outside pursuits James was trying to encourage include dancing, archery and leaping, "May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances", but he did proscribe activities including bowling, "at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited", referring to an act of Henry VIII which aimed to keep people at home for games, and including "play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards".[6] Writers in condemnation and support all identified the distinction between communal and domestic leisure pursuits as crucial for the spiritual and social health of the community.

Secular, pragmatic arguments against entertainment were also made by governors. Large numbers of people congregating at London's theatres, and at the entertainments put on in provincial urban centres by travelling players, were unwelcome because they caused potential public order offences and threatened plague. With urban elites increasingly puritanically inclined in some areas, this line of reasoning may also have been used as an excuse to exclude 'ludeness', even when sponsored by the nobility who patronized playing companies.[7] Urban rulers were also keen to crack down on the disorder they found in alehouses. Unlike either traditional festivities or plays, these establishments rarely found

prominent supporters and belonged most clearly to the lower orders. Sir Richard Grosvenor, writing in 1625, described an alehouse as "a receptacle for knaves and harlotts; the robbers counsell chamber; the beggars nurserye; the draunkard's academye; the theeves sanctuarye", in language clearly akin to Stubbes' wider condemnations.[8]

Elite entertainment was also occasionally regulated. It was during this period that the London 'season' developed, the provincial elite descending on the capital with wives, children and servants. Dedicated shopping centres such as the New Exchange sprang up,[9] and these elite visitors added to the large captive audience that made the provision of static venues for commercial entertainment financially viable. The massive increase in numbers in London at certain times of the year was felt to drain the provinces not only economically but also socially – the elite could not be fulfilling their patriarchal responsibilities of good government in the counties if they abandoned domestic hospitality for new goods and commercial entertainment. James I repeatedly required all gentlemen to return to their mansions in the country unless they had special business and Privy Council permission.[10]

This was the vocal public entertainment context against which household leisure was tacitly approved. The 'private' side of early modern leisure is much less fully researched, despite the fact that the two make full sense only in relation to one another. It still largely remains to establish in detail who retired to their houses to avoid the kind of conflicts depicted in the court case above, and what they did whilst indoors.

State of research

The topic of leisure in early modern English homes has, then, received rather patchy consideration. For a start, the terminology is inexact or complex at the least – subjects of analysis include 'leisure', the time free after work is completed, 'sociability', or friendly liaison and company-keeping, which may or may not be tied up with working and networking, and 'entertainment', in its contemporary meanings of the hospitality offered to others within one's own house (mainly involving provision of food and drink), and in its more modern sense of amusement, especially through performance. These distinct but related concepts have typically been considered by, respectively, historians of early-early modern (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and late-early modern (long eighteenth century) Britain and, in the final case, scholars of London's high-profile commercial entertainment industry, primarily the theatres for which Shakespeare and his contemporaries wrote. Embedded in the distinctions between leisure, sociability and entertainment is an implicit sense of active and passive responses to external stimulae, and of the more or less hierarchical relationships that come with taking on the role of performer or audience. These roles can help us understand the dynamics of behaviour in the early modern household, and add to our sense of its political role.

In a high-profile exchange in 1995 in the journal *Past & Present*, under the title "The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe", Peter Burke and Joan-Lluis Marfany argued over the significance of changes in leisure in the periods before and after the Industrial Revolution. Burke suggested that the decisive break in practice between a festival and a leisure culture that revolution had traditionally been seen to effect (with the firm border it brought to working time) was in fact false, but that leisure became less marginal in the early modern period, partly as a reaction to the increasing regulation of social intercourse. He claimed that a "package of pastimes", offering a choice between different activities, was recognized during the "small but regular doses of daily and weekly recreation" for the first time.[11] He rejected Marfany's argument for the a-historicity of leisure activities, but did

clarify the social reach of the change he identified, stating that it affected the nobility most clearly.

Such arguments were grounded on the bedrock of popular culture studies – related to the broader point that recreation was the cause of 'cultural conflict' stemming from Reformation forces of hostility to festival culture (seen above with Stubbes) and a social and cultural divide between traditional customs and new moral standards.[12] Wider discussions focused on the changing cultural relationships over the early modern period, both Burke's own work modifying Robert Redfield's model of 'great' and 'little' traditions in a European context, and literary scholars' analysis of arguments about carnival as social inversion and bodily release. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, like Burke, traced the increasing withdrawal of particular groups from popular culture, identifying "the formation of the cultural Imaginary of the middle class in post-Renaissance Europe", as culture and society became increasingly 'polite', regulated and focused away from the bodily.[13] This process of regulation is what Burke saw as part-cause of the increase in 'self-conscious' leisure. Whereas in the early modern period "popular culture was everyone's culture", by 1800 clear divisions between the activities of different social groups were visible and the "clergy, the nobility, the merchants, the professional men – and their wives – had abandoned popular culture to the lower classes, from whom they were now separated, as never before, by profound differences in world view".[14] The slippage between Burke's inclusive elite and Stallybrass and White's narrower middle class has been addressed by studies that have investigated in finer detail early modern British culture's status dynamics; its regional, chronological and gendered specificities have also partly been explored.[15]

This chapter addresses a gap in the historiography – how domestic space shaped such events. Its focus is on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England as a key period of development. We need to consider both the way leisure formed new types of alliance and behaviour, and the significance of these households in such social and cultural developments. I aim in what follows, therefore, to identify the spaces in which leisure activity took place, to explore the objects and practices with which it was associated, and to locate particular forms of domestic leisure within the social hierarchy. It will be argued that this early-early modern period, in which material and cultural proliferation of leisure possibilities begins, affected different groups and parts of the country in diverse ways.

Places, objects and practices

The location of leisure

If we are fully to understand the experience of leisure in the early modern house, then we need to identify the spaces within which it took place. The majority of early modern houses had in common a hall for daytime use and chambers for sleeping. For most of the population, then, the hall was the room in which the household and their visitors would spend any available free time. For the middling and above, additional spaces made it possible to 'retire' out of this central space to conduct particular types of leisure activity that were usually linked to dining, with a smaller group of invited guests, or without the servants and apprentices with whom one shared the house. Parlours, for instance, were "bed-sitting rooms", used for entertaining and dining as well as providing prestigious sleeping space.[16] In their study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kentish and Cornish inventories, Mark Overton and colleagues argue that,

> The presence of a parlour was clearly related to the size of house: the larger a house, the more likely that it would contain a parlour. [...] The function of the parlour in our sample of Kent inventories changed during the seventeenth century from a room for sleeping in, to one for sitting, eating and dining.[17]

This clarification of use indicates a desire amongst wealthy later seventeenth century householders for rooms with a single function, in which leisure could be divided from sleeping space but also from the spaces of daily work. Earlier in the period, we know that some middling men fulfilled their urban administrative functions within their parlours, reusing them later in the day for leisure activities.[18] Above the social middle, separability was the case at a much earlier period, and some elite properties benefited from not only single-use parlours but also banqueting houses.[19]

These rooms were buried deep within and behind houses, offering reserved spaces of increasing seclusion for honoured guests. In an urban context, however, the pressures on space produced different configurations, and the necessity for a shop to take up the ground floor street frontage meant that primary space for mercantile entertaining moved to the room above it. Such spaces, with their close engagement with the street below and the houses opposite, suggest a different, more outward-looking perspective in which the occupants are engaged with the wider community during their leisure time, rather than being spatially and metaphorically separated from it. Such spaces were permeable in both directions, with inhabitants able to engage visually and aurally, and passers-by able to view and hear activities within.[20]

All these 'leisure rooms' were marked out as such in inventories by their provision of additional dining furniture, and a higher level of comfort than other rooms within the same house, offering a qualitatively different experience which suggests they were specifically furnished for entertaining. In parlours, for example, were kept a high proportion of stools and cushions, objects related to leisure and literate pursuits, and items indicative of comfort. This suggests such rooms were the best places to spend time away from work. They could also be highly decorated: for instance, John Baker of Canterbury, who died in 1592, had furnished his parlour with hanging cloths of dornix and four pictures: two of arms and two stories.[21] And ornament was also painted directly onto the walls as an investment in fixed decoration – common themes were mainly biblical, the most popular including Abraham and Isaac, the fall of Adam and Eve, the Prodigal Son and the Judgment of Solomon, stories that featured various types of meditation on obedience.[22] Material investment in rooms designed for comfort and visual stimulation reaches from the elite down to the lower middling in some communities, indicating a broad social base for the perceived need for leisure spaces.

The stuff of leisure

These spaces offered appropriate contexts for hospitable dining, then, but we need to explore what other entertainment was possible there. We can consider quantitatively the material culture of leisure by looking at the occurrence of the objects that facilitated it in probate inventories.[23] This section concentrates on three types of objects that turn up relatively frequently in testamentary record, focusing on musical instruments and contrasting them with playing tables and books. These things are chosen because they permit the exploration of different levels of competency and skill, and distinct kinds of interaction between participants.

The instances given in Table 8.1 for musical instrument ownership are relatively small, reinforcing the idea that these objects are associated with a skill that often required professional tuition and the hours of practice needed to develop it, and was therefore available to a smaller percentage of the community. Instruments were apparently hard to buy locally (none are listed in shop inventories for these sample communities of the south and Midlands of England and no makers are listed, although there were makers in other, larger, towns). They may well have been sourced from London.[24] The largest numbers in Canterbury were kept in the hall (38 per cent), followed by the parlour.

There is also variety within the category, of course. All communities that had instruments had at least one lute. The village of Bethersden, whose inventories show the smallest number of households possessing an instrument (see Table 8.1), had five viols and three lutes, both stringed instruments, the former played with a bow and the latter with the fingers.[26] Sandwich households owned lutes and virginals (keyed instruments),[27] and in Faversham they possessed virginals, lutes and a gittern (a wire-strung guitar-type instrument). Canterbury, with the widest variety of instrument types, had virginals, lutes and gitterns too, and in addition citterns (very similar to gitterns but apparently less finely made and with a gentler sound), clavichords (keyed instruments),[28] and a pair of regals or portable organs.[29] The mixture of stringed and keyed instruments in use in urban areas in these examples is striking, and suggests communal domestic music making that goes beyond the activities of a single household.

We can explore some of these inventories in more detail, for clues to how the instruments were used. Interesting patterns emerge, of a small number of houses in which musical activity was concentrated, with others owning single instruments which they may have used to learn skills, and perhaps brought with them on social occasions to make up larger groups. Bethersden lies on the eastern edge of the Weald of Kent, just above the town of Tenterden. It was one of the largest villages locally in the later sixteenth century, inhabited in the 1560s by 700 people mainly following farming and textile-related trades.[30] Earlier records are also extant for the way music contributed to communal life, the churchwardens' accounts including records of the "gardianorum ludor", or wardens of the play, dated 1521,[31] which record payments associated with a touring performance of a play of St Christina, including a sum given to minstrels.

The inventory of Bethersden resident Jasper Lother, whose occupation is not given but who was clearly involved in textile production, offers an example of music-making within a rural community. Jasper died in 1584, and his inventory was valued at £32 2s 4d (in the

Table 8.1 Numbers of musical instruments listed in inventories in six sample parishes in Kent, 1560–1600[25]

Place	*Unnamed room*	*Chamber*	*Hall*	*Parlour*
Bethersden (128 inventories)	8			
Canterbury (582 inventories)	11	4	13	10
Faversham (215 inventories)	2	1	1	4
Sandwich (288 inventories)	1	1	3	1
Tenterden (173 inventories)	1			
Woodnesborough (44 inventories)	1			

top half of values for the village).[32] The objects in his possession when he died are not listed in rooms, but their range places him socially. He owned two beds, six old chests, one with linen, another with pewter. In addition to other furniture (two cupboards, five tables and a form) his working goods are listed: two narrow looms, his most valuable possessions at 50s, cloth, wool and yarn, and "a little shop that is moveable", suggesting that he took what he wove to local fairs and markets. This appears to be the inventory of a man of upper artisanal status, but perhaps just below the emerging middling sort – he had tablecloths and pewter, but not in large numbers, and he owned (currently at least) no silverware, cushions or especially impressive bedding. Jasper's most striking possessions, in this context, were five viols and three lutes (all Bethersden's instruments), with certain books of music, a Bible and small books. These goods were valued together at 46s 8d. Given the context of this tight-knit community with its historical interest in performance, the ownership of a whole range of instruments and the books with which they were used suggests organized and concentrated activity with a clear purpose and a high level of musically and textually literate skill.

Moving up the country to the Midlands, in urban Stratford-upon-Avon the pattern was interestingly similar. Stratford had around 2,000 occupants in the 1560s and was an important market town. Leonard Kempson, gentleman, who died in 1625, had a concentration of musical instruments in his hall, the only ones listed in the town's inventories for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Alongside two tables, three chairs and 13 stools with six cushions on which to sit, Leonard owned a flute, a recorder, a cittern, a pair of virginals and two viols, as well as a music book.[33]

In sixteenth-century Birmingham, also with a population of around 2,000, the picture was considerably more disparate. Musical instruments are listed in the inventories of three households, those of a gentleman in 1565–1566, a tanner in 1566–1567 and a brewer in 1591. William Askerick, the gentleman, had goods listed in a hall, buttery, five chambers, a kitchen and various outhouses and an inventory total of £262 13s 4d. In the chamber over the hall, along with beds and storage furniture (not his best), the appraisers valued his weapons, "one presse, one water potte of pewter, one lute, one brushe, tow botteles of Tynne & the paynted hangynges" at 6s 6d.[34] Richard Whitall the tanner's £44 9s 8d of goods were listed in hall, parlour, kitchen, two chambers and a tanhouse. In his hall, in which he also cooked, he had table, form, two chairs, cupboards, his cooking equipment and "2 bottles, on candelsticke, on fyer forcke, on pere of wafforon yrons, on pere of virginalls",[35] all priced at 11s. Finally, John Howlet the brewer owned only £11 7s worth of goods in hall, parlour, kitchen, three chambers and tavern, but his heated hall was furnished with a table, form, two small stools, cushions, painted cloths and "one Small payre of virgynalls" worth 10s, perhaps for customers' use but more likely for his own.[36]

Birmingham's single instruments appear in prosaic contexts, priced in with other disparate goods, indicating that they were not considered significant possessions. They may have been inherited from a previous generation of the family when economic circumstances allowed more leisure, or have been used in conjunction with other tasks. Askerick's inventory is filled with expensive and high-status goods, such as silverware, but even in this case there is little sense of a room furnished for a conspicuous display of hospitality, in which music-making might take place. These inventories point to a more general and perhaps less developed range of leisure activities in pre-industrial Birmingham, with little specialization.

In contrast to all the previous examples, in the larger urban context of Canterbury, with a population of 3,700 in 1560 rising to around 6,000 by the end of the century, and with close links to both its cathedral and to London, the group involved in musical activity was

larger. William Selbye, erstwhile Master of the Cathedral Choristers, died in 1583 leaving his virginals to his wife.[37] His inventory demonstrates a high material status, despite being valued at only £30 7s 11d, and implies two contexts for music-making. It is divided into hall, parlour, buttery, kitchen, chambers over hall and parlour, and street chamber. The hall was furnished simply with tables, forms, a chair and some weaponry, but also contained his pair of virginals with the board they stood on, valued at 13s 4d, and a pair of clavichords at 2s. In the heated parlour, alongside a curtained and tested bedstead and storage furniture, were six stools, two chairs and his pair of regals, the portable organs being valued at 40s. Even after his retirement from the cathedral, Selbye apparently played music at home in two different rooms. His collection of pewter and silverware – two silver salts, a cup and nine silver spoons – indicate that he also entertained guests hospitably.

This and other documents suggest that hospitable music-making at home, linked to a familiarity and facility with occupational music at the cathedral, was an important feature of leisure time in late sixteenth-century Canterbury for which appropriate spaces had been furnished in various houses. James Benchkin, erstwhile lay clerk in the cathedral choir, had worked as the Dean and Chapter's beadle, but was also a wool dealer.[38] Goods in his house in St Mildred's parish were valued at £197 4s 11d at his death in 1582, and listed in hall, parlour, kitchen and five further rooms.[39] The hall, in which virginals valued at only 20d were listed, had cushions for its chairs, stools and forms, and a carpet for its table. In the chamber above, two old lutes at 5s were kept with the family's valuables in 12 chests and four coffers. But the main room for music-making was the heated parlour in which more valuable virginals, priced at 20s, could be used with a round table, stools with cushions, a map and a table (picture) of the queen's arms on the wall, as well as a bible, testament and book of common prayer. The mixture of old and more valuable instruments indicates at least one lifetime of music making.

Benchkin's will reveals something of his cultural life and attitudes towards leisure. He left his son John all his books in English, Latin and French, excepting those given to his wife, and provided money for him to study, as long as he did not spend his time carding, dicing or whore-hunting.[40] The terms of this provision offered two opposed notions of appropriate recreation for John to consider when he attended the University of Cambridge, with his fellow townsman the playwright Christopher Marlowe. In John's mother's undated inventory, the virginals were still listed in the parlour and had retained their value, although the household was considerably diminished, the extra goods presumably surplus to the requirements of widowhood.[41] Preserving this instrument indicates that it was central to Mrs Benchkin's gendered concept of middling identity. William Selbye also left his wife a pair of virginals, which perhaps suggests that the gatherings at which these instruments were used were mixed ones.[42] In marked contrast to trumpets and tabors, stringed instruments "produced sounds that combined a sometimes exquisite beauty with an air of introversion, prudence and privacy",[43] Christopher Marsh argues, an observation that suggests that the music these instruments produced may in itself have created the sense of domestic harmony and controlled interaction that householders with pretentions to elite status coveted. Often understood metaphorically in terms of concord, making music together had obvious social benefits. Canterbury's music-making crossed domestic boundaries in terms of skills learned elsewhere and practised at home. The cathedral connection shows the extent to which the choice of leisure activity available was place-specific, influenced by local skill sets, the size of the town and perhaps its levels of immigration from London and beyond.

Contrasting musical provision briefly with the ownership of playing tables and books gives further insight into these questions of skill and social reach. Table 8.2 shows that tables, folding boards on which a game akin to backgammon could be played, were found in each of the sample communities of Kent, rural and urban, suggesting wide popularity as a form of domestic entertainment. These findings indicate that playing tables had a large social reach for a domestic leisure activity, kept in halls to ensure they were available to the household as a whole as well as parlours for reserved activity. Playing at tables was an occasional and universal activity, requiring a rather more pragmatic type of skill that could be learned informally, and apparently therefore potentially open to all types of individual. Tables were also owned by innholders, offering a choice of domestic or public location and playing companions (unlike, e.g., bowls which most people could not play at home, or music, which was rarely played by amateurs in public).

We can turn rapidly to the Midlands, where playing tables are listed much less frequently by the appraisers of inventories. The two sets in the Birmingham inventories from 1512–1603 were both owned by men who were also instrument owners – John Howlet the brewer, who kept them in his parlour where they were priced with his table, form, two chairs and six cushions at 6s (his virginals were in his hall); and William Askerick the gentleman, who kept them in his hall (his lute was in the chamber over it).[45] Both men were clearly invested in domestic leisure, offering a range of activity and location, and it may be that their neighbours visited them to enjoy these activities.

In Stratford-upon-Avon five sets of tables were listed, in 1595, 1596, 1605, 1622 and 1631 respectively, all but the first one belonging to widows.[46] Only three were listed in a specific room: Anne Hiccox and Alice Williams kept theirs in their halls, and Rose Palmer in her chamber.[47] We might surmise that having leisure equipment at home was important for respectable widows, for whom it would not be appropriate to visit an alehouse.

In contrast to the social promiscuousness of playing tables, reading was a skilled pursuit which, like music-making, had both professional and amateur, or leisure, uses – skills could be transferred from public to private spaces, and from working time to moments of rest. In both cases, leisure involves the notion of performance of skill within a small space and with a carefully limited and very involved audience. It will be noted that many of the examples of rooms in which instruments and playing tables were kept also contained books, especially in Kent. In a period where most reading was still performed aloud,[48] books also produced different types of participation that were embodied as forms of performance and listening, reanimating a written 'text'.

Table 8.2 Numbers of playing tables listed in inventories in six sample communities in Kent, 1560–1600[44]

Place	*Unnamed room*	*Buttery*	*Chamber*	*Hall*	*Kitchen*	*Parlour*
Bethersden	1			1		
Canterbury	5		3	36	1	16
Faversham	2			14	1	12
Sandwich	3	1	2	12		12
Tenterden	4	1		3		
Woodnesborough					1	1

Table 8.3 Numbers of books listed in inventories in six sample communities in Kent, 1560–1600[49]

Place	*Unnamed room*	*Buttery*	*Chamber*	*Hall*	*Kitchen*	*Parlour*
Bethersden	16	1				
Canterbury	148		21	53	5	21
Faversham	19		5	19	1	15
Sandwich	49		10	33	1	10
Tenterden	17		1	7	2	7
Woodnesborough	2			2		1

More has been written about book ownership in this period than about ownership of musical instruments or playing tables, and although a good deal of it still focuses on elite private libraries, we do have a sense of how ownership grew as literacy expanded, especially in urban contexts.[50] In Cornwall and Kent, for instance, Overton et al. find that "the peak period for ownership [...] was 1630–59". They relate this to Peter Clark's earlier work, where he showed that "the incidence of book ownership amongst males in Canterbury inventories rose from 8 per cent in the 1560s to 46 per cent in the 1630s".[51] Although the pattern is less clear-cut in Stratford-upon-Avon, there is a discernible rise in book ownership in the inventories from the 1600s, especially prominent in the first 30 years of the century.

Little of this work, however, has considered where the books were kept, with the implications this has for types of use. In Kent in the latter half of the sixteenth century, for instance, 53 per cent of books were kept in halls, 24 per cent in parlours and 18 per cent in chambers, and given the small number of parlours involved, they clearly offered a very significant space for keeping reading material for leisure use.[52] Such urban parlours contained essential volumes ready for use – e.g. a "little old bible, book of homilies, herbal, psalter and other little books of prayers" – rather than a 'library' kept apart in a study.[53]

We can consider reading material in the context of the types of decorated leisure spaces described above. In the sixteenth century in particular, textual material was popular as painted wall decoration. Often in black letter script in a frieze around the upper walls of the room, or painted above a fireplace, printed books of examples offered householders inspiration. Thomas Tusser's 1573 *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*,[54] for instance, provided 'Poesies' exploring the theme of friendship to use to decorate the parlour: "The quiet friend all one in word and deed/Great comfort is, like ready gold at need [...]".[55] Many such schemes are still extant. At 3, Cornmarket, Oxford, to give one example, a second-floor room is decorated with wall paintings provisionally dated to c.1564–1581, when the property was tenanted to John Tattleton, a tailor and local dignitary. A frieze running along the top of two walls instructs: "In the mornynge earlye/serve god Devoutlye/Fear god above allthynge".

Texts read in such rooms were capable, then, of setting up especially intense echoes with the decoration of the spaces within which they were consulted, making for a particularly situated leisure experience. We are familiar with the concept of Humanistic 'reading for use', but there is a tendency to understand it as a more or less solitary text- and study-based activity.[56] Kate Loveman, talking about Pepys' reading, suggests that "Restoration sources encourage us to think of 'reading' as a spectrum of activities" including reading aloud and

listening to someone doing so, and singing from a music book.[57] We can push this intuition back into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even more confidently, where reading was an intensely multi-surface activity involving performance not only of text but of context. In such spaces, it becomes a way of understanding the exemplary qualities of a range of surfaces, figures and actions, the rooms of the household nourishing the moral and spiritual purposes of leisure activities.

Leisure in motion

Account books provide us with a different perspective on domestic leisure, permitting consideration of the balance and regularity of different leisure activities within an individual's practice. Through them, we can 'animate' the things considered above by exploring the timescales of their use.

These sources allow us to see the relationship between leisure activities and the life course. James Master, Esq. began his expenses book in 1646. His father, a younger brother apprenticed grocer in London, died when he was 11 years old leaving him worth £450 a year. He lived with his mother and stepfather in Essex as a child, and then with his stepbrother Sir Thomas Walsingham in Chislehurst in Kent. Born around 1622, James began his account book when he "came of age, w^{ch} was ye 14th of Novemb. 1646".[58] This book gives us the chance, then, to see a young man of means establishing a pattern of leisure appropriate to his age and status.

In the first full month of his accounts he bought five books and pamphlets (including a writing book and almanack, Virgil's *Georgicks in English* and Ben Jonson's *Timber*) and he began to educate himself in leisure pursuits: he paid to borrow a lute for the month, and later for a lute teacher ("For learning one month on ye lute 10s"),[59] and for three visits from his writing master (2s 6d). He lost more than the master's wages – 3s – at cards, apparently in the one sitting on 3 December, and he paid for snacks such as milk, sugar and eggs, sweetmeats and two lots of raisins, probably to consume with company. This broad pattern of text, skill and snacks continued relatively unchanged over the first few years of the diary.[60]

We can also use the account book to trace continuing interest in an activity through purchase of associated objects. Master bought, for instance, "a boo[k] concerning usury, & another about chesse [chess]" in November 1652,[61] having purchased a chessboard and men in June 1647, and further men that July, presumably of better quality because they cost nearly as much as his initial board and men together. New interests included hawking. In addition to the purchase of several sparrow hawks and goshawks, including payment of £2 10s for "my share of a flying goshawk brought out of Holland",[62] Masters purchased accessories for the birds – for instance "For all trimming for my selfe & my hawke 12s",[63] or a "cloth to line ye Goshawke's perch 2s".[64] Such repeated purchases of accoutrements might be a feature of gentry leisure in particular, one to which London shops and eventually provincial establishments took care to cater.

When we consider the locations for Masters' deployment of these activities, clear patterns emerge. In Cambridge, there are occasional offers of hospitality, for example "For cheese when ye [fellow commoners] Combina[*tion*] was in my cham[*ber*] 1s 6d",[65] and then large purchases of snacks, presumably to share, such as "gooseberrye tart, & a quart of creame".[66] After university, James began to be received into the houses of others for food and entertainment. As he matured, payments increased for losses at cards, in Sussex and elsewhere, and he was a regular contributor to the music that accompanied hospitable

dining, especially at Scadbury, his stepbrother's house, and at Sir Stephen Scot's at Hayes. His financial contribution indicates a desire to share in producing a sociable environment of food and entertainment, and therefore a period of settled sociability within the households of a select few. It also differentiates the practice of paying for professional entertainment from making music amongst friends. What is overwhelmingly clear in its absence from Masters' account book is the connection between the offer of hospitable leisure within one's own home – food, gambling and music – and the status of householder. In Masters' case, his bachelorhood left him unable to demonstrate his role as a mature male in this way; perhaps not needing to, even though he had come of age, because of the leisured lifestyle his status permitted him.

Much of the work on account books as evidence for sociability focuses, however, on the balance between eating at home and in public in the context of business networks. Ian Archer, for instance, calculates that Samuel Pepys takes 256 out of 346 meals at home in 1666, listing guests 120 times.[67] Westhauser argues that Pepys did not expand his hospitality across the period of his diary: "the number of visitors to his home remained small and fairly constant [...] and he neither invited company to dinner more frequently, nor expanded the size of the company he entertained at his table".[68] On the broader question of domestic sociability, however, Westhauser suggests that "As the middling sort of men rose to greater prominence in English society, some drew back from public house sociability, sought to expand hospitality in their own homes, and greatly altered their relations with their wives".[69]

For householders able to offer hospitality at home, important social networks were developed through such activities. Robert Woodford's diary exhibits an embattled social and religious identity: in perpetual debt, often to the point where he lacked any money for the day's provisions, he was also wary of mixing in company which would not allow him to be true to his religious convictions. Born in 1606 just outside the notoriously Puritan town of Northampton, his father a modest farmer and his mother the daughter of the lord of a local manor, he developed a Calvinist experimental predestinarianism following a spiritual conversion in infancy. Avoiding the ungodly was, however, fundamentally opposed to his career as a provincial attorney, which necessitated establishing local networks of patrons and clients. Just before the start of the diary he became steward of Northampton, the job giving him the rank of gentleman despite debts totalling around £200. For Woodford, leisure time spent socializing with peers was both essential in order to address his financial situation, and dangerous to the fate of his soul.[70]

Unsurprisingly, then, Woodford's patterns of socializing involved little time spent in inns, drinking or gambling. Domestic socializing, especially the acceptance and provision of hospitality around eating, was best suited to his social hopes and concerns. The diary gives a clear sense of the advantages he gained from these sociable meals: 'comfort' and 'refreshment' were important words for him, with their twin meanings of physical and spiritual nourishment. A significant part of his own comfort came from his interactions with the Rushworths (Francis, a local apothecary who served as churchwarden), and the Martins, father Thomas a woollen draper, mayor and eventually Justice of the Peace. In the morning of 12 Jan 1637/8, Woodford noted with eager anticipation,

> we are to have our lovinge freinds Mr Sam Martin & Mr Rushworth & their wives to supper with us to night, oh Lord give us comfort in o[u]r meetinge graunt that we may be cheerfull in the confidence of fayth & direct us to good & wholsome discourse that we may be bettered by it.

Later on that night he added "we had comforts in o[u]r freinds at supper to night blessed be the Lord".[71] And between these entries he noted that the churchwardens were to be excommunicated – in other words the meeting was partly for the pleasure of godly company, and partly to sustain morale in the face of external threat to their convictions.

Other places in the diary show the nature of the activities that produced comfort. On 4 Sept 1637, a court day, after dinner with Mr and Mrs Rushworth, Mr Fisher "of the Gaole" and his wife and Mr Rogers, the godly schoolmaster, Woodford stated that he was "much affected with the story of Crow (that so carefully kept his new testam[en]t in his p[er]ills) in the booke of Acts & mon.[uments] related by Mr Rogers, blessed be thy name oh Lord for the comfort of good freinds".[72] Rogers 'related' the story, perhaps reading it from a copy of Foxe's book, or perhaps telling it from memory. In either case, the circulation of such histories of the faith supplements reading of the Bible and hearing and discussing sermons to form a distinctively Puritan culture of domestic free time.[73]

Woodford was especially sensitive to the nature and extent of the audience for his domestic activities. On one not-untypical day just after Christmas, he stated that he first "prayed in secreat, & in private with my wife & in publiq & then we went to Mr Maiors to dinner".[74] His prayer was often divided in this way, secret presumably meaning by himself, private with his wife but not in front of his wider household, and public with the whole household. The division suggests how the household itself shaped a complex interplay between the roles he needed to adopt as a godly householder and the unmediated conversation he had with God as a devout Puritan. His diary entries reveal what he sees as the key elements of identity to be promulgated in domestic leisure situations, praying for "comforts & Cheerfullnes & moderacon & favor in their [his hosts'] eyes for the Lords sake Amen".[75] Public identities were being worked out in the behaviours around dining, and bonds strengthened around shared norms of cheerfulness and moderation in good company. Woodford, mediating between those below and considerably above him socially and financially, gives a clear sense of the importance of socializing to the confessionally-inflected middling sort and lower gentry in particular, and shows the vital significance of the domestic sphere as a context for successful social and professional life.

Conclusion

In these various examples, then, we have seen how the household offers a space within which social norms can be established for discrete groups, through a variety of skilled musical and text-based entertainments, usually offered in addition to hospitable dining. They were often linked to a type of hospitality that kept social and professional life moving, especially for the broad middling sort building up or maintaining a social position. Being indoors in domestic space for leisure time created groups with shared interests, allowing them to interact to strengthen those interests and further the social, moral, political and aesthetic aims that motivated them. Looking across the different types of activity addressed above, it is clear that we need to revisit the terminology to take into account the distinctions between time away from work, recreation, socializing, hospitality, performance and 'self-improvement' for different social groups.

The range of leisure activities being undertaken within the domestic sphere may not have been especially large in this period. Within a particular house it appears fairly narrow. Households seem to have specialized in larger towns, within a locally determined set of possibilities shaped by the presence of prominent institutions and proximity to London, demanding different types of skill. In some cases, such specialization must have given

a household a kind of 'leisure identity' served by objects and practices. In the context of increasingly oligarchic behaviour on the part of early modern townsmen, there was clearly a political aspect to these activities, but one that involved women as well as men. This shows leisure to be a household issue, akin in this sense to wider domestic credit networks, rather than solely a male one.[76] On the other hand, it is clear that those occasions did give men the opportunity to put into practice before a limited audience a set of behaviours desirable and effective for patriarchal masculinity. The evolution of the relationship between skills development, equipment acquisition and the formation of groups who spent time together would benefit from some detailed research into comparative examples.

It is only, however, easy to see what constituted the broader field of leisure in the writings of moralists such as Stubbes. It is hard to establish how individuals viewed the relationship between, for instance, reading and gambling, and the extent to which they regarded them as a cognate set of practices available in domestic and public spaces. Benchkin's will, which separated the two activities on moral grounds, is in sympathy with Stubbes but at odds with account books, in which individuals both gambled and purchased and lent books. What does come across strongly is the use of skills carried over from a working environment in domestic leisure situations, especially for the middling in whose spaces the two often coincided. By the end of the seventeenth century, there were apparently particular types of domestic specialization – household libraries, closets filled with curiosities and the mannered business of visiting cards indicate a much more specialized leisure activity, particular to the household. The design of multiple comfortable spaces, and the fashionable accessories of elite leisure, appear however to be moves in this direction.

Phil Withington, an important writer on early modern concepts of community, has discussed an intimate and powerful dynamics of company as "co-presence", identifying "public demonstration" as a category of action which he describes as "performance within co-presence".[77] This chapter has considered the impact that our understanding of leisure activities might have on our conception of categories of action we might consider 'domestic performance'; the firmness of the connections between action and space and, as a result, the connections between 'public' and 'private' activities and gestures. For men in particular, some activities – reading out loud in these resonantly decorated spaces most obviously, but also engaging in a focused intercourse with invited visitors – apparently developed a type of behaviour that we can identify as 'domestic', as opposed to 'public' or 'secret'. Leisure is the major contributory factor to its development, one that has thus far been little appreciated, and its political implications for the broad middle of society in particular clearly had an impact on the social, cultural and political operation of communities.

Notes

1 Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service 794.052, vol. 6, ff. 526–527.
2 Philip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583), sig. L2^{v}.
3 Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, sig. O4^{v}.
4 Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, sig. O9^{v} – P.
5 *The Kings Majesties declaration to his subjects, concerning lawfull sports to be used* (London: 1618), p. 5.
6 *The Kings Majesties declaration to his subjects, concerning lawfull sports to be used*, pp. 7–8.
7 For urban elites' response to travelling players see Siobhan Keenan, *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).
8 Quoted in Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), p. 19.
9 Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 53.

10 C. Firth, "The reign of Charles I", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3:6 (1912), pp. 19–64 (29–30).
11 Peter Burke, "The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present* 146 (1995), pp. 136–50 (148).
12 See, e.g. David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
13 Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 193.
14 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 270.
15 See, e.g. Barry Reay, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1985); Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500–1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).
16 Matthew Johnson, *English Houses, 1300–1800* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), pp. 149–50.
17 Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 130–32; see also Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), p. 225.
18 Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), chapter 5.
19 See, e.g., Mark Merry and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick, 1620* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 2012).
20 On the 'open house' see Joachim Eibach, "Das offene Haus: Kommunikative Praxis im sozialen Nahraum der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38:4 (2011), pp. 621–64.
21 All inventories in the Kent sample are held at the Kent History and Library Centre (hereafter KHLC). KHLC PRC 10.20.151.
22 For further detail see Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, pp. 198–215; Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Kathryn Davies, *Artisan Art: Vernacular Wall Paintings in the Welsh Marches, 1550–1650* (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2008).
23 This privileges, of course, those activities whose material culture had a value – playing cards, dice and a range of ephemeral creative raw materials such as embroidery silks, e.g., are rarely priced and do not often survive either, so are effectively excluded from this type of analysis.
24 For comparison, Christopher Marsh states that "a substantial and increasing proportion of the gentry lived within easy reach of a selection of instruments" and shows their social reach in Bristol, Essex and West Ham. They were "frequently lent and borrowed on all social levels". See Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.179, 181, 184.
25 The data in these tables is drawn from an analysis of 1430 inventories for the towns and villages of Canterbury, Faversham, Tenterden, Sandwich, Woodnesborough and Bethersden, made between 1560 and 1600. For further analysis of this material, see Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), chapter 2.
26 Viol: "musical instrument (in common use from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century) having five, six, or seven strings", played with a bow; lute: stringed instrument, popular "from the 14th to the 17th centuries, the strings of which are struck with the fingers of the right hand and stopped on the frets with those of the left", *Oxford English Dictionary* (cf. *www.oed.com*, last accessed 31 Aug. 2019).
27 "Keyed musical instrument (common in England in the 16th and 17th centuries), resembling a spinet, but set in a box or case without legs", *OED*, accessed 31 August 2019.
28 "Musical instrument with strings and keys […] resembling a square pianoforte, the tones being produced by the action on the strings of 'tangents' or small brass wedges attached in upright position to the back of the keys", *OED* accessed 31 August 2019.
29 "Small portable organ […] containing one or two sets of small reed pipes, and operated by means of a bellows worked by the player's left hand while the right hand plays the keyboard", *OED* accessed 31 August 2019.
30 Michael Zell, *Industry and the Countryside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 118.
31 James M. Gibson, *Records of Early English Drama: Kent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), p. LIX.
32 Inventory: KHLC PRC 10.16 f.47. Between 1565 and 1599, 38 per cent of the inventories relating to the parish had a total value of £20 or under: 15 per cent £20 to £30; 26 per cent £30 to

£60; 14 per cent £60 to £100; only 7 per cent £100. See Zell, *Industry and the* Countryside, p. 147, total sample size 107.

33 Alongside a case and the cushions, they are priced at £1 10s. The inventories are edited by Jeanne Jones (ed.), *Stratford-upon-Avon Inventories, 1538–1699*, vol. 1 (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 2002–3), number 170, pp. 345–46.
34 Jacqueline Geater, *Birmingham Wills and Inventories 1512–1603* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 2016), p. 182.
35 Geater, *Birmingham Wills*, pp. 196–98.
36 Geater, *Birmingham Wills*, pp. 311–12.
37 KHLC PRC 17.45.269
38 Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), p. 59.
39 KHLC PRC 10.10.389
40 KHLC PRC 17.44.36
41 KHLC PRC 10.15.261v, she also keeps the Bible and testament.
42 KHLC PRC 17.45.269.
43 Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 175–76.
44 Data from analysis of 1430 inventories for the towns and villages of Kent, 1560–1600.
45 Geater, *Birmingham Wills*.
46 Jones (ed.), *Stratford-upon-Avon Inventories*, vol 1 pp. 148, 158, 233, 324, vol.2 p. 40.
47 Jones (ed.), *Stratford-upon-Avon Inventories*, vol. 1, pp. 158, 324, vol. 2 p. 40.
48 Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660–1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
49 Data from analysis of 1,430 inventories for the towns and villages of Kent, 1560–1600. The sum of each entry underestimates ownership, as many entries refer to 'books'.
50 For wider context on rising literacy rates see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Rolf Engelsing's arguments for a 'reading revolution' in the later eighteenth century are critiqued in Colclough. For elite readers: cf. www.bibsoc.org.uk/sites/bibsoc.org.uk/files/English%20book%20owners%20in%20the%20seventeenth%20century_masterlist_2018_03.pdf last accessed 31 Aug. 2019; and for detailed studies of particular communities, see Clark, and cf. www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Pub/ArchCant/134-2014/134-08.pdf last accessed 31 Aug. 2019.
51 Overton et. al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 113.
52 Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, p. 196.
53 KHLC PRC 10.12.240
54 Thomas Tusser *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* (London, 1573).
55 Tusser, *Five Hundred Points*, p. 288
56 Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy", *Past & Present* 129 (1990), pp. 30–78.
57 Loveman, *Samuel Pepys*, p. 20.
58 Scott Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book of James Master Esq., A.D. 1646 to 1676", *Archaeologia Cantiana* 15 (1883), pp. 152–216 (160).
59 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 165.
60 Further skills development includes the services of masters of fencing, singing and dancing.
61 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 205.
62 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 188.
63 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 176.
64 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 190.
65 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 164.
66 Robertson (ed.), "The Expense-Book", p. 165.
67 Ian Archer, "Social Networks in Restoration London: The Evidence of Samuel Pepys's Diary", Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington eds., *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 76–94.
68 Karl E. Westhauser, "Friendship and Family in Early Modern England: The Sociability of Adam Eyre and Samuel Pepys", *Journal of Social History* 27, 3 (1994), pp. 517–36 (529).
69 Westhauser, "Friendship and Family", p. 530.

70 John Fielding (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Woodford, 1637–1641", *Royal Historical Society Camden Fifth Series* 42 (2013).
71 Fielding (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Woodford", p. 166.
72 Fielding (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Woodford", p. 107.
73 For further examples of godly reading Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, chapter 5; Cambers, *Godly Reading*.
74 Fielding (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Woodford", p. 155.
75 Fielding (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Woodford", p. 120.
76 On credit, see Craig Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998).
77 Phil Withington, "Company and Sociability in Early Modern England", *Social History* 32, 3 (2007), pp. 291–307 (301).

9

DOMESTIC SOCIABILITY AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE *BÜRGERTUM*

Frank Hatje

Introduction

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries sociability pervaded philosophical treatises, moral weeklies, novels and ego-documents like a *leitmotif*. Philosophical tradition did not question that man was a social being, but whether he was a sociable one stood up for debate. Epicurus and Hobbes denied it; Aristotle, Locke, Lessing and most of the Enlightenment philosophers firmly contended that he was. Rousseau and Kant safely concluded that man was both sociable and unsociable and maintained that, if the individual's self-interest was purged and reconciled with his natural inclination for interaction, man's "unsociable sociability" ("*ungesellige Geselligkeit*") could eventually lead to a truly civilized, and, in some way or another, republican society capable of a constant self-perfection according to the demands of reason.[1]

While the first and most popular of the German moral weeklies, *Der Patriot*, still focused on improving the individual's intellect, habits and ethical values against the social background of a city republic, *Der Gesellige*, by the mid-century, was wholly dedicated to both philosophical and practical issues of a 'true' sociability, which had already left behind any of its early modern corporatist forms and representations.[2] In answering the question "What is Enlightenment?" in 1784, the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn regarded learning, culture and Enlightenment as "modifications of sociability" – a notion that was further developed by Romanticist writers.[3] In a chapter of his novel *Lucinde*, Friedrich Schlegel outlined the ideal of a domestic sociability characterized by friendship and intellectually fruitful discourse.[4] Also in the year 1799, Friedrich Schleiermacher published an essay which distilled an idealistic theory from the sociable practices he had experienced in Berlin. His ideal was based on transcending the intellectual and social limitations of both professional routines and domestic privacy as well as on a 'free' communication among equals, thus turning sociability into the essence of a 'higher' republicanism.[5]

Philosophically speaking, the discourse on sociability was, with its emphasis on perfectibility, related to changes in eighteenth-century anthropology.[6] But it owed its crucial significance to the emergence of what historiography generally refers to as *Bürgertum*, although the contemporary term *gebildete Stände* (like 'the genteel' or 'the polite' in English) addresses more clearly what mattered most in terms of a (self-)definition between the mid-eighteenth

and mid-nineteenth century.[7] The *gebildete Stände* consisted of scholars, professionals, merchants, landed gentry and even higher nobility who laid great emphasis on an all-encompassing education (*Bildung*) and continuous self-education. In one way or another, their notion of education was inspired by John Locke's gentleman ideal, Rousseau's notion of overcoming the distortions of society by retrieving man's natural goodness, and was fuelled by sensualism and literary sentimentalism. They shared a widespread interest in debating the recent achievements in literature and philosophy, science and fine arts, theatre and music, which, from the 1770s onwards, also resulted in debating political and social reform. Unlike the persisting corporatist and estate-based society, their self-definition was not based on birth and privilege, honour and rank, office or profession, but on the moral and intellectual qualities of the individual, which were expressed by specific cultural codes. These codes derived from a perception of 'taste' which was to follow a well-tempered middle-road between luxury and modesty, and a sense of 'politeness' characterized by tactful, natural and sincere behaviour. 'Friendship' and 'sentiment' became key-terms in the contemporary definition of sociability. The tone of both conversations and correspondence was supposed to be light-footed and entertaining, witty and intellectually interesting, but also empathetic, benevolent and tolerant. Specialists' subjects were to be avoided, and formal compliments as well as any reference to social rank, office, or profession were to be abandoned. The individual was expected to contribute to the common good of a polity just as much as the common interest of a society.[8] Respective cultural codes resulted from both face-to-face and written communication, and they had to be learned and practised.[9] Hence, in order to cultivate the qualities that were essential for being integrated into the *gebildete Stände*, the individual needed privacy for reading, writing and self-reflection as much as sociability.

State of research: sociability between public and private

Evidently, sociability is one of the stages on which a society's norms and values, organization and structure are represented. Hence, the emergence of new forms and models of sociability and their development are closely related to phenomena of social change. Particularly with regard to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sociability functions as one of the most important modes of (trans-)forming society.[10] When speaking about sociability in this context, however, the greater part of German historical research emerging from the past decades has focused on voluntary associations and clubs, that is the new, institutionalized forms of sociability beyond the domestic sphere.[11] Eighteenth-century and Enlightenment studies took a particular interest in associations such as the so-called 'patriotic' or 'economic' societies, which aimed at gathering and propagating 'useful' knowledge and applying it to projects serving the common good,[12] as well as in the plethora of reading clubs and literary societies that linked the increasing appetite for reading and passion for publishing with the growing supply of the book market.[13] On the one hand, these associations have been seen as indicating the proliferation of Enlightenment thought in the German-speaking lands. On the other hand, they served as the cornerstone of a social history of the emerging Enlightened *Bürgertum* as they formed the most visible nodes both in their local and translocal networks.[14]

The membership structure, statutes, accessibility and social practices of clubs and voluntary associations have also been one of the starting points for mapping the development of the *Bürgertum* during the 'long' nineteenth century, since *Vereine* (voluntary associations) can undoubtedly be considered a hallmark of German bourgeois culture. As

early as the 1790s, a type of club (mostly named 'Museum', 'Ressource', 'Harmonie' or 'Casino') became fashionable that provided a variety of sociable facilities such as a library and reading room, various salons, a billiard room, a dining hall and a ballroom. They frequently also hosted concerts and lectures. But the founding of *Vereine* had its real take-off after the Napoleonic era. With their panoply of purposes (promoting charity, religion, concerts, theatres, art collections, historical research, science, but also crafts and trade) clubs and voluntary associations combined sociability with the political aspirations of the middling classes to initiate, organize, administer and rule whatever concerned the common good at a local level.[15] If ever the ideal of a "classless civil society", which prevailed in early nineteenth-century German discourse on *Bürgertum*, was tangible, it was in the sociability of such voluntary associations.[16] But their diversification and specialized purposes also mirrored processes towards the mid-century, such as professionalization in the field of (male) labour or the growingly distinct milieus and strata within the *Bürgertum*.

The growth of a sociable sector beyond the domestic sphere seems to match the chief characteristics of the transition from the early modern to the bourgeois household. According to Habermas, the (initially literary and eventually bourgeois) public with its "rational-critical debates" ("*kritisches Räsonnement*") and its rank-suspending "tact of befitting equality" ("*Takt der Ebenbürtigkeit*") was forged in London coffee houses, Paris *salons* and German academic and voluntary associations of the early Enlightenment. However, Habermas also regarded the bourgeois public as both "an expansion and [...] completion of the intimate sphere of the conjugal family" ("*Sphäre kleinfamilialer Intimität*").[17] It has for a long time been a generally acknowledged narrative that the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere went hand in hand with its separation from the nuclear family and their emotionalized, albeit still hierarchical relations. While the institutionalized public sphere tended to be a predominantly male preserve, the privacy of the bourgeois home became the 'gilded cage' of 'middle-class women', which left them with rearing the children and creating a domestic sphere of aesthetic and moral tidiness. In this view, the major part of a formerly wide-ranging domestic sociability was outsourced to the associational world and, hence, restricted to family and close friends gathering around the nuclear family.[18]

More recent studies, particularly those based on ego-documentary sources, have challenged this narrative, albeit without abandoning it altogether. The detailed and nuanced insights provided by letters, diaries and autobiographies suggest that the separation of private and public, as well as female and male, spheres was not a clear-cut matter until the 1840s.[19] In spite of the conjugal division of labour, wives were frequently involved in their husbands' businesses while husbands rarely took an equal, though more than superficial, interest in issues of the household, family and child rearing.[20] Moreover, among the German *Bürgertum*, spouses generally agreed with the idea that, aside from love, a joint striving for learning was essential, as male and female perspectives were believed to complement each other.[21] This did not only result in the common practice of conjugal reading hours but also affected sociability in general, for not only the aristocratic Parisian *salons* were run by women. A huge part of the networking among the German middling classes also lay in the hands of wives, sisters, mothers and daughters.[22] They kept up written communication both within and far beyond the circles of family and kin, and organized the spaces for almost any form of formal or informal gathering in the domestic sphere.[23] It has been argued that this was not only crucial in respect to both the cultural coherence of the *Bürgertum* and class distinctions but also regarding the economic rise of the bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century, as family ties and marriage knots were essential for stabilizing

business cooperation and capital resources.[24] Even less fortunate bachelors could pin their hopes on the dinner or tea tables of their kin when looking for a meal or a wife.[25]

Despite some alterations due to the cultural codes of the *gebildete Stände* or 'the polite', including the appreciation of the individual and the emotionalization of the family, it seems that the basic characteristics of the early modern 'open house' prevailed much longer than generally assumed.[26] Hence, not only periodization but the whole process of a transition from the 'open house' to the bourgeois family 'home', its stages, motivating factors and deeper reasons need further investigation in order to find satisfyingly comprehensive explanations.[27] Although it has been convincingly stated that the early modern household was exonerated from various functions over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[28] it would be misleading to assume that clubs and voluntary associations intended to replace domestic sociability. They rather supplemented and diversified the by far predominating sociability hosted within the domestic sphere in the decades around 1800. Club rules might limit membership more strictly to those qualifying as *Bürgertum*, but welcomed guests from other places as openly as hosts did in their houses. Likewise, they allowed participation in an elevated lifestyle even for those who did not have the room or the means to arrange balls, host large assemblies or accommodate a growing collection of books.[29] In fact, sociability resisted the categories of public and private, "for its very function was to integrate the two".[30]

Faux amis? English sociability in German travel reports

As the English 'genteel' and the German *gebildete Stände* seem to resemble each other, it might be assumed that their sociability did so as well. But, strikingly, whenever the *gebildete Stände* crossed the Channel and met the 'genteel', whom, with good reason, they believed to be their peers, they faced some puzzling experiences, as we can learn from their travel reports. These, however, are a tricky source. Travel writers usually adopt a formidably pointed view of what they observed and considered important enough to be conveyed to their readers back home. Hence, they can help us to identify what was conspicuous at a given place or in a particular social setting. But their observations are limited to what was accessible to them and their judgements based on what they found familiar. So, by reporting what was different in England, German writers implicitly stated what they had, according to German conventions, actually expected to find. Among the differences noted by German travellers, the practices of domestic and extra-domestic sociability played a major role.

> The English are used to praise their hospitality and call their country the most hospitable in the world. Foreigners, however, complain that, if they showed all kinds of politeness to an English traveller in their houses and visit him in England afterwards, they are invited to have lunch with him at a tavern and have to pay their own share with a half or one guinea.[31]

Georg Forster, who had visited England in 1790, would of course have expected to be invited to his acquaintance's house, since it was common practice in Germany to receive a man of learning and polite manners in one's parlour, even if he was a stranger.[32] Forster could have known that taverns and coffee houses were vital for the Englishman's sociability to an extent that was unfamiliar in German towns. For, ten years earlier, Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn, who had lived in London throughout the 1770s,[33] had pointed out that coffee houses in London had little in common with their counterparts on the continent

"except for the name, the newspapers and the beverages".[34] One would neither find noisy palaver and billiard tables nor barbers or valets (like in the Hamburg coffee houses of the 1760s he had frequented), but only gentlemen seated at separate tables reading or talking with each other in a low voice. A regularly frequented coffee house could even replace a respectable postal address.[35] In fact, the vibrancy of political debate and the all-male, rather inclusive sociability that still characterized London coffee houses in the 1720s, had given way to a social and professional segregation and an increasingly 'polite' habitus – a tendency that can also be recognized in the German-speaking lands, but only towards the end of the century.[36] Contrary to what was customary in Germany, not even a tavern was the place to make someone's acquaintance haphazardly because a stranger joining in at a conversation aroused suspicion, as Johann Georg Büsch, a professor of mathematics and national economist from Hamburg, observed in the 1780s.[37]

While the Prussian government licensed coffee houses restrictively for mercantilist reasons and in order to hamper political debates in public, they were indispensable for the political and professional public in a merchant republic. Significantly, after some hours in his office at home, the Hamburg lawyer Ferdinand Beneke would take his daily round to the town hall (where the law courts were located), the stock exchange (where his clients traded) and a nearby coffee house, where he would socialize, network and take part in debating news before paying a few visits and then having dinner.[38] However, the customers of more elevated and fashionable establishments were not exclusively male – probably one of the reasons why, in Germany, it was not deplored as much as in England that coffee house sociability kept husbands away from home.[39]

Johanna Schopenhauer, wife of a Hamburg merchant who travelled to England in 1803, believed to have found a good reason for men to prefer a coffee house to their domestic spheres when it came to meeting friends or business partners. For she had recognized that, in the domestic sphere, men were anxious to behave according to the rules and rituals dominating sociability at home, thus paying due respect to the presence of women, whereas at a tavern they were at ease "in a wider, though still limited circle having wine and talking about politics".[40]

German travellers were disappointed that there was no way of getting into contact with potential business partners or other people of interest without a letter of recommendation and that it was extremely difficult to "achieve the pleasure of closely associating with good private families".[41] Although letters of recommendation were also common practice on the continent and widely used to expand or intensify networks among the *gebildete Stände*, strangers seem to have been welcomed much more openly and with a greater degree of curiosity than in England.[42] What Friedrich Nicolai pointed out regarding Berlin equally applied to Hamburg or Cologne:

> A stranger, who is fond of social intercourse, will not find it difficult to get to know some families, if he has a few addresses, and takes part in the pleasures of the same. The way of living in Berlin is sociable and unceremonious, [...], and when having a meal, a cheerful mood among the guests is preferred to numerous and sumptuous dishes.[43]

When German travellers were invited to the house of an English family around 1800, they were surprised that, particularly in London, domestic sociability was restricted to a few "houses" of kin and friends.[44] To their further amazement, they learned that visiting cards replaced personal visits which were conventionally paid on occasions such as childbirth, the

return from a journey, recovery from illness and so forth. Even the obligation to reciprocate a visit could be substituted by sending a visiting card.[45] Of course, these conventional visits were obligatory amongst Germans, too, and some felt burdened by having to host a stream of innumerable persons calling in on such occasions. But nobody would have used cards amongst acquaintances: only if the person they wanted to meet was not at home.[46]

If, however, German travellers happened to be invited to an English dinner, the degree of formal, ritualized domestic sociability almost unsettled them. To be seated by their host was unfamiliar to them. Table manners and eating and drinking rituals seemed archaic to them, and they unanimously complained that the *decorum* limited the number of subjects to the few ones that were allowed to be addressed in the presence of ladies. All German travel writers – notably both male and female – criticized even more heavily that the ladies withdrew after dinner and "left the gentlemen to the bottles of wine, politics and some rough jokes", as Johanna Schopenhauer put it.[47] She felt bored in the female sociability of the drawing room because she missed the interesting subjects she was used to freely discussing in the predominantly mixed domestic sociability at home: literature, theatre, arts, politics and even religious matters.[48] For the same reason Johann Georg Büsch preferred the domestic sociability in the English countryside, where "the women did not leave". For the "conversation was so much livelier and still completely decent".[49]

Büsch's remark hints at the fact that most of the German travellers referred to London in their writings and that the sociable practices they observed differed considerably from what was customary throughout the rest of England around 1800. In fact, there is ample evidence that until the 1820s hospitality and sociability in smaller English towns and in the countryside resembled German practices much more than those in the capital, and even in London they were more varied and less strictly regulated than conduct books and travel reports would have it.[50] What struck the German travellers was actually foreshadowing the etiquette that became a hallmark of sociability in Victorian England.

Johanna Schopenhauer was pointing in the right direction when she stated that a restricted domestic sociability was "a characteristic of all big cities".[51] Firstly, in a metropolis the rising number of potential visitors (both resident and passing by) would have exceeded a host's resources of time, domestic space and financial means unless the obligations of hospitality had been limited or at least channelled. Secondly, the expanding middling classes – sandwiched between wealth and pauperism, prone to the vicissitudes of life and sensitive to class distinctions, as they were – vested their status anxieties with formality and seclusion.[52] Thirdly, privacy became a means with which to shield one's life, family and household from an urban environment that was increasingly being perceived as hostile. Already at the beginning of the eighteenth century, London appeared to be a confusing agglomeration of crowds and crime, dirt and dangers.[53] The industrialization turned many city centres into polluted, noisy and impoverished places, thus, from the 1820s onwards, driving middle-class families into new homes in the urban periphery or suburbs.[54] As a consequence, the unity of productive and reproductive work, of work and leisure, of male and female spheres, which hitherto had characterized the 'open house' of the middling classes, was dissolved – the effect being that rather informal and inclusive sociable practices were superseded by a formal and exclusive etiquette. Thus, domestic sociability took into account both social status and the esteem of domesticity.[55] In England these developments reached their high point before the middle of the century. In the German-speaking lands similar phenomena can be discerned, albeit with a certain delay. Few German cities could qualify as 'big' and urbanization and industrialization were comparatively slow during the first half of the nineteenth century. This may account for the delay, but does not mean that

the similar outcome had exactly the same reasons. Further research will need to clarify this. Albeit, it is striking that around 1800 sociability ranged among the most prominent of cultural differences noted by Germans travelling to England, their main concern being the degree to which domestic sociability was secluded.

The 'most English city on the continent'? Sociability in Hamburg

In 1793, Adolph von Knigge, the famous writer and re-organizer of the 'Illuminati', stated that hosting numerous guests was integral to the "present-day lifestyle" and that older houses inhabited by the *Bürgertum* did not match the requirements resulting from it.[56] Until the 1830s, the majority of households consisted not only of a nuclear family and some domestic servants but also of unmarried employees and apprentices who worked for the husband's business, as well as female relatives who helped the wife run the household.[57] From the seventeenth century onwards, there was an increasing tendency to create special spatial arrangements which allowed for the separation of work from leisure, to locate backstage functions such as cooking, eating or sleeping at the periphery of the house and to assign particular rooms to sociability.[58] Nevertheless, neither floor plans nor ego-documents suggest that customers or clients were strictly separated from 'private' visitors and family, or the family from the rest of the cohabitants.[59]

In his autobiography Berend Goos, who was born in 1815 as the son of a Mennonite minister in Hamburg and his wife, a wealthy shipowner's daughter, recalled that his father disliked the secluded nature of his study on the second floor of their house and therefore worked in the living and dining room amidst his family and domestic servants, sprawling his books and papers over the chairs, the table and the piano.[60] When apprenticed to become a pharmacist in the 1820s, Goos lived in the household of his patron Georg Eimbcke and his patron's wife, as did a second apprentice and three employees plus two male and three female domestic servants. At 4 p.m. they would all assemble around the "family table" ("*Familientisch*") for dinner in the dining room, which was adjacent to the shop. The company was completed by Eimbcke's widowed brother-in-law Jean de Chaufepié, a renowned physician, his unmarried daughters, who lived on the second floor of the building, and de Chaufepié's son, who was also a physician, also widowed, but living elsewhere. Goos explicitly mentions vivid meal-time conversations about patients, clients and whatever was talk of the town, as well as gossip in the evenings when the employees of the pharmacy were visited by their acquaintances in the shop, after the Eimbckes had retired to their living room on the upper floor.[61]

Privacy was neither attainable nor advocated. One of the most popular German periodicals on lifestyle and fashion, the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, recommended that a husband should have his office or cabinet next to the parlour or living room so that he could communicate with his wife and family as often as he felt necessary, or join the guests, take part in their conversation, and return to his desk at ease.[62] This was not merely a journalist's fancy. It was exactly what guests would experience who, for example, visited the professor, writer and physician Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus, his wife Sophie and his sister Elise. While the visitors sat at the tea table and conversed with the women, Reimarus moved between the parlour and his study, sometimes adding a remark through the open door.[63] Evidently, this implies that not separating the spheres of life and work was considered more desirable than separating them and that women played a crucial role, not only by managing hospitality but also as a node in the sociable communication.[64]

When the poet Johann Heinrich Voß and his wife Ernestine came to Hamburg to see their friends in summer 1801, they stayed in the country house of the Sieveking family near the city. They had only the mornings for themselves as their hosts had arranged a marathon of sociable activities for them. They were honoured by a series of parties with some 30 to 50 guests in various country and town houses and occasionally dined with their hosts "in small company" of 20 to 30 persons. During the 11 days of their stay there was but one occasion when they were with them alone. As Ernestine Voß reported in her letters to her son, they continuously exchanged fond memories, talked about mutual friends living elsewhere and read, and discussed literature.[65] This agenda clearly had the purpose of reviving a connection that for some time had only been kept up by letters. But it also highlights that receiving literature was embedded in domestic sociability to at least the same degree as its production was inspired by the sociable circles of Romanticism or the Weimar *Klassik*.[66] And, finally, it illustrates that the particulars of domestic sociability (hosts, guests, activities, atmosphere, material culture) were written about, spoken of and even published on – not only by travellers but also by the hosts themselves who kept absent members of their network informed. Thus, the hospitality of the Sieveking and Reimarus families became so famous among the *gebildete Stände* that whoever travelled to Hamburg tried to get a letter of recommendation, unless he himself could not rely on his fame in the world of learning and scholarship as a door opener.[67] This is only an outstanding example of what was common practice.[68]

Georg Heinrich Sieveking was one of Hamburg's leading merchants with great affinities to the Enlightenment, republicanism and France, shared by his wife Johanna Margaretha née Reimarus who was the offspring of a family of scholars. They were the hub of a vast network and hosted high-ranking diplomats and politicians as well as poets and philosophers, not to mention those who could aspire to belonging to Hamburg's *gebildete Stände*.[69] As Ernestine Voß's letters prove, their hospitality was finetuned after the urbane pitch that Knigge had advocated when talking about the "sincere, fine, urbane tone" ("*wahren, feinen Weltton*"):

> It teaches us not to disregard the small favours that make life sweet and easy. It makes us pay attention to the ways of the human heart, sharpens our spirit of observation, and accustoms us to being capable of living with all kinds of people without offending or being offended.[70]

This habitus was acquired by education and practice. The above-mentioned Ferdinand Beneke had been brought up according to the principles of Enlightenment pedagogy, taught genteel skills such as music, drawing, riding and fencing and, when studying law at the renowned universities of Halle and Göttingen, he perfected his sociable manners by taking part in the sociability of a masonic lodge, which other than students included town and gown, professors, state officials, gentry – and their wives. He was, therefore, well equipped with cultural capital when he established himself in Hamburg in 1796, and with a few letters of recommendation he got an easy access to the Sieveking circle and the city state's elite.[71] His sister Regine, on the other hand, had spent most of her life in provincial towns before she moved to Hamburg, and therefore was much more accustomed to the ceremonious etiquette that still prevailed at these places. For her, it was both confusing and admirable that Mrs Sieveking conversed with foreign ministers about politics, with intellectuals about literature and with a less well informed woman like her with the same natural grace, air of appreciation and ability to make everyone feel comfortable.[72] Even Carl Gottlob Küttner,

a travel writer who had been to Britain, France, Holland and most parts of the German-speaking lands, appreciated the "simplicity of manners and effortlessness of the [social] tone" ("*Simplizität der Art und Leichtigkeit des Tons*") among Hamburg's *Bürgertum*. In his eyes this was the result of the "good breeding" ("*gute Erziehung*") of most individuals and the constant social intercourse with a wide range of people. Nevertheless, he conceded that the habit of frequently hosting many guests made this "class" of Hamburgers attend to their visitors less considerately as in smaller towns or in "families" who had not adopted this "tone", but a "cheerful", "good-humoured" and "ingenuous" one.[73] Küttner's nuanced views evidently matched the contemporary debates on luxury and whether conspicuous consumption was detrimental to civic virtues,[74] and a future nationalistic argument can be grasped when Regine Beneke wondered whether an effortless tone expressed cordial kindness or merely meant adopting the "French laxness of manners" as opposed to German "honesty".[75]

Nevertheless, Küttner's categories of sociability in Hamburg were confirmed by other travel reports as well as by letters and diaries. Other than the above-mentioned types Küttner hinted at a third category: the old-fashioned dinners with numerous guests, courses and wines that Hamburg's merchant class was still famous for. Georg Heinrich Sieveking regarded them as an expensive waste of time. He, therefore, advocated outsourcing them to clubs. His friend, the merchant and senator Johann Michael Hudtwalcker, objected to this because it would exclude women from sociability.[76] But Sieveking could not abandon them anyhow because inviting business partners on such a scale was an indispensable means of displaying creditworthiness.[77]

Domestic sociability was pervasive and thwarted any form of domesticity or privacy. This was not only the case during the second half of the eighteenth century. Many autobiographies that looked back at a childhood in the first half of the nineteenth century mentioned a constant ebb and flow of visitors – no matter whether the parental household was affluent or less so.[78] Not all visitors, however, would qualify for domestic sociability, neighbours being a case in point. The early modern 'open house' was not socially self-sufficient but an integral part of a neighbourhood.[79] Knigge, however, deplored that in big cities people seemed to believe it was genteel behaviour not to know who was living next door. He blamed "luxury, wealth and corruption" for the tendency to dismiss the mutual obligations of neighbours.[80] Berend Goos, on the other hand, remembered that at *sukkot* his family visited their Jewish neighbours and helped them on sabbaths with work that religion forbade them from undertaking and Ferdinand Beneke, whose diaries prove him to be an almost ideal-type representative of the *gebildete Stände*, visited all his neighbours when moving into a new house.

> It is so natural to make the acquaintance of people whose everyday life is before one's eyes. There also are obligations and relations among neighbours, and it may be of consequence whether one lives on good or bad terms with them. Whoever settles vis-à-vis, sees the white of my eye every day and does not honour me by paying a friendly visit must be regarded as haughty or unkind.[81]

There is no evidence that Beneke was not on friendly terms with his neighbours, but according to his diaries none of them ever joined a sociable gathering for the sake of neighbourhood relations, unless he or she also belonged to the *Bürgertum*.[82]

Clients were a similar case. Although all of them must be classified as *Bürgertum*, Beneke introduced consultation hours to prevent them from disturbing his meals, unless a client happened to also be a friend.[83] Nonetheless, he even abhorred the idea of restricting his

common scope of hospitality under the economic dire straits caused by the French occupation of the city after 1806. When, in fits of ironic despair, he compared his house with a tavern, he notably did not refer to formally invited dinners or evening parties but to the fact that there were up to six or eight more or less haphazard guests that would join the frugal family dinner table on two out of three days.[84] A couple withdrawing from a sociable life to mere conjugal domesticity, Beneke once explained to his fiancée, would sacrifice "sage pleasures", intellectual development and open-mindedness for a rather stale comfort.[85]

This attitude was not peculiar for a networking virtuoso, which Beneke certainly was, but rather resulted from common social practices because for the most part people were simply invited to come 'quite often' or 'as often as possible'. This very open kind of invitation applied to friends as an unspoken rule. But it could also be extended to strangers who had either been introduced by a letter of recommendation or an acquaintance,[86] or with whom one had just had a congenial conversation, be it at a soirée, a restaurant or a spa.[87] With such permission people could turn up at one's house whenever they chose and tactfully leave again. Beneke's diaries are full of such everyday encounters, of half an hour spent here and several hours there, many a day passing with visits of this kind. During the first four months of 1799, Ferdinand Beneke mentioned about 1,000 encounters with more than 300 different people.[88] These encounters ranged from seeing a friend in his study to talking with dozens of people at a ball, from an evening spent in the house of a friend amongst his family and other guests to a summer day at a vicarage in the countryside. The scale may be unique because of the size of the city, but the phenomenon itself certainly is not, as can easily be gathered from the references to the sociability at Brunswick, Weimar and the small princely residence of Gotha in Johann Anton Leisewitz's diaries of the early 1780s.[89]

Sociability in a garden beyond the city walls was particularly appreciated.[90] Cities such as Hamburg, Bremen or Leipzig were more or less surrounded by everything from a small garden with a little cottage to a landed estate. Most of them were (re-)designed in the fashion of English landscape gardening, which in the contemporary discourse was associated with (re-)educating man and society, as its natural beauty appealed to all senses, the diversity of its views meant to stimulate the mind and the perception of its unconstrained 'natural' order was believed to foster republican virtue. Hence, gardens were not only a refuge from an everyday life in cramped, dirty and foul-smelling towns but also an ideal setting for the sociability of the *gebildete Stände*. House and garden were meant to be a *Gesamtkunstwerk* and periodicals gave plenty of advice on how, for the sake of sociability, to design one's garden as an extension of the domestic sphere. It allowed for the arrangement of various simultaneous settings from which the guests might choose according to their individual likings – from discussing politics, theatre or literature in a more numerous round or listening to an open air musical performance to a confidential *tête-à-tête* while having a walk.[91] More or less the same features could be found on estates of the landed gentry in the Mark Brandenburg which turned into what later generations called *Musenhöfe* ('courts of muses') when members of Berlin's *gebildete Stände* were being hosted during summer.[92]

Some houses introduced a *jour fixe* in order to channel the stream of visitors, especially of those who had just shown up with a letter of recommendation. Unsurprisingly, Hamburg's internationally operating merchants and the city state's officials were taking refuge in this measure. But, nevertheless, it did not curtail the decorum of liberality. "I haven't seen you for long – don't you want to come to me on a Monday? We dine at 4 o'clock and you will always find a bed."[93] These lines – written by Baron Voght, who lived on his landed estate a few miles from Hamburg – purposely left it to the invited person, in this case Ferdinand Beneke, whether to attend at all, when to arrive and how long to stay (if wished, also

overnight). As Beneke's diaries indicate, it was perfectly acceptable to either leave before dinner or to join in later in the evening, after he himself had meanwhile been to the theatre or been hosted in another house. In contrast to the old-fashioned merchants' dinners, the guests grouped and re-grouped before the meal, took their own seats at the table and helped themselves with dishes and wines as they pleased. After dinner they formed various circles of conversation, which might join and separate again according to the subjects discussed, while others played cards, read or thumbed through a book or two placed by the host with purposeful carelessness in order to stimulate further conversations. Some other guests left without further ado.[94] Such soirées offered opportunities of networking, match-making, promoting young talents and even talking privately (at least before and after dinner).[95]

Typical forms of domestic sociability and the Berlin *salon*

The *salon* – defined as a mixed, principally non-exclusive form of sociability centred on and operated by one woman and taking place regularly – has attracted much attention, particularly in respect of Berlin with its multitude of promising young writers, philosophers, scholars and future statesmen who frequented the houses of Jewish *salonières* during the 1790s and 1800s.[96] If we take the definition of a *salon* seriously and single the *jours fixes* out, Sophie and Elise Reimarus, Johanna Margaretha Sieveking as well as a number of others might be called *salonières*.[97] But this labelling falls short of the variety of forms domestic sociability took not only in Hamburg but also in Cologne, Brunswick or Oldenburg. The same is true regarding Berlin. None of the women would have spoken of her *salon*, unless she referred to her parlour or living room. Henriette Herz who was married to the famous Jewish physician Marcus Herz used to talk of her "open house" or her *Kränzchen*, and Rahel Levin, daughter of a Jewish banker, referred to "our circle" or the "tea table" in her attic room though in fact the whole of her family and her family's house were involved. They avoided the term *salon* because around 1800 it was associated with high aristocracy and France.[98] What, from the 1830s onwards, writers stylized as *salon* was in fact a communicative network which became manifest in a variety of sociable forms, some of them more experimental and informal, but none of them differing substantially from what was habitual among the *gebildete Stände* in Hamburg and other places – particularly with regard to the effortlessness, the "tact of befitting equality", and the intellectual interests mentioned above.[99]

In the case of Henriette Herz and her husband, four most typical forms of domestic sociability have been distinguished.[100] Invited dinners were rather formal, always mixed men and women, and were the only occasion when playing cards was a regular element on an evening's agenda with the Herz. Playing cards after the meal was in fact such a widespread activity that it appears to have been indispensable. It served the needs for entertainment and helped to avoid the embarrassment of stagnant or trivial conversations.[101] But among the *gebildete Stände*, there was a faction who disliked it because being seated at a gambling table impeded taking part in the free exchange of opinions, not to mention that gambling for money foiled the civic virtues of moderation and thrift.[102]

The afternoon teas in Henriette Herz's rooms were a fairly informal space for a mixed sociability. They were open to any member of her sociable network as well as to strangers whom these members chose to bring with them and introduce, provided these persons took a vivid interest in literature, the theatre or philosophy and promised to be intellectually interesting or witty. This type of domestic sociability had been well established a generation earlier and continued to be practised until at least the 1840s. In a way, it represented the

essence of the sociability of the *gebildete Stände* in its offer of nothing but tea and sandwiches and a stage which left it to the guests to decide how to interact. Although it was by no means inexpensive, it ostentatiously opposed conspicuous consumption.[103] Elise Reimarus's "tea table" was already famous around 1770. As an unmarried woman with literary ambitions, she lived in her father's and, later on, in her brother's house so that their Enlightenment-minded networks overlapped with hers.[104] Eventually her responsibilities as a hostess slipped into the hands of her much younger sister-in-law Sophie Reimarus who also took over the function of a communication hub by corresponding with absent members of the network and, thus, keeping them integrated, as her correspondence with Adolph von Knigge illustrates.[105] For the same reason, Rahel Levin's enormous epistolary oeuvre conveys such a vivid picture of her sociable circles. When her friend David Veit left Berlin in order to study medicine at Göttingen and settle in Hamburg and her brother Ludwig Robert went to Hamburg in order to accomplish his skills as a merchant, she would inform them what was going on in Berlin and they would inform her about the sociability and its participants in the places they were passing or living at.[106] Hence, we know, for instance, that making music and reading Goethe was a common form of sociable entertainment in the house of Robert's patron, the Jewish merchant Zadig Heymann Zadig, and that there was a permanent discord in the household because it was based on a marriage of convenience.[107]

While Henriette Herz and Sophie Reimarus chose to fix their "tea tables" on Fridays, Rahel Levin received her guests daily and even welcomed them when it was late, after they had been to the theatre, for example.[108] Caroline Beneke would serve tea on weekdays after 6 p.m. The Benekes' so-called "Theestazion", which still existed in the 1840s, attracted members of the city state's political elite as well as aspiring professionals, friends and even friends of their grown-up children. The number of guests varied from night to night, her husband joining them at 9 or 10 p.m. after having finished his daily workload.[109]

The third type of sociability that can be discerned in the house of the Herz family in Berlin was exclusively male. Marcus Herz, who was interested in science rather than in early Romanticist literature like his wife, held lectures and presented experiments to an invited audience in his part of their house.[110] This was not unique. In Hamburg, for instance, the merchant and senator Kirchhof, whose pastime was physics, held regular lectures in his house during the 1770s and in the 1800s Beneke reported on a meeting of physicians who conducted experiments, albeit to Beneke's disappointment, with an abundance of student-like joviality and a lack of scientific sobriety.[111] With scholarship no longer being restricted to academies and universities, and the egalitarian approach of Enlightenment accepting *auctoritates* only by virtue of scrutiny, carrying out research was encouraged among an amateur public. Therefore, any field of knowledge could become an issue in sociable gatherings in a 'private' parlour as well as in a club.[112]

Although women did take part in political debates in Germany (at least within the frame of domestic sociability), practical politics, like science, were considered a male preserve. In 1783, for instance, 12 gentlemen, partly members of Hamburg's magistrate, partly members of the city's intellectual elite without an office, founded a *Tischgesellschaft*. For more than 20 years they convened for a monthly dinner in their respective houses to discuss political issues beyond the constitutional settings of the city republic more freely and profoundly.[113] A larger but less elite group of *Bürger* met regularly in order to debate political reforms in the 1790s and early 1800s, albeit without dining. They named themselves the "Society for Encouraging the Public Spirit" and kept the minutes of their proceedings. But despite the society's formal appearance, its members invariably assembled in the parlours of their houses.[114]

A fourth type of domestic sociability was the so-called *Damentee* or *Kränzchen*. It consisted of a group of women, who took it in turns to host each other weekly. In the case of Henriette Herz's *Kränzchen*, any of the women could invite further and even male guests, which seems to have been quite extraordinary.[115] During the Wars of Liberation such circles could take on the form of a women's association for the support of the volunteering soldiers or military hospitals.[116] After the Napoleonic era, however, and with the upcoming of middle-class suburbs, this type of exclusively female domestic sociability became much more frequent and ritualized. The neatly laid tea tables represented a bourgeois sense of decency, and, being collectively occupied with needlework while chatting or listening to, someone reading aloud could be cherished as a re-enactment of the alleged harmony of a pre-modern household.[117]

A fifth common type of domestic sociability is missing on the Herz's list: weekly or monthly *jours fixes* dedicated to special purposes. One of Hamburg's first 'reading societies' was established as early as 1771 and assembled in the house of Johann Georg Büsch. The core of it consisted of merchants, scholars and professionals, and their wives, with a special interest in most recent literature. They also met on various other occasions, and any like-minded traveller could additionally be invited.[118] The Sieveking family also invited a more or less fixed circle for regular reading nights during the 1790s and early 1800s. Recital was followed by a dinner, which, in the case of the Sievekings, could be delayed until midnight if a whole drama (like Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*) was being performed.[119]

Reading in company was as common as circulating books and periodicals.[120] Both were the purpose of the 'reading clubs' which sprang up in dozens around 1800. The fact that these clubs had their written statutes and were quite frequently hailed in newspapers or Enlightenment periodicals, conceals that they hardly ever had more than two dozen members (only in a few cases exclusively male or female), who almost always got together in the domestic sphere.[121]

Enclosed privacy? Family ceremonies

"How wholeheartedly pleasant are these Saturday evenings as concentrated images of a happy domesticity", Ferdinand Beneke wrote in his diary in October 1807. "Each member of the family is in his room, reading, writing, rummaging, reflecting. No stranger disturbs the quiet, locked, safe house. Eventually all gather for a merry dinner on the pleasant ground floor and contribute whatever they have to tell."[122] As pointed out earlier, Beneke did not mean to shield his home from public life nor did he have the least intention to build "his own world of a bourgeois privacy" behind the closed doors of his house – and it is still up for debate whether the majority of the German *Bürgertum* did so until the 1840s or not.[123] With regard to Beneke, these lines were simply owed to the fact that, for the rest of the week, there was not a minute of quiet and only little time for a domestic sociability solely dedicated to the family themselves, which, after his marriage a couple of months earlier, consisted of his wife, his mother, his sister and himself. More than anything else, these Saturday nights, which husband and wife continued by reading together, met Beneke's emotional needs. This becomes obvious on several occasions when the demands of social decorum resulted in the hustle and bustle of congratulating visitors, while he himself longed for the solitude of his study in order to cope with his feelings, as was the case when his first child was born.[124]

During the early modern period, baptisms, weddings and funerals were not only the matter of one particular family or household but were also regarded as being part of the local community as a whole.[125] Due to the emotionalization of the family, the appreciation of the individual, and an increasingly delicate sense of decency, such events had, during the eighteenth century, been shifted from public settings (such as church, processions through the streets and involvement of the neighbourhood) to the domestic sphere.[126] This did not mean that they were completely privatized. We may rather say that the *gebildete Stände* removed them from the public of the town, parish and neighbourhood to the public of their peers. Ferdinand Beneke's diaries give us plenty of evidence not only concerning himself but also referring to others.

Wedding ceremonies and the ensuing festivities had slipped under the roof of the domestic sphere of the *Bürgertum* so invariably that domestic servants were also wedded in the households of their patrons.[127] In accordance with the ideal of a 'love marriage' the domestic sphere gave shelter and provided a stage for the display of emotions involved.[128] Significantly, Beneke quarrelled with his future parents-in-law about who was to be invited. He would have preferred a very intimate setting, with only the respective parents, brothers and sisters participating. But eventually he had to compromise on the guest list. For his father-in-law, Otto von Axen, a well-to-do merchant who was widely connected among the city state's elite, insisted that he had to meet social and family obligations on this occasion.[129]

News of childbirth was immediately notified to the nearest relatives and as soon as possible also published in the newspapers. Subsequently, Beneke was congratulated in the town hall, where he went for professional reasons, and his house was beset with visitors felicitating the family, as mentioned above. Typically, none of the Beneke children were baptized in church, but at home and with a delay of a couple of weeks. While the Benekes inhabited a rather small house, the congregation did not exceed the members of the household, the grandparents, some (grand-)uncles and (grand-)aunts and only those friends who functioned as godparents.[130] But after the Beneke family had moved to a more spacious place, a by far greater number of kin as well as friends and 'genteel' neighbours, attended the baptism of Beneke's son Otto Adalbert in 1812. For the ceremony, a suite of rooms was arranged to resemble a chapel with a table adorned like an altar in its midst.[131] It may be argued that the guests had been invited and, hence, deliberately chosen to create an atmosphere of familiarity that would allow for emotions to be displayed. But the ensuing festivity did not differ from any other sociable event of a comparable scale.

Familial intimacy was staged on other occasions. In contrast to what was customary with those who were about a generation older, the Beneke family did not celebrate birthday anniversaries as a "gala" or with a ball.[132] Their birthday celebrations were a carefully arranged orchestration of love and affection that hardly ever involved anybody beyond the extended nuclear family.[133] In this respect it is particularly telling that, when Caroline Beneke's birthday coincided with the baptism of her son, the two events were diligently separated.[134]

The ideal of an affectionate family harmoniously united in a pleasant home was proliferated by poems like Johann Heinrich Voß's *Luise* and Sophie von La Roche's sentimental novels, by journals and almanacks. It, indeed, had its repercussions in the way the *Bürgertum* thought of family and sociability. La Roche stylized even the English royal family in this way.[135] In an article on domestic sociability in Bremen published in 1799, the Doctor of Law and member of the city state's magistrate Arnold Gerhard Deneken dwelled on the "sweet delights which Nature wove into the riband of family" as a source of "proud

satisfaction" and "heartfelt pleasure".[136] "A group of beloved parents and grandparents surrounded by numerous healthy children and grandchildren with tenderness and veneration is an uplifting sight", he confessed.[137] But the regular family reunions, particularly the *jours fixes* limited to close kin and known as *Familientag* were opposed to anything sociability was meant to be like in the eyes of the *gebildete Stände*. Conversations were "revolving around the same stale subjects", "talk of the town turns into the venom of gossip and calumny" and the elderly "complain about their illnesses or the disrespect to their venerable prejudices", as Deneken put it acidly. But meanwhile strangers were being welcomed, the quality of conversations was improving and the knowledge of human nature nourished. Deneken praised that, in his day, the old-fashioned *Familientag* was surviving only "in a few obscure corners" of society.[138] Alas, he should be mistaken. There is some evidence that institutionalized family reunions did not only persist in the houses of an older generation but were reanimated in the restoration period after the revolutionary and Napoleonic era had ended.[139]

Conclusion

The transformation of society that took place during the 'long' eighteenth century went hand in hand with developing new forms of sociability. In this process, the divides between estates and corporations which were defined by categories of birth, privilege, honour, rank and profession were supposed to give way to a more egalitarian or at least a more inclusive concept of society with the middling stratum of 'the polite' or 'genteel', *gebildete Stände* or *Bürgertum* as its focal point, its core and driving force. Their self-definition was centred on key-terms such as learning (*Bildung*), naturalness, taste, tact, friendship, sentiment. The respective cultural codes were developed and established, learned and practised in and through sociability. In this respect, domestic sociability was far more important than clubs and voluntary associations, although the latter became distinctively characteristic of nineteenth-century *Bürgertum*. This apparently was a European phenomenon, but the bewilderment of Germans travelling to England demonstrates that sociable practices differed not only at a national but also at a local level resulting from a variety of factors, which, moreover, changed over time at different paces.

Regarding towns in the German-speaking lands around 1800, a significant part of the associational world was located in the domestic sphere. Others were not but primarily had the function to add new spaces to the omnipresence of domestic sociability or to alleviate the burdens of hosting in the households of the *gebildete Stände*. In most cases, domestic sociability was mixed by both gender and social composition. Anyone who mastered the codes of conduct that were essential to the *gebildete Stände* was entitled and invited to join – quite often even without an explicit invitation. Hence, there was no clear-cut separation between a private and a public sphere – neither from the point of view of sociability nor in respect of households as a whole which continued to have the character of an early modern 'open house' far beyond the turn of the century. Consequently, there was no general separation of male and female spheres, either. For, although certain forms of an exclusively male or female sociability can be discerned, a mixed company was generally preferred in the German-speaking lands. High esteem for the individual resulted in sociable arrangements that allowed the guests' personal qualities to unfold as freely as possible and stimulated their contributing to conversations and entertainments. The 'tone' was tuned according to the keys of effortlessness and 'tact', whereas any form of ceremoniousness was avoided. In fact, the conspicuous modesty of the 'tea tables' was in obvious contrast to the conspicuous

consumption displayed in old-fashioned formal dinners. Other new forms of domestic sociability focused on lectures, amateur performances, reciting literature or debating political issues. A meal afterwards was enjoyed, but commonplace entertainments such as playing cards and throwing dices tended to be viewed critically. The new forms of sociability had their impact on older ones. Even the official gala dinners of the constitutional political bodies, the directorial boards of charitable funds and so forth were adapted to the 'tone' of the *gebildete Stände* and their ceremonial character was melted down around 1800.

Despite these changes, nobody was exempt from the traditional social obligations of congratulatory and condolence visits, of a farewell when leaving for a journey and welcoming those who safely returned and so forth. In order to channel the everyday ebb and flow of visitors, some turned to concentrating at least a part of their sociable life on a *jour fixe*. But it must be kept in mind that there were inherent limitations to the domestic sociability of the *Bürgertum* which questioned early modern social practices and paved the way for future class distinctions. Although neighbourhood, clients and customers (not to mention washerwomen and deliverymen) entered the house and were part of everyday communications, they were not invited to join the various forms of domestic sociability, unless they knew the respective cultural codes.

With events such as childbirth, baptisms, weddings and so forth, the transition becomes particularly obvious. They still were made known to a wide and rather indiscriminate public, but were celebrated in the domestic sphere and the guest lists were drafted by diligently balancing the requirements of reciprocating social obligations and the obligatory participation of family and kin with the significance of sentiments which the *gebildete Stände* had made themselves aware of during the second half of the eighteenth century, and which at least some of them would have preferred to shield even from the public of their peers.

There was definitely a craving for privacy that was voiced distinctively in the early 1800s, as well as a sense of domesticity resulting from the appreciation of emotions and affectionate relations among family members. In this regard, the impact of discursive imagery conveyed by periodicals and novels alike must not be underestimated. However, as long as male work was an integral part of the households and urbanization and industrialization did not force middle-class families to move to suburban settlements, the practices of domestic sociability that had been established by the 'genteel' or the *gebildete Stände* did not alter substantially. Gradually, the effortlessness yielded to a revitalizing of ceremony and ritual, and the cultural codes, which had been devised on behalf of an egalitarian society that republics could be founded on, were turned into class distinctions. But it took until the 1820s and 1830s in England and until the mid-century in Germany until the middle-class craving for privacy was stilled, the private and public spheres were separated and the bourgeois home was established.

Notes

1 Barbara Gribnitz, "Bei'm Eintritt in das gesellige Leben: Caroline de la Motte Fouqués Geselligkeitsentwürfe", in Reinhard Blänker and Wolfgang de Bruyn (eds.), *Salons und Musenhöfe: Neuständische Geselligkeit in Berlin und in der Mark Brandenburg* (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2009), pp. 121–44, esp. 129–31.

2 *Der Patriot*, 3 vols. (Hamburg: Rissner, 1724–26; reprinted Berlin: DeGruyter, 1969, 1970, 1984); *Der Gesellige*, 6 vols. (Halle: Gebauer, 1748–50; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1987); Emanuel Peter, *Geselligkeiten: Literatur, Gruppenbildung und kultureller Wandel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), pp. 86–114.

3 Detlef Gaus, *Geselligkeit und Gesellige: Bildung, Bürgertum und bildungsbürgerliche Kultur um 1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998), p. 63.
4 Friedrich Schlegel, *Lucinde: Ein Roman* (Berlin: Frölich, 1799).
5 Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens", *Berlinisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks* 1 (1799), pp. 48–66, 111–23; Peter, *Geselligkeiten*, pp. 222–34; Gaus, *Geselligkeit und Gesellige*, pp. 61–111.
6 Cf. Hans-Jürgen Schings (ed.), *Der ganze Mensch: Anthropologie und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992); Gabriele Dürbeck, *Einbildungskraft und Aufklärung: Perspektiven der Philosophie, Anthropologie und Ästhetik um 1750* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998); Jörn Garber and Heinz Thoma (eds.), *Zwischen Empirisierung und Konstruktionsleistung: Anthropologie im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004).
7 For the terminological and conceptual problems related to *Bürgertum* and the concept of *gebildete Stände* see Reinhard Blänkner, "Die 'gebildeten Stände': Neuständische Vergesellschaftungen um 1800", in Manfred Hettling and Richard Pohle (eds.), *Bürgertum: Bilanzen, Perspektiven, Begriffe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), pp. 107–35; cf. the translator's note in Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), p. xv.
8 Hans Erich Bödeker, "Die 'gebildeten Stände' im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Zugehörigkeit und Abgrenzungen, Mentalitäten und Handlungspotentiale", in Jürgen Kocka (ed.), *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989), pp. 21–52; Wolfgang Kaschuba, "Deutsche Bürgerlichkeit nach 1800: Kultur als symbolische Praxis", in Jürgen Kocka (ed.), *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*, vol. 3 (Munich: dtv, 1988), pp. 9–44; Ulrike Döcker, *Die Ordnung der bürgerlichen Welt: Verhaltensideale und soziale Praktiken im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1994); Michael Maurer, *Die Biographie des Bürgers: Lebensformen und Denkweisen in der formativen Phase des deutschen Bürgertums (1680–1815)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Hans-Werner Hahn and Dieter Hein (eds.), *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005); Gisela Mettele, "Der private Raum als öffentlicher Ort: Geselligkeit im bürgerlichen Haus", in Dieter Hein and Andreas Schulz (eds.), *Bürgerkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: Bildung, Kunst und Lebenswelt* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), pp. 155–69; Peter, *Geselligkeiten*, pp. 111–14, 217–22; Hedwig Pompe, "In der Welt zu Hause: Der gute Ton", in Anna Ananieva, Dorothea Böck and Hedwig Pompe (eds.), *Geselliges Vergnügen: Kulturelle Praktiken von Unterhaltung im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2011), pp. 253–82; cf. for England Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); George Dickie, *The Century of Taste: The Philosophical Odyssey of Taste in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Robert W. Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
9 Cf. Robert Vellusig, *Schriftliche Gespräche: Briefkultur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000).
10 Gaus, *Geselligkeit und Gesellige*, pp. 25–50; Peter, *Geselligkeiten*, pp. 5–20.
11 Likewise for Britain Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
12 Rudolf Vierhaus (ed.), *Deutsche patriotische und gemeinnützige Gesellschaften* (Munich: Kraus, 1980); Ulrich Im Hof, *Das gesellige Jahrhundert: Gesellschaft und Gesellschaften im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982); Reinhart Siegert, "Zur Topographie der Aufklärung in Deutschland 1789", in Holger Böning (ed.), *Französische Revolution und deutsche Öffentlichkeit: Wandlungen in Presse und Alltagskultur am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Saur, 1992), pp. 47–89; Peter Albrecht, Hans Erich Bödeker, Ernst Hinrichs (ed.), *Formen der Geselligkeit in Nordwestdeutschland 1750–1820* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003).
13 Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974); Otto Dann (ed.), *Lesegesellschaften und bürgerliche Emanzipation: Ein europäischer Vergleich* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981); Karl Klaus Walther, *Buch und Leser in Bamberg 1750–1850: Zur Geschichte der Verlage, Buchhandlungen, Druckereien, Lesegesellschaften und Leihbibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999); James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 81–122 with further references.
14 Cf. Franklin Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona*, 2nd edn (Hamburg: Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1990).

15 Herbert Freudenthal, *Vereine in Hamburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Geselligkeit* (Hamburg: Hamburger Museumsverein, 1968); Thomas Nipperdey, "Verein als soziale Struktur in Deutschland im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert", in Nipperdey, *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), pp. 225–55; Michael Sobania, "Vereinsleben: Regeln und Formen bürgerlicher Assoziationen im 19. Jahrhundert", in Hein and Schulz (eds.), *Bürgerkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 170–90; Andreas Schulz, *Vormundschaft und Protektion: Eliten und Bürger in Bremen 1750–1880* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2002), esp. pp. 207–28, 381–415; Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *Geselligkeit und Demokratie: Vereine und zivile Gesellschaft im transnationalen Vergleich 1750–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).
16 Dieter Hein, "Soziale Konstituierungsfaktoren des Bürgertums", in Lothar Gall (ed.), *Stadt und Bürgertum im Übergang von der traditionalen zur modernen Gesellschaft* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993), pp. 132–81, esp. 166–67.
17 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), esp. pp. 31–56. It is not only poetry that is lost in even a diligent translation, as can be conceived by comparison with the German text, first published in 1962: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, 17th edn (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1987), pp. 42–75.
18 Cf. Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005); Bödeker, "Die 'gebildeten Stände'", pp. 21–52; Richard van Dülmen, *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1, 2nd edn (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), pp. 230–40; Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); for a critical survey see Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *Historical Journal* 36/2 (1993), pp. 383–414.
19 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*; Ulrike Weckel et al. (eds.), *Ordnung, Politik und Geselligkeit der Geschlechter im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998).
20 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 279, 284, 289; Tosh, *Man's Place*, p. 14; Gender roles were much more in a state of flux throughout the 'long' eighteenth century, discourses more diverse, and realities more variegated than generally assumed. Cf. Claudia Opitz, Ulrike Weckel, and Elke Kleinau (eds.), *Tugend, Vernunft und Gefühl: Geschlechterdiskurse der Aufklärung und weibliche Lebenswelten* (Münster: Waxmann, 2000).
21 Anne-Charlott Trepp, "Emotion und bürgerliche Sinnstiftung oder die Metaphysik des Gefühls: Liebe am Beginn des bürgerlichen Zeitalters", in Manfred Hettling and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (eds.), *Der bürgerliche Wertehimmel: Innenansichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 23–55; Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, pp. 381–84; Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, pp. 328–29, 345–64; Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 59–72.
22 Women were actually taking care of personal relations throughout the early modern period, so that changing patterns and functions are the crucial point. Cf. Heide Wunder, *"Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond": Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992), pp. 11–31.
23 Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, pp. 339–44; Vickery, *The Gentlemen's Daughter*, passim.
24 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 193–270; David Warren Sabean, "Kinship and Class Dynamics in Nineteenth-Century Europe", in Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Kindship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 301–13; Elisabeth Joris, "Kinship and Gender: Property, Enterprise, and Politics", in ibid., pp. 231–57, esp. 242–48.
25 Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 49–82.
26 For the concept of the 'open house' see Joachim Eibach, "Das offene Haus: Kommunikative Praxis im sozialen Nahraum der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38 (2011), pp. 621–64.

27 Cf. Joachim Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", in Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2015), pp. 19–37; Frank Hatje, "Die private Öffentlichkeit des Hauses im deutschen und englischen Bürgertum des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts", in ibid., pp. 503–23.
28 Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", pp. 22–25.
29 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 195–224; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, pp. 370–98; Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, pp. 137–231. Tellingly, Johann Anton Leisewitz reports in his diary that, after having met an acquaintance in the club, the two transferred their meeting to his acquaintance's house. See Johann Anton Leisewitz, *Tagebücher*, vol. 2 (Weimar, 1920), p. 113.
30 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 196.
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45 Büsch, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 110–11; Schopenhauer, *Reise durch England*, p. 159; Wendeborn, *Beyträge*, p. 340; cf. Christoph Heyl, *A Passion for Privacy: Untersuchungen zur Genese der bürgerlichen Privatsphäre in London, 1660–1800* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2004), pp. 235–37; Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 204.
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114 The name of this group was changed from "Montagsgesellschaft" to "Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung des bürgerlichen Gemeinsinns" and, later on, to "Gesellschaft zur Vermehrung der Vaterlandsliebe". The only extensive source on their activities and their members is Beneke, *Tagebücher*, I/2 and I/3 passim.
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128 Cf. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, pp. 284, 303–11.

129 This argument runs through Beneke's diaries and the correspondence with his fiancée during the first half of 1807. Beneke, *Tagebücher*, II/2, passim and II/5, passim.
130 Beneke, *Tagebücher*, II/3, pp. 175–76.
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132 E.g. Beneke, *Tagebücher*, II/2, pp. 92, 169, 240.
133 E.g. Beneke, *Tagebücher*, II/2, pp. 72, 387, 440.
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PART V

Consumption and material culture

10

GENDER AND CONSUMPTION IN THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

Jane Whittle

Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between gender and consumption in the household economies of early modern Europe, concentrating on the households below the level of the aristocracy and gentry. While the evidence presented is mainly from England, the issues and types of sources discussed are pan-European and ripe for comparative exploration. Despite flourishing research fields in both the histories of consumption and of gender, the relationship between the two fields in the early modern household remains surprisingly neglected. It is often assumed that women had a particular responsibility for household consumption without exploring what form this took, or critically assessing the evidence. In part, confusion arises from vagueness about what consumption is. To explore these issues the following chapter is divided into four sections. The first summarizes existing research on early modern consumption and women's economic role, while the second examines modern definitions of consumption and how they fit (or fail to fit) with early modern ideas about the household economy, causing confusion around the issue of gendered roles. The final two sections present new research and focus on two possible areas of gendered consumption practices, analysing the gender of 'shopping' or buying and selling, and examining gendered attitudes towards the material culture of clothing and domestic goods. In conclusion it is argued that historians have imposed modern assumptions about the nature of consumption and gendered responsibilities onto early modern households. While the domestic house was seen as the women's particular sphere of responsibility within early modern society, this did not equate with consumption activities being dominated by women or women's lives being dominated by consumption. The domestic sphere of early modern households was also a site of production, and production and consumption were so tightly entwined within the household economy that they were not perceived as separate processes in the period before 1650. There is, however, evidence for gendered attitudes to some forms of domestic material culture, and the possible reasons for this are explored.

State of research: gender and consumption 1500–1750

The history of consumption barely existed as a field of study before the 1980s, but has since burgeoned into a rich and varied literature for the early modern period. The foundational

Anglo-American study is Lorna Weatherill's *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*, which analyses a large selection of probate inventories to examine domestic material culture, as well as using household accounts to examine patterns of spending.[1] This has been followed by further studies of probate inventories,[2] and increasingly sophisticated approaches to the history of housing,[3] food and drink,[4] clothing,[5] and the practice of consumption within the household.[6] Studies of continental Europe began earlier with the work of Fernand Braudel, and especially his *Structures of Everyday Life*.[7] Research on Renaissance Italy and the early modern Low Countries has been particularly rich, although France has not been neglected.[8] Overviews are provided by John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993) and Bruno Blondé et al. (eds.) *Buyer and Sellers* (2006).[9]

Interestingly, the period since the 1980s has seen a similar expansion of research into women's history, with a particular focus on women's work.[10] These two strands of academic thought have occasionally intersected in the study of gendered patterns of consumption.[11] But this field of study remains underdeveloped, reflecting weaknesses both in approaches to consumption and to women's work. Histories of consumption have concentrated on explaining the proliferation of domestic goods owned rather than the process of consumption; while histories of women's work have concentrated on women's paid work and participation in skilled crafts, rather than women's work in the household economy.[12] Too often, historians have simply assumed women had an important role in consumption. This assertion was made in the very first assessment of the eighteenth-century 'Consumer Revolution' by Neil McKendrick. In his classic polemical essay he argued that the increased availability of waged work for women drove consumer demand:

> With women having command of earnings of their own and access to a greater total family income, one would expect a greater demand for goods dominated by female consumer choice – clothes, curtains, linens, pottery, cutlery, furniture, brass and copper for the home; buckles, buttons and fashion accessories for the person.[13]

This chapter explores gendered patterns of household consumption before the transformations of the eighteenth century. It asks how did consumption fit into the division of responsibilities between men and women in the household economy? Was the acquisition of some goods dominated by female consumer choice as McKendrick suggested? And did women have a stronger attachment to some elements of domestic and personal material culture than men? First, however, it is important to clarify what is meant by the term 'consumption'.

Consumption and household economy in early modern advice literature

The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the original definition of consumption as "the action or fact of destroying or being destroyed", leading by the sixteenth century to the meaning of "the action or fact of eating or drinking something, or of using something up in an activity"; and then to "wasteful expenditure" by the early seventeenth century. The economic meaning of "the purchase or use of goods, services, materials and energy", first appeared in 1662, when it was introduced by Sir William Petty.[14] This meaning was expanded by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*, for whom "consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production".[15] Historians, when they offer definitions, tend to mean

something rather more specific and complex. Joyce Appleby defines consumption as "the active seeking of personal gratification through material goods",[16] while Victoria de Grazia notes that historical consumption can be discussed "in terms of processes of commodification, spectatorship, commercial exchanges, and social welfare reforms, processes that involve the desire for and sale, purchase, and use of durable and non-durable goods, collective services and images".[17] De Grazia's labelling of different historical phases of consumption as the "aristocratic mode" (before the late eighteenth century), the "bourgeois mode" (from the late eighteenth century), and the "mass mode" (twentieth century) of consumption, also indicates that she has a particular type of consumption in mind.[18] It is evident that if consumption involves "seeking of personal gratification" or was restricted to the aristocracy in the early modern period,[19] we are talking about something much more specific than William Petty's use of goods and services, or Adam Smith's end purpose of production.

Using the basic economic definition, consumption is a pan-historical, universal necessity: people have always consumed food and drink in order to survive. Shelter, clothing and equipment for cooking, eating and sleeping are hardly modern innovations. Stating that consumption is "the acquisition of goods and services and their use within the household" offers a common-sense, if unexciting, definition of consumption that can be applied to pre-modern as well as modern history.[20] However, it is important to pay attention to how goods and services are consumed. Many economists see purchase as the end-point of consumption, and thus once goods cross the threshold of the domestic house they are already consumed. This is problematic for historians, as items for consumption were not only purchased but acquired in many different ways. For instance goods were made at home, inherited or received as gifts.[21] Anthropologists emphasize how the context (timing, location, method of transfer) in which things are acquired confers meaning and value on those acquisitions,[22] and the process of appropriation, whereby goods acquire meaning as possessions through their (sometimes long-term) use by individuals and households.[23] Thus, as Marcia Pointon argues: "consumption implies that objects are assimilated by the individuals that acquire them".[24] Consequently, it is helpful to see consumption as a process that includes planning, acquisition and appropriation rather than a single act of purchase, or a group of items owned.[25]

Modern society has many ideas about gendered consumption. The archetypal consumer of everyday goods and manager of the household budget has been the housewife from at least the early twentieth century.[26] The idea of the female leisure shopper appeared in the eighteenth century, alongside the verb 'to shop', which described her activities.[27] The emergence of the concept of a household dichotomy between the male breadwinner (or producer/worker) and female homemaker (or consumer) is normally placed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[28] All these gendered stereotypes remain firmly entrenched in western society today, but it remains unclear how far they were present before the eighteenth century. There are strong arguments for continuity rather than change. Amanda Vickery notes that the idea that women held sway in the private sphere of the home while men dominated the public sphere of politics and business goes back at least as far as the sixteenth century.[29] Similarly, Judith Bennett has observed the lack of change over time in patterns of women's paid work.[30] Does this mean that the idea of the women as consumers and men as producers should also be traced back to the sixteenth century?

In exploring this issue, it is important to note that the economy as a whole was viewed differently before the eighteenth century. Rather than a linear process leading from production via trade to consumption, early modern thinkers regarded the national economy

as an agglomeration of household economies. Thus when William Petty and Gregory King attempted to calculate the gross national product of the English economy in the late seventeenth century, they did so by counting the number of households and estimating their yearly incomes minus expenditure. This viewpoint and methodology reflected the fact that most households were units of production as well as consumption. Indeed, 'economy' comes from the Greek word meaning household management. Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* is the first known work on this topic and discussed the economy of the household and estate in ancient Greece.[31] Household advice books from the early modern period are thus concerned with the economy at the level of the household, and provide a window into the idealized gender roles expected of women and men within that economy. Xenophon's work was particularly influential in this genre: first translated and published in English in 1532, as *Treatise of Household*, it went through multiple editions.[32] Its form and content was mimicked in many other advice books on marriage, household management and agriculture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar works are found in different European countries and were translated between European languages.[33] Here, a selection of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century household advice books printed in English are examined to explore how they presented the gendered nature of consumption, beginning with Xenophon.

Rather than dividing the economy between production and consumption, Xenophon divided it between getting and dispensing, and between indoors and outdoors, each of which was gendered. Thus he wrote "property generally comes into the house through the exertions of the husband, but is mostly dispensed through the housekeeping of the wife".[34] And that God "designed the nature of women for the indoor work and the nature of men for the outdoor work".[35] One of the areas of female work that Xenophon paid special attention to is the ordering of possessions within the house, so that they could be found easily and were not damaged. In his dialogue the wife expressed her satisfaction with this duty:

> just as it seems natural for a decent woman to be concerned about her children and not to neglect them, so too, it gives a decent woman more happiness to be concerned about her own possessions, inasmuch as they belong to her, rather than to neglect them.[36]

Yet the wife did much more besides this. As well as keeping the house in order, she baked bread, organized medical care and manufactured cloth. The goods she looked after included not only clothing, bedding and dining utensils but equipment for spinning, weaving and bread-making. She was also an elite woman. In the original version she had slaves to work for her; in the early modern translation, her household staff were servants. She did not go to market but rather ordered her slaves/servants to go and make purchases, and to bring the goods back for her.[37] Finally, it is important to note that rather than the woman's role being seen as inferior, the reciprocity of men's and women's roles is stressed. While Xenophon reasoned that a woman would have nothing to manage if the man did not bring in supplies, he also argued that there would be no point in a man providing supplies if the woman could not manage them – it would be like collecting "water in a leaky jar".[38]

Xenophon's ideas were closely repeated in a number of new works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which they were combined with biblical teachings. Thus Heinrich Bullinger's *The Christian State of Matrimony* (1575) stated "Whatever is to be done without the house, that belongeth to the man, and the woman to study for things within to

be done, and to see saved and spent conveniently, whatsoever he brings in".[39] And Edmund Tilney in his marriage advice book, *The Flower of Friendship* (1568) stated

> The office of the husband is to bring in necessaries, of the wife, well to keep them. The office of the husband is to go abroad in matters of profit; of the wife, to tarry at home, and see all be well there. The office of the husband is to provide money, of the wife, not wastefully to spend it.[40]

This passage from Tilney was repeated word for word in Robert Cleaver's *A Godly Forme of Household Government* (1598). William Gouge's *Of Domestical Duties* (1622) rephrased these familiar themes as "affairs abroad do most appertain to the man, and are especially to be ordered by him: that which the wife is especially to care for, is the business of the house". Gouge later elaborated on this noting that

> it appears that the business of the house appertain, and are most proper to, the wife: in respect she is called the 'hous-wife' ... 1. To order the decking and trimming of the house. 2. To dispose of ordinary provisions for the family. 3. To rule and govern the maid servants. 4. To bring up children while they are young.[41]

Farming advice books offered a more detailed description of women's work tasks, but echoed these gendered principles. Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry* made the wife responsible for not only providing meals, caring for children, tidying the house and doing laundry but also caring for livestock, making butter and cheese, tending the garden and producing cloth. Additionally, he noted that she should "go or ride to market" so that she could sell "butter, cheese, milk, eggs, chickens ... pigs, geese and all types of grain, and also to buy all the sorts of things necessary to the household".[42] Thomas Tusser recognized that the housewife worked as hard as her husband, and that they existed in mutual dependence, as Xenophon had observed. Tusser's advice on buying and selling at markets and fairs was addressed to the man, however.[43] Charles Estienne's *Maison Rustique*, translated into English in 1600, and Gervase Markham's *The English Housewife* repeated the long list of work tasks that were the responsibility of a country housewife, from making malt and brewing beer, growing vegetables and producing cloth, to providing medical care, but repeated the same spatial division of labour as Xenophon:

> the woman is acquitted of field matters, in as much as she is tied with matters within the house and the base court ... as the husband is tied to do what concerneth him, even all the business of the Field[44]

and

> those outward parts of husbandry ... belong to the perfect husbandman, who is the father and master of the family, and whose office and employments are ever for the most part abroad, or removed from the house, as in the field or yard ... the office of our English housewife, who is the mother and mistress of the family, ... hath her most general employments within the house.[45]

While these instructions share some similarities with the breadwinner/homemaker model of gender roles found in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which the husband is the

producer and the wife the consumer, they do not match exactly and should not be seen as the same thing. The provisions the husband brought into the house were generally not cash wages, but raw materials: grain, cows and wool. The wife's household management might have involved some financial accounting,[46] but far more significant was the business of processing the raw materials into useable (or consumable) products via milling, baking, malting and brewing, milking and dairying, carding, spinning and weaving; and of ensuring seasonal products were processed and stored in such a way as to provide for the household all year round. As women were producers, they also sold their own products (eggs, cheese, yarn) to generate income: something even some of the more conservative didactic literature recognized.[47] Making purchases was only a minor feature of this housewifely role. Additionally, while the man was relegated to outside work, the house remained under his headship, and acted as his headquarters. While the woman cared for the contents of the house, the ownership of most of the goods lied with the man. So even in the over-simplified schemes of household advice books, consumption was not strictly gendered. Women *were* seen as having the primary responsibility for day-to-day provision of meals and of cleaning the house and its contents. But they also made food and textile products for sale and provided medical care. When women were told "not wastefully to spend" what the man brought in,[48] it was an exhortation to careful management of whatever materials were provided, and not necessarily always a reference to spending money. Of course, it must be stressed that these books set out an ideal model: they do not necessarily reflect actual households. Despite the inside/outside female/male division being one of the most frequently repeated instructions there is little evidence that it had any significant influence on behaviour, as evidence of women's activities as buyers and sellers of goods in the next section demonstrates.[49]

'Shopping': buying and selling of goods for the household

The English noun 'shopping' only came into use in the second half of the eighteenth century. It specifically denoted leisure shopping, the pleasurable activity of browsing for non-essential goods.[50] Significantly, the earliest recorded instances of the word chiefly referred to women's shopping activities.[51] Leisure shopping certainly existed before this date. Helen Berry describes the daily routine of wealthy women in London and provincial towns, which included a shopping trip before lunch, throughout the eighteenth century.[52] In the second half of the seventeenth century, Samuel Pepys notes the frequent occasions when he browsed the shops of the Royal Exchange, flirting with the female stallholders, and only occasionally making a purchase.[53] London's Royal Exchange, established as a covered shopping emporium with a selection of permanent stalls selling luxury goods, first opened in the late sixteenth century.[54] Such shopping was an elite activity, requiring ample resources of time and money. While the women of the aristocracy and gentry drew the most criticism for their shopping activities even in the early seventeenth century, it is likely that before 1700 such shopping was actually dominated by men. Gentlemen travelled to and within London more easily than their wives and daughters, who were more likely to remain on their country estates.[55] Evidence of purchases made by elite households is provided by account books, but these are not easy to approach from a gendered perspective: the process of decision-making, in terms of who decided what to buy, typically remains opaque.[56] Personal account books in which elite women recorded the expenditure of their 'pin money', the separate income for personal items which was assigned to them in marriage agreements, offer some insight into women's spending habits.[57] However, concentration on

such sources creates a distortive image of women primarily buying small or frivolous items, and purchasing for pleasure.

For the majority of the population, purchases were made at markets, direct from craftsmen who sold their wares, or in the village shops that proliferated in rural England after 1650. Studies of buying and selling have concentrated overwhelmingly on changes in the formal institutions of retailing, such as markets and shops.[58] Far less frequently has the experience or process of purchasing been explored.[59] The household advice literature examined above suggests that most people not only bought goods but sold them as well, and the flexible but structured institution of the market provided the most important location for these activities. Of all women's work activities, everyday commerce was the one that most obviously took them out of the house and into the public sphere of interaction with strangers. Michael Roberts notes how "market women" were criticized and ridiculed for their assertive vocal presence in these public spaces,[60] although this does not seem to have impacted negatively on their reputations as good housewives. Women's important role in petty marketing, working as hawkers and ale-sellers, has been observed from the late medieval period onwards.[61] However, the gender of buying and selling more generally has received little attention. Marjorie McIntosh in *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620* argues that women most often sold goods that were connected to their activities at home.[62] The identity of buyers remains largely unexplored.

Evidence about buying and selling was collected as part of a larger project that explored the nature of women's work in early modern England. Information was provided by witness statements recorded in the Church and criminal courts, as well as coroners' reports into accidental death, drawn from south-west England, and dating from 1500 to 1700. All descriptions of a specific person carrying out a particular work task were noted, resulting in a database of 4,300 work tasks.[63] Commerce, defined as buying or selling, travelling to a market or fair, working in a shop or stall, and exchanging goods, was the largest category of work, with 1,187 examples of people carrying out these activities recorded in the database.

Out of the 4,300 work tasks, only 29.4 per cent of tasks were carried out by women compared to 70.6 per cent by men. This bias towards men was a result of men being preferred as court witnesses to women, and of both men and women being more likely to recount the work tasks of people of the same gender.[64] As all work activities were recorded, including housework and care work, the predominance of male work activities would only reflect the true gender distribution of work if women had more leisure time than men. This seems very unlikely to have been the case. Early modern commentators such as Tusser and Fitzherbert noted how hard women worked in farming households, while time-use studies from modern societies record women working longer hours than men in all parts of the world.[65] For instance, when paid and unpaid work is included, in rural areas of modern developing countries women account for 55 per cent of all time spent on economic activities compared to 45 per cent for men; while in industrial countries the proportions are 51 per cent female and 49 per cent male. Assuming women did not have more leisure time relative to men in early modern England a conservative assumption is that women did at least 50 per cent of all work.[66] Therefore to compensate for the under-recording of women, adjusted figures were calculated based on the assumption that at least 50 per cent of total work tasks would have been undertaken by women. This provided a multiplier of 2.41 which was used to adjust the percentage of women in other categories: in the data presented in Table 10.1 both the raw and adjusted figures are given.[67]

Table 10.1 shows gendered patterns of purchasing or buying goods, according to the different types of goods purchased. Looking at the adjusted figures, women made up a slight majority, 52 per cent, of buyers. They predominate as the buyers of almost all categories of goods, including consumer goods. However, they also made up the majority of those buying raw materials such as wool and grain, and manufactured products such as textiles, all of which needed further processing before they could be used directly by the family or 'consumed'. It is also important to note that in all categories of consumer goods, men made up at least 30 per cent of buyers.

Table 10.2 shows that women did not dominate selling to quite the same extent as buying, but the differences are slight. Using the adjusted figures, they made up 47 per cent of people recorded selling goods. As McIntosh suggested, they dominated the sale of food and drink and clothing.[69] But women also dominated the sale of goods which had little to do with their household work, such as iron and silverware, and they were well represented amongst those selling wool, grain and particularly textiles. Given the limited differences between the proportion of female and male buyers and sellers, these findings indicate that it is incorrect to assume the typical purchaser was a women and the typical seller was male: both men and women participated heavily in both activities in early modern England. Nor should we assume women only sold those items they had made themselves: there was only one female weaver identified in the database compared to 20 male weavers, yet women dominated the sale of textiles. At least three different women were dealing in second-hand iron in Wiltshire and Somerset.

Table 10.1 The gender of people buying goods[68]

Types of goods		*Buying*				
		F	*M*	*total*	*% F (raw)*	*% F (adj)*
Raw materials	Livestock	15	141	156	10	20
	Wool	20	45	65	31	52
	Grain	16	24	40	40	62
	Wood/timber	0	12	12	0	0
Manufactured products	Textiles	25	18	43	58	77
	Iron	1	7	8	13	22
	Equipment/tools	1	17	18	6	11
Consumer goods	Food and drink	47	81	128	37	58
	Clothing	27	31	58	47	68
	Housewares	9	10	19	47	69
	Light/fuel/ cleaning	4	12	16	25	45
	Silverware	2	3	5	40	63
	Furniture	2	3	5	40	63
	Books/paper	1	1	2	50	67
Unclassified	Unspecified	9	3	12	-	-
	Unclear	2	1	3	-	-
Total		181	409	590	31	52

Table 10.2 The gender of people selling goods[70]

Types of goods		*Selling*				
		F	*M*	*Total*	*% F (raw)*	*% F (adj)*
Raw materials	Livestock	17	130	147	12	24
	Wool	13	37	50	26	46
	Grain	6	19	25	24	42
	Wood/timber	1	14	15	7	13
Manufactured products	Textiles	20	18	38	53	72
	Iron	4	4	8	50	71
	Equipment/tools	0	13	13	0	0
Consumer goods	Food and drink	39	62	101	39	60
	Clothing	20	23	43	47	68
	Housewares	2	12	14	14	29
	Light/fuel/ cleaning	3	5	8	38	58
	Silverware	4	2	6	67	83
	Furniture	0	3	3	0	0
	Books/paper	0	4	4	0	0
Unclassified	Unspecified	2	10	12	-	-
	Unclear	1	1	2	-	-
Total		132	357	489	27	47

These data only occasionally reveal the capacity in which women sold produce. Some were employed in shops, stalls or alehouses selling produce for others; some were wives selling produce connected to their husband's occupation; others were women selling goods they produced in their farms or households; and some were women who ran their own businesses as retailers. Women's activities as sellers mean that although the database also shows that 61 per cent of people recorded as travelling to market were women,[71] we should not assume that this was because women were the primary consumers of the household. Women went to market to buy and sell. In fact, buying and selling was conducted in a range of locations. Markets were the most common locations, where 38 per cent of commercial activities took place; but private houses (19 per cent), fairs (12 per cent), shops (ten per cent) and alehouses (ten per cent) were also common.

Comparisons can be made between the pattern observed in south-west England with that in Sweden and south-west Germany. Two previous research projects, led by Maria Ågren for Sweden and Sheilagh Ogilvie for Germany, also collected evidence of work activities from court documents: 12,231 examples of work tasks from Sweden between 1550 and 1799 and 2,828 from Wildberg and Ebhausen in south-west Germany between 1646 and 1800.[72] To make a close comparison, the data from each project were reclassified using the same categories.[73] The raw data from Sweden showed that 27 per cent of trade activities were carried out by women as compared to 30 per cent in south-west England. When the

Swedish figures were adjusted to account for the under-recording of women in the same way as those for England, these were transformed into very similar female majorities of 53 per cent in Sweden, compared to 51 per cent in England.[74] Separate figures for buying and selling were not available, but anecdotally, the pattern of activities appeared similar. The raw data from Sheilagh Ogilvie's research on south-west Germany showed that 19 per cent of commerce was conducted by women. When this was adjusted the percentage rose to 32 per cent, but remained considerably lower than in England or Sweden. It seems likely that the tight guild regulations in south-west Germany restricted women's active participation in the sale of goods.[75]

Shopping is one an example of consumption-related work in the early modern household. Most 'shopping' was not a leisure activity but a work task, and in the early modern economy the purchasing of goods was not an activity that was strongly gendered. Women were active in markets, shops and other types of retail, selling as well as buying. The need of rural women to travel some distance to market does not seem to have presented a barrier to these activities. Only if women were specifically excluded from some retail occupations, as they were in the German communities studied by Ogilvie, do we find women less well represented among the sellers of goods. An examination of the practices of everyday commerce demonstrates that women did not dominate consumption if consumption is taken to mean the purchasing of goods and that women were not confined to the domestic sphere but travelled about the countryside and towns to engage in buying and selling. The household economy combined production and consumption, and buying and selling, and both men and women were heavily involved in all these activities.

Gendered attitudes to material culture

Studies of the material culture of households below the gentry in social rank have been dominated by the analysis of probate inventories.[76] Probate inventories describe and assign monetary value to moveable goods owned at the time of death. Furnishings and other equipment are often listed room by room, offering a fascinating insight into the internal living arrangements of early modern houses.[77] Inventories have been used to track the growing number and range of goods owned by ordinary householders across the early modern period and as such are a valuable source. However, they are problematic in a number of ways for the study of consumption. They do not reveal the process of consumption but instead provide a snapshot of goods owned at time of death. Additionally, they say little about the meaning of these goods to their owners, other than their monetary value and where they were located in the house. The descriptions provided in inventories are sparse and are those of the appraisers, typically neighbours or business associates, not the owner (who had recently died) or family members.

Property laws make it difficult to use inventories to study gender and material culture. For instance, in England all property owned by a married couple belonged to the husband, and he had the right to sell or bequeath that property as he wished.[78] Thus a married man's inventory contains the goods of both husband and wife, and there are no inventories for married women. As a result, a comparison between men's and women's inventories, is in fact largely a comparison between the goods of a married couple (in the man's inventory) with those acquired by a married couple that were now owned by the widow (in women's inventories).[79] That said, Lorna Weatherill compared men's and women's inventories and did detect some small differences. The inventories of women (or female headed households) were slightly more likely to contain table linen and window curtains, as well pictures and

prints, looking glasses and silverware, but the differences were only of a few percentage points. The inventories of men (or male headed households) were more likely to record tables, cooking pots, earthenware and clocks.[80] However, these differences are hard to read, considering – as Shammas notes – men's inventories also reflect their wives consumption decisions, while widows inventories "reflect not their own consumption behaviour but the type of possessions their husbands considered appropriate for them to inherit."[81]

Given the problematic nature of inventory evidence, a number of historians have turned instead to wills. Studies of wills from the late medieval period to the eighteenth century have noted gendered patterns of will-making.[82] Historians have differed in how to interpret women's wills. Susan James ignores the legal restrictions and conventions of will-making when she argues that wills allow us "to engage with women in the first person, in their own words, and without an intermediary present" and that wills "provide a subject summation of the-will maker's life experience, her sense of identity, her priorities and aspirations".[83] Maxine Berg is more measured, noting that bequests of goods in women's wills provide an "expression of the emotional and familial value of such goods", and argues that "the goods mentioned in bequests were singled out for attention by the individual, and thus endowed with some emotional, familial or material value".[84] Others are even more circumspect. In her study of fifteenth-century Douai, Martha Howell states that "wills in Douai were not vehicles for the direct expression of socio-economic realities or personal desires, but rhetorically complicated compositions, authored in part by a legal culture [...]."[85] As a consequence, Pointon is surely correct to argue that we cannot "'hear' the voices of women from the past speaking through these legal documents", but that there are elements of wills such as "the often idiosyncratic nature of the language used, [and] the sometimes extraordinary degree of detail with which objects are delineated" that cannot be ignored as expressions of female will-makers feelings and priorities.[86]

As with inventories, men and women were typically in different positions in the life-cycle when they made wills, and therefore had different priorities. Male will-makers were likely to be married, and were concerned to provide for their wife and children after their death. Female will-makers were most often widows and single women. Any arrangements widows made for their children usually complemented those already put in place by their husbands. As a result many female will-makers made gifts to a wider circle of friends and relations while men concentrated on the immediate family.[87] Nonetheless, some differences between men's and women's wills, such as the choice to mention specific items and the level of description provided, are difficult to explain in these terms. In the only quantitative study previously undertaken on this topic, of eighteenth-century wills from Birmingham and Sheffield, Maxine Berg found that women were more likely than men to specify bequests of clothing, jewellery, linen and silverware and plate. Further, female will-makers were much more likely than male will-makers to offer detailed descriptions of clothes and household items.[88] Howell and James suggest the same was true of wills from the earlier period, without quantifying their findings.[89]

To investigate gendered attitudes to material culture a selection of 1,000 wills, 500 made by women and 500 by men, from the early seventeenth century were analysed. The wills studied were from the Archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury in eastern England. Archdeaconry courts were the lowest level of the ecclesiastical court hierarchy and recorded the wills of the least wealthy will-makers. Nonetheless, the poorest section of the population rarely made wills. Thus among the male will-makers in the selection only four per cent were gentlemen; 35 per cent were yeomen (prosperous farmers); husbandmen (less wealthy farmers) accounted for 17 per cent; and labourers only two per cent.[90] Married women had

to have special permission from their husbands to make a will, and few did so. Of the 500 women's wills in the selection 74 per cent were made by widows, 14 per cent by single women, three per cent by wives and eight per cent by women of unspecified marital status. The great majority of early modern wills were made by men: Erickson found that only 12 to 20 per cent were made by women,[91] while Evans notes that widows made up 16 to 17 per cent of will-makers in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury in the 1630s.[92] Here equal numbers of women's and men's wills were selected for study by taking every woman's will plus the next following will made by a man.

Each selected will was read to identify specific bequests of clothing and household textiles and the level of detail provided.[93] Wills are to a certain extent formulaic, however, the person making a will had a choice about whether to mention specific items or to lump them together in a statement such as "all goods, chattels and household stuff" or "all goods whatever".[94] Additionally, when they mentioned items, they also had a choice about whether to offer any further description of fabric, colour or provenance of those goods. In quantifying the level of description provided, only descriptions of colour or design, type of textile,[95] and previous owner was counted, but not general descriptions such as 'old', or 'best', nor descriptions of location within the house. The findings are shown in Table 10.3.

There were clear differences in the treatment of clothing and household textiles in men's and women's wills. Despite the fact both men and women would have owned clothing, 38 per cent of women's wills specifically mention clothing as a bequest, compared to 12 per cent of men's wills.[97] Household textiles were more commonly mentioned by both men and women than clothing, but the gendered difference was very similar: 45 per cent of female will-makers specifically mentioned them compared to 20 per cent of male will-makers. Differences were equally strong in terms of the level of description provided: only two per cent of men offered further description of the clothing bequeathed compared to 21 per cent of women, while the same was true of five per cent of men compared to 17 per cent of women with regard to household textiles. Occasionally wills were exceptionally detailed, offering descriptions of both clothing and furnishings: this was the case of six per cent of women's wills but only one per cent of wills made by men. How

Table 10.3 Clothing and household textiles mentioned in wills[96]

(a) Women's wills in which they:	*Number*	*Percentage*
Mention clothing	190	38.0
Describe clothing	104	20.8
Mention household textiles	225	45.0
Describe household textiles	83	16.6
Describe clothing and household textiles	32	6.4
Total wills	500	-
(b) Men's wills in which they:	*Number*	*Percentage*
Mention clothing	58	11.6
Describe clothing	12	2.4
Mention household textiles	102	20.4
Describe household textiles	25	5.0
Describe clothing and household textiles	5	1.0
Total wills	500	-

should these strong gendered differences in how men and women chose to describe and specify bequests of textiles in wills be interpreted?

It is important to consider the legal frameworks within which women operated. While all property of married women was controlled by their husband during marriage, to the extent that in southern England he had the right to bequeath that property to someone else at his death even if his wife survived him, an exception was made for goods that were regarded as a women's paraphernalia. These "consisted of a wife's clothes, jewels, bed linens and plate".[98] Howell notes how married women in late medieval Douai continually stretched the tradition of what should be considered their personal property or paraphernalia, extending it from clothing and jewels to include linen, kitchenware and a bed.[99] However, although experts in the ecclesiastical law of probate were aware of a married woman's right to her paraphernalia, it does not seem to have been commonly recognized by will-makers in southern England. Amy Erickson argues that a newly widowed wife might remove "those goods she regarded as her own before the appraisers came to take her husband's inventory",[100] yet there is little evidence that this happened. Linen was almost universal in men's inventories, just as it was in women's. Further, there are wills in which the husband bequeathed his wife her own clothing. This suggests that men were more familiar with the idea that they owned all the marital property than that there might be exceptions to this rule. Nonetheless, it is possible that women's concentration on bequests of clothing in wills reflects the widely held belief across north-west Europe that whatever control the husband had over other marital property, the wife's clothing and jewellery remained her own.[101]

The associations between women and textiles are strong in other ways. Archaeological studies and ancient history reveal that spinning remained a female monopoly until it was mechanized in the eighteenth century, while weaving was almost universally a female craft until the high medieval period.[102] Similarly while professional tailoring was an exclusively male craft in sixteenth-century England, sewing and mending continued to be skills taught to almost all women.[103] Fine embroidery for the church was often done by skilled female embroiderers in the medieval period, and while men took over this craft, gentlewomen continued to create embroidered clothing and household furnishings throughout the early modern period.[104] Laundry seems to have been universally done by women until professional laundries were created in the nineteenth century. Sixteenth-century Cambridge colleges employed men to do almost all forms of housekeeping within the college, but sent their laundry out to be done by female laundresses based in the town.[105] Thus although both men and women wore clothes, sat on cushions and slept in sheets, there were long-standing historical practices that placed the creation and maintenance of clothing and household textiles within women's work repertoire. Textiles also played a particular role in women's life course. Young women accumulated clothing and linen to take into marriage,[106] and as we have seen, during marriage clothing and jewels were some of the few items legally recognized as the sole possession of the wife.

While men's wills typically concentrated on real property, capital goods and wealth in the form of monetary bequests, and displayed a primary concern for their widow and children, women's wills often took a different form. Women were more likely to leave bequests to a wider range of friends and family members, and to bequeath specific items of clothing and domestic material culture. As such men's and women's wills served different purposes and recognized different forms of value. Men were primarily concerned with providing continued livelihoods for their wife and children. Women, when they deviated from the male norms of will-making, were concerned with cementing networks of

friendship and affection, between people, and between people and goods. Howell suggests that early modern men found women's "sentimental" approach to will-making foolish,[107] which may be one reason why so many men avoided itemising and describing possessions in their wills. Yet we should not trivialize the sentiments expressed by women in their wills. In the absence of access to real property and significant wealth, women used bequests of goods in wills to demonstrate their values and feelings. And even when women did control real property and wealth, they nonetheless considered this a worthwhile exercise. In doing so, women demonstrated an understanding of the non-monetary value of goods as repositories for memory and sentiment, and of the power of gift-giving, as well as the possibility that these goods could be used or exchanged for cash if so wished.[108] As such, wills provide a window into gendered attitudes to the material culture of the home in early modern England.

Conclusion

Advice literature demonstrates that the idea of the domestic sphere as a female domain dates back to ancient Greece, and was eagerly promulgated in early modern western Europe. However, placing men in the outside world of public interaction and women in the domestic sphere of the house, did not equate with seeing men as producers and women as consumers. A number of important tasks women were expected to carry out in the home (textile production, the processing of foodstuffs) involved production rather than consumption. Further, the advice that women should be confined to the house was contradicted by agricultural advice literature, which expected women to market their goods and engage in farm work. Study of early modern practices reveals that below the level of the gentry women were active sellers as well as buyers, and that women were certainly not confined to the house.

Modern ideas about what consumption entails, and the nature of women's role in the family, have too often been imposed on early modern households. Historians have assigned women a vague domestic role, while men's work has been seen as far more significant to the wider economy.[109] Women's supposed primacy in consumption has been used as a way of writing women back into the story of economic transformation.[110] In this chapter I have argued that this is misguided. Instead we need to consider what exactly consumption is, and how it fitted into the household economy of the early modern period. Our modern understanding of consumption, as the end of a process of production, trade and consumption, dates from after 1750. It relies on a clear spatial separation between production and consumption, with consumption placed in the domestic sphere. Before 1750 the economy was understood as an agglomeration of household economies, with each household performing both production and consumption. The indoor 'domestic sphere' was gendered female in advice literature, but involved production as well as consumption. Production and consumption were so tightly entangled within the household economy that consumption was not identified as a separate process.

This chapter has attempted to add clarity by focusing on two aspects of gendered consumption: shopping and an attachment to domestic material culture (particularly clothing and household textiles). In each case we have had to remind ourselves that these processes were very different in the early modern period. Women did not 'shop', but rather engaged in petty marketing, buying and selling; occasionally they did this as a specialized occupation, but more often as a part of the household economy. Men were equally engaged in these activities. Bequests in wills do seem to indicate that women had a stronger attachment to

clothing and domestic textiles than men, which led them to itemize and describe such articles in their wills more often than men did. This indicates that attitudes to material culture were gendered, and hints at the way goods were appropriated within the household. The concept of consumption sits awkwardly in the early modern household economy. In future, it would be helpful for historians to be precise about what exactly they mean by consumption: are they referring to work within the home, or responsibilities for decision-making; are they interested in the purchasing of everyday goods or in leisure shopping; do they want to explore the relationship men and women had with material goods or expressed via those goods? Each requires different sources and will lead to different findings about the nature of gender relations in the domestic sphere of the household and the amorphous concept of consumption.

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64 Men witnessed 91 per cent of male work; women witnessed 69 per cent of female work tasks.
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70 Sources: see Table 10.1.
71 This is the adjusted figure. The raw figure is 40 per cent.
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73 Many thanks to Maria Ågren, Sheilagh Ogilvie and Mark Hailwood for making this possible.
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89 Howell, "Fixing Movables", p. 26; and James, *Women's Voices*, pp. 231–79.
90 A further 26 per cent belonged to men with non-agricultural occupations.
91 Erickson, *Women and Property*, p. 205.
92 Evans, *Archdeaconry of Sudbury 1630–1635*, p. xi.
93 Household textiles were defined as sheets, table linen, woollen coverings, cushions, carpets, wall hangings, and upholstered seating. Beds and pillows were not included, nor ambiguous statements such as 'the bed and its furniture', but references to coverings, sheets, and pillow beers (pillow cases) were included.
94 Quoting the will of Anthony Shering of South Cove husbandman, 14 July 1627 (7) p. 5; and the will of Bridget Dowe of Trimley, 3 August 1627 (51) p. 28, both in Allen, *Archdeaconry of Suffolk* 1627–1628.
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107 Howell, "Fixing Movables", p. 43.
108 Pointon, *Strategies*, p. 35.
109 Whittle, "A Critique of Approaches".
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11

MAKING THE MATERIAL HOME

Consumption, craft and gender

Serena Dyer

Introduction

Setting up home has long been held as intensely feminine. Upon marriage, masculine practicality has been seen to give way to feminine niceties, as tea tables and pianofortes invaded rooms which had been either stoically practical, or unaltered from the tastes of previous generations. When Catherine Morland, the heroine of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, first views her future marital home, her prospective father-in-law remarks that it "waits only a lady's taste" before soliciting Catherine for "her choice of the prevailing colour of paper and hangings".[1] Feminine taste and knowledge of fashion is presented as a prerequisite for successful domestic design. Intertwined with a broader cultural feminization of consumption, craft and the domestic sphere, it was women who were principally identified with the decoration and furnishing of the home. Yet, as both Amanda Vickery and Margot Finn have noted, the masculine rejection of consumption for the home was "more rhetorical than real".[2] Focusing primarily on genteel homes within eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, this chapter will engage with the corpus of material goods purchased for and produced in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English households.[3] In doing so, it will reveal how both men and women consumed, made and crafted items for use in domestic space, and how these items were integrated into a wider culture of collaborative domestic consumption.

Gender, material culture and domestic space

Alongside child-rearing, sociability and domestic work, the material culture of domestic space has long been considered through a gendered lens. While men have been associated with production and labour outside of the home, it was women who were the consumers and creators of material domesticity.[4] Jan de Vries' 'breadwinner-homemaker' model of the nineteenth-century European and North American household reflects this longstanding cultural distinction, positioning men as economically-active producers and providers who earned money for their wives to have more spending power as consumers.[5] The binary of men as producers who enabled women as consumers has both significantly devalued the making skills of women, and made frivolous the skill and labour of consumption practices.[6]

Moreover, it has generated a culturally received view of consumption and production which have obscured men's engagement with shopping and making. This contradictory figure of the consumer was culturally, rather than economically or socially constructed. While, as Jane Whittle explains in this volume, men had dominated shopping practices in the seventeenth century, by the late eighteenth century, men who 'shopped', as well as those who worked in shops, were denounced in novels, plays and in satirical cartoons as effeminate, and were detached from the economically influential characteristics of masculinity.[7] This culturally constructed gendered stereotyping within contemporary representations presented women as driven to shop or consume by an impulse to gratify sensory desire, and this desire as bound up in concepts of female sexuality.

The cultural binary was reflected in the gendered separate spheres model, which has sat alongside the domestic and public sphere. What Vickery terms as the 'dialectical polarity' between home and world, men and women, public and private, has resolutely positioned women within the private, domestic sphere since Aristotle.[8] Established through readings of didactic and prescriptive literature for women, by the 1820s, the ideology of virtuous femininity saw the domesticated woman as creator of a home that was a "haven for all that was civilized and spiritual in a materialistic world".[9] While the married housewife may have been subject to her husband's authority, she was the mistress of house and hearth. Wallpapers were changed, and new furniture ordered according to her tastes. This veneration of domestic womanhood came to be fused to a narrative of economic change, as industrialization pushed women out of public life and into the home. While men forged national industrial progress, women created domestic retreats. According to this rhetoric model, if an Englishman's home was his castle, then an Englishwoman's home was her canvas.

It was not only gendered dynamics of home and household management which shaped both cultural and social histories of the material domestic sphere. Industrialization and consumption – two dominant meta-narratives of change through the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – had a profound impact on the material makeup of the home. The aesthetic shifts which took place across this period were inextricably intertwined with broader social and economic changes. Industrialization has been explicitly linked through de Vries' 'industrious revolution' and the middle-class woman's separate sphere model of the nineteenth century.[10] However, the evolution of consumption models has been no less influential upon how scholars have read the materiality of domestic life. In 2012, Frank Trentmann argued that consumption has "stepped out of the shadow of production", and now enjoys a widely accepted position amongst scholars as a "mirror of the human condition".[11] Consumption's influence on eighteenth-century political and moral economy is undeniable; the debates and discourses arising from this topic have inspired the application of an array of transformative phrases to characterize the eighteenth century. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb's 1982 *The Birth of a Consumer Society* has undeniably shaped the field over the last three decades. This study argues that the growing diversity of goods, and increased retailing skill, combined to form the birthplace of a consumer society. The appeal of these goods to an affluent middling sort satisfied a need to emulate higher social groups, leading to a 'trickle-down' effect. In this model, consumers were directed by London's fashionable elite, imitating and aping the latest modes.[12]

Perhaps hyperbolically termed as a 'consumer revolution', McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb's arguments paved the way for a rich and diverse historiographical literature, which continues to grow. By 1993, the edited volume, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, demonstrated the depth and range which had been covered by scholars, and the growing

importance of the field within the study of the eighteenth century.[13] This expanding literature brought with it critics of the 'consumer revolution', who have questioned the model, primarily along socio-economic lines.[14] Studies of this nature, such as Lorna Weatherill's study of consumer behaviour in the early century, uses probate inventories to reveal a greater material wealth in households which pre-dated the 'consumer revolution'.[15]

Yet, how this superfluity of material domestic comforts, and their acquisition, maps onto contemporary gender dynamics, remains contentious. While contemporary literature placed women firmly as arbiters of taste within the home, responsible for and confined to caring for its contents, cultural ideals and lived experience rarely mirror one another. Historians concede that few women actually lived up to the idealized visions of domestic womanhood of John Ruskin, nor the consumer exuberance of Bernard Mandeville.[16] Vickery has been especially influential in making key distinctions between the cultural rhetoric of women as confined to domestic consumption roles.[17] More recently, scholarship which has studied visual and material culture, as well as the letters and diaries of individuals engaged in setting up home, has done vital work to balance out cultural hyperbole with social practices.

State of research: the material turn and the making turn

The materiality of the domestic sphere is important to understanding not only roles and dynamics within the home but also how people positioned their homes in relation to wider social and political issues. Scholarly activity within this area has by no means been cohesive. Research into the histories of shopping and consumption, material culture, the emotions, production and making, as well as gender and the home, have contributed to developing arguments around the material construction of domestic life. The material culture of domestic life has enjoyed fresh interest under the 'material turn' of the last two decades, and continues to provide a fruitful framework for further analysis. Trentmann has critiqued historical material culture studies, arguing that they have been "more about the culture than about material".[18] Indeed, there has been a great deal of trepidation and scepticism about the value of engaging with objects; and yet in recent years, the 'material turn' has led to objects being readily incorporated into historical, art historical and even literary methodologies.[19] Concisely defined by Giorgio Riello and Anne Gerritsen as consisting "not merely of 'things', but also of the meanings they hold for people", material culture studies have come to be acknowledged as a fruitful means of reconsidering well-worn topics, borrowing from the disciplines of anthropology, archaeology and art history.[20] Scholars have crossed disciplinary boundaries in order to add material dimensions to their area of study. More than mere theatrical set dressing, the materiality of the domestic sphere – and how that might be different from the material life of the public sphere – has become a vital vehicle with which historians, art historians and literary scholars alike navigate the history of the home.

The dominant narrative of the rise of consumer culture, especially in Britain, did much to skew readings of the domestic interior of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The material artefacts used to decorate and fill the home were read by historians as consumer goods.[21] While, of course, such objects are consumed, and it is important to look at mechanisms of acquisitions and disposal, the materiality of objects is often displaced in more quantitative approaches to household contents. Questions remain surrounding how it felt to sit on certain chairs, use kitchen utensils, and what wall and bed hangings actually looked like. Finding ways of accessing the materiality of life inside the early modern home – and indeed across a variety of early modern homes – can provide unprecedented

enrichment. Indeed, they often feed back into the broader social, economic and political questions which more traditional approaches aim to grapple. Studies such as Raffaella Sarti's *Europe at Home* marry the social dynamics of family and household make-up with the material culture of what was inside those homes.[22] Similarly, Hannah Greig's *Beau Monde* uses the material culture of London's eighteenth-century elites as a way into a dynamic social universe which navigates the boundaries between the public and private spheres.[23] Finn and Kate Smith's *East India Company at Home* has woven global networks of politics and trade with the very material goods that filled British homes.[24] Meanwhile Vickery has aligned the mechanisms of acquisition monitored in an account book with the materiality of household linens to unpack the complex gender dynamics of household management.[25]

Of course, not all households were equal, and the majority of material culture approaches to the early modern household have focused on the gentry and elites. The country house – partially intact and with archival and material sources which neatly mesh together – provides far richer fodder for academic endeavour than the worker's cottage.[26] Material culture within the country house has gained momentum from the material turn, and helped to unpick why consumption – or rather traditional narratives of consumer practice – alone is not a sufficient framework for understanding the materiality of even the most elite homes.[27] New and old came together through consumption on the grand tour, and the fabrication of antique aesthetics within the British elite home was commonplace.[28] The relationship between patterns of retail and consumption and cultures of collecting reveal additional complexity when using inventories and accounts to access domestic space; indeed, whether collecting can be categorized as luxury consumption has been debated.[29] The elite domestic interior in an English country house, for example, which might appear cohesive from an aesthetic perspective, contained a mixture of imported wallpapers and British ceramics, Indian textiles and ancient sculpture. The material culture of domestic space was complex, and riddled with political, cultural and social implications and meanings. But how did this complex array of goods overlap with the cultural rhetoric of the woman as creator of the domestic interior? How did the masculine narrative of grand-tour collecting sit alongside supposedly feminine knowledge of taste and design?

Similar issues have arisen as part of the 'making turn'.[30] Trentmann's assertion that consumption has "stepped out of the shadow of production" reveals a troubling binary approach to production and consumption, which still dominates the field.[31] Trentmann's statement springs from a movement away from a narrative of industrialization and towards a meta-narrative of consumption. Yet early modern Europe did not follow this binary assumption of part of the population producing while the rest consumed. Practices of making and owning were inherently interlinked. From the factory worker of the industrialization narrative, to the genteel and elite women of the country house, almost all early modern people both made and acquired items. While an inventory or account book might relay that a new bed was ordered, it does not necessarily reveal the complex co-design relationship between commissioner and furnituremaker.[32] Nor does it reveal who made the hangings and covers, nor the many stages of wear and repair that it inevitably went through.[33] The importance of making for and within the home has been central to narratives around homespun in America.[34] These studies use everyday objects within the home – an unfinished stocking, spinning wheels, a chimneypiece – as a lens through which understandings of cultural encounter, revolutionary politics and international commerce are transformed. These extraordinary findings have contributed to the increasing influence of material culture; yet, a core message – that consumers made things within and for the home – has only recently been pursued further.

Breaking down the gendered binary which sits alongside the producer/consumer paradigm has been key to challenging the latter paradigm. The rhetoric surrounding women's engagement with craft within the home – the female accomplishments of genteel ladies – has feminized amateur making and drawn a veil over the complex and intimate knowledge of production held by genteel and elite, working and middling inhabitants of early modern Europe.[35] Work by Kate Smith has demonstrated that haptics were key to browsing practices, and that the information relayed by the hand often linked back to a knowledge of how such goods were made.[36] In Frances Burney's 1779 play *The Witlings*, the milliner, Mrs Wheedle, laments that a tippet made by one of her shop girls would "be fit for nothing but the window, and there the Miss Notables who work for themselves may look at it for a pattern".[37] Transformed into a vehicle for material knowledge, the tippet becomes a useful tool through which visitors to the shop may inspect how it was made, in order to make one for themselves at home. Similarly, Elizabeth Woodhouse, the daughter of a successful haberdasher, not only spent a vast amount of money on new clothes but also paid ten pounds to a local milliner, J. Volans, to instruct her in her 'art'.[38] In setting herself up as a genteel clergyman's wife, Woodhouse not only sought to dress herself and equip her house with the necessary tools for married life but also to arm herself with the necessary knowledge and skills required to make items for herself. This exchange of material knowledge brought making into the marketplace, and necessitated shopping skills beyond bargain hunting and quality assessment.

The gendered narrative around making within and for the home has been further unpicked by recent histories of masculinity.[39] Karen Harvey has asserted that the history of men as both consumers and producers of material objects requires further integration into our general understanding of masculine identities.[40] Indeed, consumption, ownership and both amateur and professional making were all important facets of masculine identities.[41] Matthew McCormack has pointed out that during the eighteenth century "occupation became more important to male identities, as economic activity became increasingly identified with the political and civil public domain".[42] However, as Harvey has argued, such occupational identities could also be bound up in material languages of consumption, craft and making for the home.[43] The narrative of the feminization of consumer culture and the domestic sphere – generated as a system of distinction and classification – cannot reflect the complex relationship between gender, consumption and making within the domestic sphere. Instead, through the study of material culture and making, a multifaceted and collaborative approach to the material life of the home is revealed.

Setting up home at Nostell Priory

Nostell Priory, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, offers an exceptionally complete record of the collaborative partnerships behind the creation of domestic interiors, and the role of making and material knowledge within such spaces. Nostell was built by James Paine for Sir Rowland Winn, fourth baronet (1706–1765), in the 1750s. Its grand Palladian exterior is typical of country houses of its ilk. The interiors were predominantly designed by Robert Adam, and the house contains one of the most extensive collections of Thomas Chippendale's furniture, which was commissioned for the house. Sir Rowland Winn, fifth baronet (1739–1785) and his Swiss wife Sabine Winn (née d'Hervart, 1734–1798) patronized these makers, now recognized as two of the most prolific and iconic of the eighteenth century. Histories of the house and its creation have generally credited Sir Rowland Winn and his father with the patronage of Paine and Adam,

conforming to traditional masculine narratives of production and patronage.[44] Closer examination of both the archival and material evidence of the creation of the country house reveals a complex collaboration between both designer and owner, and husband and wife. Yet, what disrupts received notions of the creation of elite domestic interiors to an even greater extent is the centrality of the Winns', and in particular Sabine Winn's, own making practices to the adornment of the interiors and the furniture they commissioned. From Chippendale furniture to Sabine Winn's handcrafted adorned prints the interiors of Nostell contained a full range of consumed and crafted goods. The dynamics of the material culture of this grand domestic space existed between fashionable finery and creative craft, as both husband and wife engaged in a cooperative process of domestic design. Captured in correspondence between the couple, and from tradespeople, as well as the preserved interiors and furniture, Nostell demonstrates the joint creation of a shared domestic material culture.

It would be usual for histories of domestic design to immediately turn to a discussion of business correspondence and aesthetic choices. However, given the vast archival record left by the Winns, it is possible to piece together their domestic design choices with their personal relationships and interests, creating a richer narrative around the development of the material make up of their home, which challenges gendered divisions and offers up a story of idiosyncratic domestic design. In August 1756, aged 17, Rowland Winn (who had not yet succeeded his father to the baronetcy) travelled to Switzerland, with the intention of improving his continental education.[45] From the language and manners, to fashion and design, Winn's pseudo-grand tour was aimed at improving his taste and worldly knowledge, in line with other English gentlemen.[46] It also introduced him to the necessity to acquire material goods to articulate social position and power. From the beginning of his stay, he spent significant sums on clothing, furniture and paintings, as he felt he was "not splendid enough to go in fine company, and that it seemed to him that he was not on a distinguished footing".[47] This desire to utilize the domestic interior as a space in which to articulate social status was by no means uncommon, and provides early evidence of Winn's motivations when renovating Nostell.

In Switzerland, Winn also met the then-married Sabine d'Hervart. What began as an undesirable flirtation, described by Winn's tutor-cum-companion as "that little affair" resulted, after the death of d'Hervart's first husband Major Gabriel May, in a proposal of marriage.[48] The Winn family actively opposed the match, and continued to be hostile towards Sabine on her arrival in Yorkshire. Isolated in what she called "one of the most desolate and ill-fated corners of the universe", Sabine turned to her homes to find amusement, while her husband pursued (and failed to secure) a political career in London.[49] In 1765, only four years after their marriage, Rowland inherited the baronetcy, and with it Nostell Priory. Upon this inheritance, the couple together began a process of renovation and improvements at Nostell, which would occupy much of their next 20 years of occupancy. The portrait of the couple, painted by Hugh Douglas Hamilton in the late 1760s, celebrates the couple's combined venture of domestic refurbishment (see Figure 11.1).[50] They stand in the newly completed library at Nostell, the first interior to be completed by Robert Adam for the Winns. The portrait reflects the same emphatic statements with which the Winns imbued their domestic design choices. As a foreigner who did not speak English and an ambitious (but unsuccessful) politician and new baronet, the Winns used the material culture of the interiors at Nostell as a canvas to express their education, tastes and aspirations. The portrait was designed to hang in the couple's townhouse in St James's Square, and acted as a means of translating and embodying the

Figure 11.1 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1739–1808), *Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Bt (1739–1785) and His Wife Sabine Louise d'Hervart (1734–1798) in the Library at Nostell Priory* © National Trust Photographic Library/Bridgeman Images

prestige of the country house interior for Sir Rowland's political circle in London. In many ways, it acted as a public window into the domestic sphere.

The portrait presents the couple using many of the modes and customs of the conversation piece; however, it also places the design choices they made for the home at Nostell central to the image.[51] Sabine, dressed in exotic Turkish-style dress, locks eyes with the bust of Venus de' Medici, while her husband looks back at his wife, seeming to align his wife with the goddess of love, another chalk drawing of whom he holds in his right hand. The portrait celebrates the interiors by Adam, but also the plethora of other designers and makers that the Winns had patronized. These include the plaster ceiling design by Joseph Rose, and the ten scenes painted by Antonio Zucchi specifically for the library, on the themes of philosophy and the arts. It is, however, the Winns' patronage of Thomas Chippendale which best demonstrates the collaborative and combined input of the couple into the domestic design of Nostell. Chippendale's library table sits prominently behind the couple in their portrait.[52] Over 30 letters survive recording the conversations surrounding Chippendale's many commissions for the couple, spanning 1766–1771. The table was the most expensive of these commissions, at £72, and transported to Nostell early in 1767.[53] The table, decorated with garlands of husks and lion masks and paws, was an almost exact copy of a table in Chippendale's famous *Director*.[54]

The design and financial management of these purchases for the house was managed by both Sir Rowland and Sabine Winn, and, even though the majority of the works were

stopped after Sir Rowland's death in 1785, Sabine continued to correspond with Adam and Chippendale.[55] Vickery has argued that women took charge of minor purchases for the home, including textiles, whereas men made decisions which pertained to major investments, such as expensive items of wooden furniture.[56] While this may have been the case on paper, the decisions appear to have been more collaborative.[57] As expected, the majority of the correspondence itself was written by her husband, but Sabine's input into the collaboration with Chippendale is materially evident in a number of the commissions.[58] Much like the collaborative process described by Vickery in her work on the Shelburnes' relationship with Robert Adam and other makers, the Winn's maintained a close relationship with the people they patronized.[59] Chippendale himself visited Nostell to view the house and consult with the Winns on a number of occasions.[60] The material results of these discussions offer a unique way of accessing collaborative discussions otherwise lost. Most notably, "a very large Mahogany Counter with folding doors & Shelves drawers and upright partitions & C, on large castors" offers material evidence of a far more fluid and idiosyncratic relationship between husband, wife and maker than is often supposed.[61] This extraordinary piece of furniture is the only one of its kind made by Chippendale. It contains an arrangement of drawers, cupboards and compartments, including a long drawer fitted for writing with a baize-lined slide with rising central book-rest above various compartments. Resembling a shop counter more than a piece of domestic furniture, this 'apothecary's cabinet' was made specifically for Sabine Winn. She shared a mistrust of English doctors with her mother, and was an avid collector of recipes for remedies in English, French and German.[62] Writing on her behalf to bookseller John Murray, her husband wrote that she "is desirous to be truly informed about the real virtues of simples, and prefers such authors as lay down plain and particular directions how to prepare the best medicines from simples".[63] The library collection at Nostell contains numerous books of remedies and medicinal recipes which are believed to have belonged to Sabine Winn, such as Robert James's (1703–1776) *Pharmacopoeia Universalis; or, a new Universal English Dispensatory*, in which is inserted a receipt for teas addressed to Lady Winn.[64] Engaging in home remedies had been a common skill for English genteel women since the previous century.[65] Yet the integration of Sabine Winn's interest in making into the very material body of the goods commissioned from Chippendale goes beyond this. While it is Sir Rowland's voice heard in the archival evidence of the commission, it was undoubtedly his wife's personal interests which shaped the purchase of this unique item. Moreover, it is notable that Sabine Winn's material voice is not found as part of a feminizing of her husband's (or Adam's or Chippendale's) vision for the domestic space, but moves beyond gendered binaries to individual preferences.

The integration of Sabine Winn's making into the domestic design of Nostell, and the collaboration between husband and wife, is also evident in a series of adorned prints which she produced.[66] Winn's archive is peppered with signals of her material and making knowledge, but it is within her sixteen 'adorned prints' that her skill as a maker, and her material engagement with the goods she consumed, is profoundly apparent.[67] Variably referred to as 'dressed prints', 'adorned prints', 'modified prints' and 'decorated prints', the exercise of cutting out portions of purchased engravings and attaching pieces of fabric to the reverse was niche, but by no means unique. A remarkably small literature on this practice exists, the most notable example being Alice Dolan's article on an example in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection.[68] This practice was prevalent in continental Europe and speaks to the way in which European material culture was disseminated not only through import and consumption but through making.

Born in Switzerland in 1734, Winn was brought up within the Francophone culture in which the adornment of prints was popular. Upon her move to England in 1761, Winn was unable to speak English, and a continued Swiss influence is explicitly evident both in her contributions to Nostell's interiors and in her written archive.[69] The 16 prints extended this continental connection and were imbued with deep emotional and biographical significance. Inscribed on the reverse in Winn's own hand, she tells us that Sir Rowland gifted her the "*tableau*", which she then embellished with pieces of silk.[70] The prints, which were primarily by French engraver Nicolas Larmessin, directly reconnected Winn with her continental roots. Unlike the single figures of the other continental examples, many of Winn's prints depict scenes from the works of Jean de La Fontaine, underlining the implicit connection with French culture. Winn's choice of fabrics does not align with the original colours and textures of Lancret's original, but her material intervention does, in some way, recall the liveliness of the painting. What is remarkable about Sabine Winn's prints is that they were clearly framed and hung during Winn's lifetime – indeed, given that she refers to her husband as *monsieur* on the notes added to the reverse of the prints, it is probable that they were made and hung prior to the couple moving to Nostell in 1765. Within the classicism and fashionable grandeur of the Adams and Chippendale interiors, the craft and making of the owner remained.

Making the material home

The Winns of Nostell demonstrate a pattern of idiosyncratic making and consumption for the material domestic home which challenges contemporary rhetoric surrounding gendered roles in the domestic sphere. Far from women consuming goods produced by men, and indeed, from women being solely responsible for the aesthetic choices within the home, a more complex framework of choices and motivations were at play. In many ways the Winns – with their ability to patronize Adam and Chippendale – might seem unique. Yet across genteel and middling society, similar personal choices and engagements with making are evident well into the nineteenth century. Such stories of making and craft for the home, created by both men and women, are frequently lost against the grand narrative of industrialization. Yet people across the various categorizations which historians often impose – social status, wealth, gender, married status – continued to engage in making for the home, and played a direct role in shaping the material landscape of domestic space.

The relationship between the material culture of the domestic interior and making within and for the home is central to the watercolours of Mary Ellen Best (1809–1891).[71] Best was the daughter of a successful doctor, who had died when she was a child. However, Best, her widowed mother and sister continued to live quite comfortably and independently on the money left by Dr Best, and Best eventually married Johann Anton Philip Sarg (known as Anthony) in 1840. Almost exclusively depictions of interiors, Best's watercolours are an almost autobiographical record of her domestic surroundings. From her provincial but genteel home in York, to her travels to Holland, Germany and Belgium, Best mediated her view of the world through the domestic interiors she inhabited and painted. She depicts the intricate details of everyday life and the material culture of the home; even the prints and paintings on the walls of her rooms are recognizable.

Best's watercolour of her *Painting Room in Our House at York* is unique in that it depicts the artist at work (see Figure 11.2). She sits at a table with the fly leaves extended, her easel, watercolour box, palette, mug of water and portfolio are all laid out before her, on top of a protective oil cloth. The carpet, too, is covered with a protective 'drugget'. Above the

Figure 11.2 Mary Ellen Best, *Painting Room in Our House at York*, 1838, watercolour, Image courtesy of York Museums Trust

fireplace hang portraits of her parents, and the small cabinet behind the figure of Best was inherited from her grandmother, Ann Norcliffe.[72] Dressed in mourning for her mother, who died in 1838, Best captures herself in her own everyday domestic setting. Yet, as Margaret Ponsonby has reflected, the interior Best depicts here, and indeed in her prolific body of works more generally, does not necessarily conform to the advice given in the domestic advice manuals of the early nineteenth century, reinforcing the distinction between practice and rhetoric.[73] Best's images reflect a domestic material space which holds many similarities to those discussed and depicted in other contemporary sources from the early nineteenth century, and reflects a broader disconnect between advice manuals and the material contents of interiors. As Ponsonby argues, "footstalls, ladies' work tables and framed embroidered pictures all incorporated textiles and polished wood, and therefore 'male' and 'female' attributes", disrupting the binaries set out in advice literature.[74] As with the Winns, the association of men with mahogany tables and solid furniture, and women with textiles and decorative trinkets may be reflected in account books and consumption practice, but did not necessarily extend to the lived experience of the materiality of the home.[75] The domestic space depicted by Best in her record of her painting room was lived in exclusively by women, yet its contents do not correlate with the gendering of furniture outlined within the advice literature which Ponsonby cites. The sturdy table, the large and imposing dresser and the wooden chairs are of the solid polished wood associated with men, yet these are integral to this feminized space. The gendered binaries of conduct literature are fundamentally undermined by the practicalities of lived experience.

The use of gendered binaries as a means of forming explanatory frameworks for the study of the domestic interior has concealed the complex configurations of masculinity which were at play in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: men, too, actively engaged in making, both in and for the home.[76] Research over the last two decades has gradually shown that men both consumed and produced a range of material objects for the home that do not correlate with the received categorizations of masculine consumption.[77] Nineteenth-century explorations of men's engagement with craft have tended to place it in opposition to industrialization, as an explicit and politicized response to economic and social changes.[78] However, men's engagement with the material home, and in particular making, was prevalent in practice. Outside of professional modes of making – as carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, potters and plasterers – men also engaged in amateur making for their own homes.

Thomas William Wood's painting of wounded soldier, Private Thomas Walker, provides especially profound and detailed evidence of men's engagement with not only domestic craft but the emotional aspects of material culture for the home (see Figure 11.3).[79] Painted in 1856, it depicts the previously unknown Private Walker sitting up in bed in Fort Pitt military hospital at Chatham for convalescent soldiers wounded in the Crimean War. Walker was wounded at the battle of Inkerman, and during the 12 months he had spent in hospital prior to the painting of this portrait, he had had 13 pieces of his skull removed.[80] His wounds are neatly hidden behind crisp white bandages around his head. He was even described in Queen Victoria's journal, following one of the Queen's visits to the wounded:

> A most extraordinary case, a shell having burst on his head, the whole upper part of which was exfoliating, & would come away! Yet he looked well in the face, & said he did not suffer, only at times from giddiness. The Dr says he will entirely recover.[81]

In the portrait by Wood, Walker is depicted in the process of making a patchwork quilt, constructed from scraps of soldiers' uniforms. This practice was relatively widespread in military convalescent hospitals and gained popularity as the nineteenth century progressed.[82] The pieces of uniform used in this practice were said to have been taken from the uniforms of fallen comrades.[83] However, Sue Prichard has argued that the lack of dirt, oil and ware on surviving examples makes it more likely that the fabric was usually taken from scraps from the making up of or alteration of uniforms.[84] The scene in the portrait is whitewashed and romanticized, but the material practice it depicts is no less valuable. The powerful narrative which emerges is one of memorial and occupational therapy amongst heroic military men, expressed through the rhetorically feminine and passive handicraft of needlework. This vision of the man as domestic crafter complicates and disrupts simplistic narratives of heroic masculinity. Walker's endeavours were also reported in *Cassells Illustrated Family Paper*:

> He has employed much of his time in hospital, and relieved the tedium of his confinement, in making patchwork rugs and table covers from the scarlet cloth and facings of soldiers' jackets. In the manufacture of these he has exhibited so much taste and ingenuity that her majesty was pleased to select one for which she generously sent him £10; another large one has also been purchased from him, and he is now engaged in the making of a third, and still more handsome large rug, which he hopes to be able to dispose of to some charitably inclined persons.
>
> *(5 July 1856)*[85]

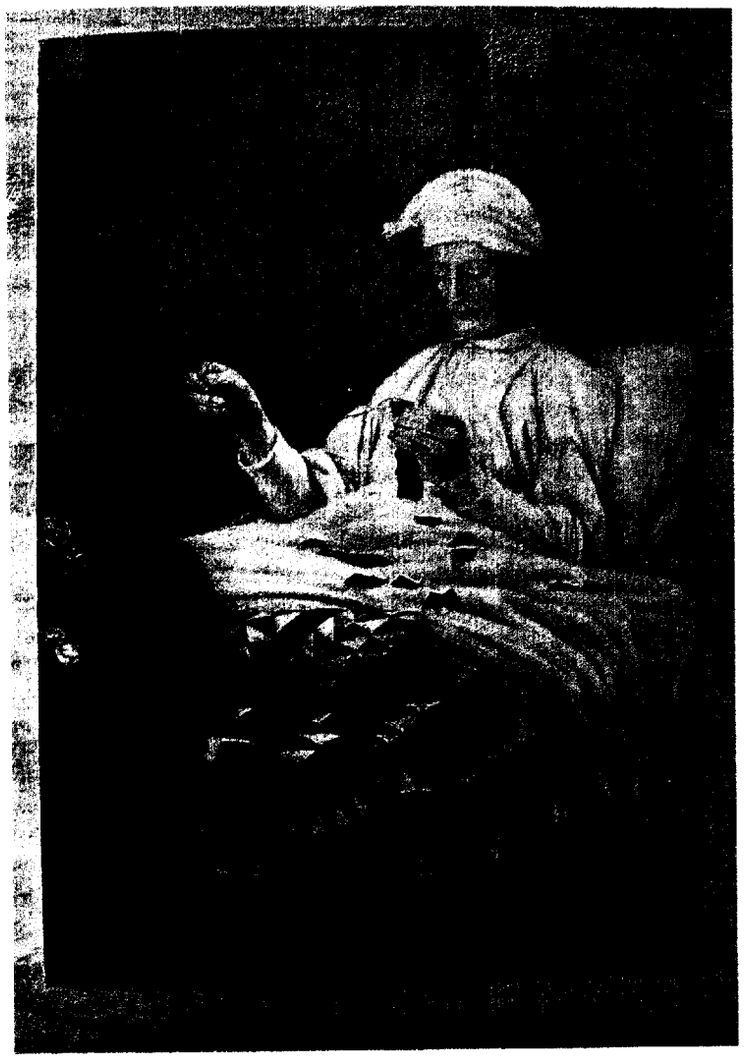

Figure 11.3 Thomas William Wood, *Private Thomas Walker*, 1856, © London, Museums at the Royal College of Surgeons

The language of 'taste and ingenuity', so often associated with women's handicraft of the eighteenth century, is echoed in a report made by Colonel Eden, who stated that Walker "has shown great ingenuity in the devices he has chosen & does it very nicely".[86] As a celebrated example of soldierly excellence, Walker's engagement with making domestic goods collapses traditional gendered binaries of domestic material culture. Walker neatly stitched together small triangles, perfectly cut from the garments of his fellow soldiers and pieced them together into interlocking strips. In doing so, he merged domestic material production with the visual rhetoric of masculine heroism.[87]

Conclusion

The materiality and material cultures of the domestic sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries offer new avenues through which to critically re-examine the conclusions drawn through traditional archival approaches to histories of consumption and home. Within the existing scholarship, examinations of accounts and inventories have been invaluable in demonstrating how mechanisms of acquisition and recording have negotiated gendered readings of the material culture of domestic space. Similarly, the bombast and language of advice literature reveal vital cultural responses to the material home. However, evidence of active engagement in making, and the idiosyncrasies of personal choice made evident through material goods, complicate these perspectives. The narrative of the 'consumer revolution' of the eighteenth century has been challenged on many fronts, but its devaluing of the amateur maker and the consumer's knowledge of production have done a particular disservice to histories of material culture. The increasingly sophisticated 'world of goods' may have altered the gendered dynamics of shopping, but engagement with making remained steady.

Details may be found in objects which evade the pen, or which support and enrich existing narratives. Sabine Winn's apothecary table offers a vital example of the ways in which a single piece of furniture can knit together archival evidence of her making practices with her influence on artisanal patronage. In reinstating women's roles in commissioning furniture and engaging in artistic and artisanal patronage, gendered dynamics between making, consumption and the home are resolutely challenged. Similarly, her adornment of French prints demonstrates that making, as much as consumption, disseminated continental taste, fashions and practices across Europe. Stories like Walker's also disrupt traditional narratives of gendered binaries in the material culture of the home, and demonstrate that men were also engaged in the amateur production of domestic things without suffering scornful accusations of 'effeminacy'. Read holistically, these methods of accessing the material culture of the domestic interior reveal a complex plethora of intersecting motivations and priorities when consuming and producing for, and living in, the domestic spaces of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Notes

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17 See in particular Vickery, "Golden Age"; Vickery, "His and Hers".
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48 WYAS, NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, 19 October 1756. Translated from the French "cette petite affaire".

49 WYAS, NP/A4/1535/17, Sabine Winn to her husband, March 1763. Translate from the French "un des coins de l'únivers les plus deserts et funestes".

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53 WYAS, 1352/3/3/1/5/3/1, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet, 27 December 1766.

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68 Alice Dolan, "An Adorned Print: Print Culture, Female Leisure and the Dissemination of Fashion in France and England, around 1660–1779", *V&A Online Journal* 3 (2011), Cf. www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-03/an-adorned-print-print-culture,-female-leisure-and-the-dissemination-of-fashion-in-france-and-england,-c.-1660-1779/, last accessed 4 May 2019. See also Chloe Wigston Smith, *Women, Work and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 63–65.

69 Although their historic hanging schemes are unknown, numerous d'Hervart family portraits are in the collections at Nostell, amongst numerous other Swiss and French artworks.

70 Translated from the French "Monsieur Rowld Winn ma donné le tableau".

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77 Finn, "Men's Things"; Harvey, "Craftsmen in Common".

78 See, for example, Glenn Adamson, *The Invention of Craft* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Peter J. Betjemann, *Talking Shop: The Language of Craft in an Age of Consumption* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

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87 There are, of course, numerous other dimensions to this portrait, such as its propaganda value in reassuring the public about the conditions in convalescent hospitals and the promotion of temperance. For more, see Furneaux and Prichard, "Contested Objects".

PART VI

Domestic conflict and violence

12

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND DOMESTICITY

Julie Hardwick

Introduction

In 1650, Joan Symonds and her son were walking home from the local market, carrying grain on their heads. She was married and lived in southwestern England. Henry Abbot approached her and declared "he must kiss her because he had made a vow so to do". She noticed "he had a knife", a likely magnifier of her sense of threat and coercion. She resisted him and said she would make him pay, but he kissed her anyway and laughed as he walked away. We know of this episode only because Abbott stumbled, apparently as he backed away from her, and fell into the river where he drowned.[1] The inquiry into his death provides rare incidental evidence of what was almost always undocumented – the mundaneness and ubiquity of unwanted sexual contact in many forms in pre-modern Europe.

Occasional glimpses of other varieties of unwanted sexual contact survive in criminal prosecutions for rape, sodomy, incest as well as in incidental observations in other kinds of legal documents. Lawsuits involving female servants often described sexual harassment and unwanted contact from their employers or employers' sons. Women rarely reported rapes for a wide variety of reasons, but their lawsuits reveal a fragment of the range of unwanted heterosexual assault. Historians of male same-sex sexual encounters have usually failed to distinguish between unwanted and consensual sexual encounters when criminal charges were brought, occasionally with a nod to elite anxiety about the possibility of older men coercing young boys into sodomy. Nevertheless, it is clear that men could be subject to rape as well as women. Fragmentary evidence suggests that young girls were subject to sexual violence as well as other types of abuse. Incest was rarely prosecuted and then usually only if it involved stepfathers, despite the rich contemporary literary engagement with incest as a taboo.[2]

Other genres of texts also provide some incidental and often unremarked upon evidence. The famous seventeenth-century English diarist, Samuel Pepys, for example, recorded numerous incidents that show he was a serial sexual predator. Pepys routinely subjected his own servants, wives of employees and women he encountered randomly to an array of unwanted sexual contacts. The eighteenth-century diary of the Englishman Thomas Thistlewood, both as a young man in the metropole and as a plantation owner in Jamaica, likewise recorded appalling levels of sexual violence in the course of almost 4,000 encounters

with almost 140 women both in England and in Jamaica.[3] Nevertheless, most instances of sexual violence in the pre-modern past were never recorded in either institutional or ego documents, so historians have tended to elide sexual violence as a historical topic due to lack of documentation.

However, even when we find such evidence, incidental or central, of sexual violence, historians have often overlooked the coercion at the centre of such accounts or dismissed them as legal tropes. Recent attention to contemporary concerns about the pervasiveness of often silenced sexual violence has led historians to rethink our own approaches to evidence about sexual violence in the past. Amy Stanley notes that historians have often skirted the issue or "suggested women seized on cultural narratives about seduction and coercion to explain themselves".[4] Just as today evidence of sexual violence is often partial or contradictory, so our evidence from the past is. Moreover, a variety of institutional and disciplinary disincentives have also contributed to the erasure of sexual violence as a historical project as Sharon Block observes.[5]

In my own experience, a reviewer for one of the world's leading journals refused to accept an account of a nobleman who committed gross acts of sexual violence on his wife as abusive coercion. Depositions showed that Louis Delaroche repeatedly sexually assaulted Anne Raoul in front of their household staff. A servant recalled later that in a vineyard close to their home, Delaroche asked Raoul "if she wanted to be fucked by these country buggers and said he wanted to fuck her in front of them". She declined, citing "modesty". The spouses argued and "calling her names, he pushed her to the ground" and "in the presence of the witness and fifteen or sixteen peasants had sex with her". He also engaged in the sexualized violence of beating her after he tied her to a bedpost and had a servant hold up her skirt.[6] A reviewer asked if I had confused rape with abduction/elopement (*rapt* in France) and rejected the piece.[7] For all these reasons, the long history of sexual violence remains little explored, especially in contrast to what we can assuredly project was its prevalence.

Sexual violence can take many forms. Contemporary definitions include the rape of women or children, non-physical coercion that pressures a man, woman or child to submit, and unwanted sexual contact or unwanted sexual experiences.[8] In early modern Europe, rape and incest were both capital offences although both were rarely prosecuted and other forms of sexual violence were not recognized although they were still perpetrated. Pre-modern historians who have examined sexual violence have largely focused on the rape of women, with much less attention to other forms of sexual violence, partly because the latter are even less well documented. An important effort to frame sexual violence as a multi-disciplinary field in the long eighteenth century (mainly in Britain) is dominated by work on literary and artistic representations of rape. The editor, Anna Leah Greenfield, notes, "the remarkable prevalence of the trope of sexual violence" in the literary and artistic worlds of the time.[9] Historians' scholarship on sexual violence as lived experience and bodily violation remains partial, hindered by the archival practices that have made relevant material difficult to access, by the silences of the many actions that were never documented, much less extant, and by the reluctance of the discipline to endorse such work as valid.

This chapter will review the short history of the historiography of sexual violence as a category and then link it to the social spaces and hierarchies associated with domesticity. It examines sexual violence broadly in early modern practice and historiography, and then zooms in to interrogate a specific configuration empirically through the experiences of young single men and women in the French city of Lyon between about 1660–1760. They were silk workers or worked in the varied associated textile trades. Some of the women

were 'servants', but even then they also worked in their employers' trades. The sources are essentially paternity suits. Young men and women as well as their neighbours, friends and co-workers who became witnesses told stories about courting, sex and violence within specific spaces that they regarded as mundane and quotidian – and thus revelatory for us. It compares accounts of male sexual violence toward women in consensual relationships with those of other accounts of unwanted sexual contact and those women marked as rape. Women framed these in their court retellings as peril stories where intercourse was associated with men's unpredictability, the routine use of force and uncertain consequences, including the danger of pregnancy. These accounts reveal the centrality of household space to practices of intimacy and sexual violence and to the meanings attached to those practices.

Domesticity was integrally linked to sexual coercion and exploitation as well as to various more positive connotations and indeed narratives of sexual violence were often framed as peril stories. The porous social spaces and power hierarchies that were intrinsic dynamics of domesticity could encapsulate multiple forms of peril: threats, verbal as well as physical coercion, the use of force, of physical and emotional damage and lives upended. Sexual violence could touch young and old, male and female, married and single. It touched people outside the porous boundaries of the household as when Anne's son, working with her as family members as well as an emotionally bonded domestic unit of co-residents, experienced her assault or when the servants integral to any household as a social unit were coerced to participate actively and as spectators in Delaroche's assaults on Anne Raoul. Perpetrators were intimate partners and co-residents as well as outsiders and strangers.

State of research: the short history of the historiography of sexual violence

In the last three decades, historians have begun to craft the field of pre-modern sexual violence as a historical project. While work of any kind remains slim, it is also uneven, in part because of the available sources and in part because of contemporary concerns. The rape of women is the most developed field, albeit hamstrung by the widespread under-reporting of rape. The work on the history of same-sex sexuality has begun to plot some dimensions of sodomy as an early modern practice but paid little attention thus far to the potential for violence as well as consensual male same-sex relationships.[10] The sexual violation of children, a matter of much contemporary concern, has received very little attention. The scholarly gaps in the history of sexual violence continue to be as striking as the slow construction of a field. In all these regards, little attention has been paid to the relationship of domesticity as defined by this volume and sexual violence.

Legislation about sexual violence points to the existence of particular kinds of elite anxiety in early modern Europe. In many parts of Europe, this was part of a larger project of state formation as matters traditionally handled by church courts were newly defined as secular crimes. Rape became a capital offence in many European countries in the sixteenth century, in England in 1576 for example. Incest became a capital crime across the German-speaking regions with the German imperial criminal code of 1532 (the Carolina) and became a felony punishable by death in England in 1650. Sodomy or buggery also became capital crimes across Europe.[11]

Nevertheless, prosecutions remained rare for all these forms of sexual violence and the application of the death penalty even more infrequent. In part this low level of prosecution is attributable to negative attitudes towards the victims of sexual violence. Women rarely

brought charges of rape, perhaps fearing publicity and aware of the low chance of success. Mary R. Block, for example, has examined the discussion of the 1576 English rape law in legal treatises of the following two centuries and argues that this jurisprudence developed criteria for what constituted 'rape' that undermined the apparent protection the law offered.[12] Perhaps some instances of sexual violence continued to be handled by communities outside of the institutional legal system.

Across early modern Europe, as far as we currently know, rape was much more likely to be prosecuted when the victims were young or clearly virgins and this demographic profile has important implications. It meant that women who claimed rape might be quizzed about their own sexual history as if any sexual activity made it impossible to be raped and that married women had no legal recourse for rape. The widespread assumption that a woman who had an orgasm could not have been raped, rooted in the Galenic theory of humours, meant that pregnancy did not constitute any kind of proof of sexual assault. This belief circulated in educated elite and working people's circles. When an English servant, Deborah Brackley, testified in 1651 about the events that led to her bearing a baby out-of-wedlock, she recalled that George Jewell had first raped her after he threatened to slander her and then denied that she could be pregnant.[13] That is, he knew she had not had an orgasm so by early modern reasoning she could not be pregnant.

Rape emerged as a new concern for early modern states in the development of military law that illustrated how soldiers routinely raped women and pillaged communities as they moved across Europe. Many civil and domestic wars of the period lasted for decades. The Wars of Religion in France (1562–1598) saw many communities subject to violence in the form of robbery, destruction of property and sexual assault. Many accounts, especially Huguenot narratives of Catholic atrocities, referenced rapes of women and sexually associated violations of their dead bodies. Penny Roberts notes that after a massacre at Vassy in 1562, for example, "naked female corpses were reportedly put on public view, their legs splayed, and their shameful parts displayed", accompanied with statements that that is where they bestowed sexual favours.[14] The Thirty Years War (1618–48) fought across much of central Europe was notorious for depredations of all kinds visited on civilians, and sexual assault was an important part of that multi-faceted military violence visited on civilians. The seventeenth century as a whole was characterized by virtually continuous warfare and associated intense levels of sexual violence. Yet it has received little attention, partly because, as Holger Hoock suggests, "although rape was likely one of the most common forms of serious interpersonal violence during the Thirty Years War, very few official records exist, while diaries reference rape mostly based on hearsay." Early modern states' attention to a new military law framework that outlawed sexual violence highlighted a recognition of such behaviour as problematic, but the discretion of individual units about punishments meant it continued to be often practised but rarely punished.[15]

In many ways, the subject of the rape of women in early modern Europe as a modern academic project was propelled by essays by Miranda Chaytor and Garthine Walker in the late 1990s. Chaytor argues that in practice rape changed in mid-seventeenth-century England from being a crime against property (that is women's bodies as men's property) to a crime of assault.[16] These early articles highlighted the low rates of prosecution of rape that have turned out to be similar in other parts of Europe. In France, the *Parlement* of Paris, a superior court with a huge jurisdiction, tried only an average of three rape cases a decade between 1540 and 1692. Amsterdam courts heard only two rape cases in the sixteenth century and six in the seventeenth century.[17] In turn, these low prosecution rates produced few documents so they have contributed to

the sense that sexual violence remains a marginal topic due to the little archival information. What we identify today as rape culture was pervasive in early modern Europe and effectively minimized both the reporting and documentation of early modern experiences of this form of sexual violence.

Garthine Walker's stellar work over 20 years on early modern rape and rapists in early modern England has been at the forefront of reframing the analysis, in part by expanding the lens to examine not simply females as victims but men who committed the violence and public attitudes.[18] Even in the highly unusual occasions when rape was prosecuted, the majority of men were acquitted.

The rape of adult or adolescent males was also a recurring practice as even the small amount of historical attention to the subject highlights. Aparna Gollapudi has argued that the rape of adolescent boys in eighteenth-century trials for sodomy at London's Old Bailey criminal court was characterized differently to the trials of adult men, not only because they were under 14 and thus legally unable to consent, but because these encounters "often included scenarios of sexual coercion and violence". Gollapudi notes that in the emphasis on sexual assault doing physical damage to the body, sodomy trials that involved adolescents as victims were closer to the rape cases of under-age girls (for whom the age of consent was ten at the time) than to cases of sodomy between adult men.[19] Male servants could also be coerced by their employers just as their female colleagues were.

Adolescent boys could be subject to coercion for sex, a possibility that elites across modern Europe were concerned about. Although Jeffrey Merrick notes that Parisian authorities in the eighteenth century were usually inclined to see sex between men as consensual – another wrinkle in the multiple ways in which sexual violence can be elided – the evidence those same authorities recorded nevertheless indicates the potential for verbal coercion or use of force. The 1781 testimony of boys molested by the jeweller, Joseph Lafosse, included details of their sexual activity and of his efforts to ensure they did not tell their parents or confessors. Jacques Gressier, aged 15, testified that the monk, Jean François Pascal, who assaulted him in 1781, stabbed him as he resisted the monk's efforts to have anal intercourse. Merrick makes the important observation that certainly on other occasions teenagers actively sought sex with men and were not always simply victims.[20]

The intertwined relationship between power and hierarchies that was often central to sexuality could play a role either in sexual violence or in the prosecution of particular forms of sexual violence. Historians of sexuality in early modern Spain have persuasively made some especially illustrative claims. Cristian Berco has demonstrated that Inquisition authorities in early modern Spain were especially concerned when Muslim or enslaved men engaged in intercourse with adolescent Christian boys. These were racialized versions of elite fear elsewhere about adult men abusing younger boys. Some of these inter-racial and inter-ethnic relationships in golden age Spain were certainly consensual, regardless of the judicial authorities' framing, but the records document instances of sexual violence that crossed all racial and ethnic boundaries. Nevertheless, Berco argues that the inversion of hierarchies involved when an enslaved person of colour raped a Christian man contributed to the magnification of the association of men of African descent with aggressive and violent sexuality.[21] Berco emphasizes the ways in which physical strength and violence could easily and quickly undermine social hierarchies built around race and religion in terms of men; that same physical strength and violence could underline gendered power between men and women. In either case, male sexual violence was braided with rank-specific configurations of masculinity.

Prosecutions of incest were so rare across Europe that Martin Ingram claims there was a "lack of a strong active interest" in incest in terms of lived experience in seventeenth-

century England based on the paucity of references in the church courts.[22] However, the appalling nature of occasional documented cases reminds us to not accept lack of prosecution for lack of occurrence. The handful of prosecutions identified in seventeenth-century Holland, for example, shows reliance on other family members as witnesses lessened the chance of prosecution, and we can only hope that some extra-judicial penalty was imposed.[23] In the particular case of incest, specifically early modern Europe definitions also muddied the waters. The expansive category of spiritual incest included sex between priests and nuns (thus many Catholics regarded the 1525 marriage of Martin Luther, a former monk, and Katharina von Bora, a former nun as incestuous) as well as between godparents and godchildren. These capacious possibilities were only limited to blood relatives in the eighteenth century.[24]

Regardless, the German Reformation historian, Ulinka Rublack, suggests that "family provided a secure frame for sexual abuse" in her analysis of incest. Stepparents and stepsiblings – ubiquitous members of many early modern households due to high rates of mortality – were the most commonly reported instances of incest and again did not involve biological relatives. She notes that family members themselves often engaged in a conspiracy of silence and that domestic spaces that were sites of work and eating could easily become "dangerous spaces for women threatened by abuse."[25] It is again the frame of domesticity that highlights shifting social spaces and power dynamics as key to households and helps reveal a potent potential for sexual violence.

Yet historians have rarely linked sexual violence to household space, perhaps because incidents that occurred inside in terms of the dynamics as well as material structure of the household were even less likely to be reported and documented in legal material. Documentation often rests on incidental observations made during legal actions for other matters. Susan Lay, for instance, revealed, when she was prosecuted for the theft of a goose in mid-seventeenth-century England, that she was homeless and starving after being dismissed from a job working for a family where both father and son had sexually assaulted her, resulting in two pregnancies from which the babies were sent to wet-nurses, while she continued to be employed. Lay's narrative in a theft case also provided a rare first-hand account of the excruciating consequences of such sexual violence: she was coerced into sex by two generations of men in the same family, her babies were removed from her, she eventually lost board and lodging when she was dismissed, leaving her in a most precarious situation, and both babies were dead when she arrived at the wet-nurse's.[26]

These are glimpses of the vulnerabilities domesticity created in combination with the hierarchies of the household for some co-residents. One key axis of sexual violence was male employers and female servants who usually lived-in. Servants dominated the victims in prosecuted rapes, although it is important to remember most instances were not reported, or not reported as criminal matters. For example, the frequent exposure of female servants, like Susan Lay, to sexual violence has been quite widely identified, often in incidental observations about other matters. Likewise, when servants brought paternity claims against their employers, their complaints often included references to coerced sex whether in the form of repeated verbal pressure or use of force, although the legal issue was recognition of fatherhood and subsequent financial support.[27]

However, while these kinds of employer–servant violence may be the best-documented instances of sexual assault, the multi-purpose uses of household space and its porous boundaries created the potential for many other perpetrators. Sarah Maza observed that while the biggest threat to female servants in eighteenth-century France was sexual, and many recorded assaults were by masters, women could also be and were also sexually

assaulted by any of the other many visitors to early modern households. However, the prevalence of assault by peers was less systematically recorded as it was usually not prosecuted so it is mainly documented only through incidental observations like our knowledge of the unwanted sexual contact Joan Symonds experienced that started this chapter. In northern Spain, lawsuits document that men sometimes broke into residences for the purpose of sexual assault. These were so common that Renato Barahona observed that, "if anything, surprising as it might be at first blush, assaults in the home appear to have been far more common than those committed outside in isolated places".[28] Rublack points out that women inside any part of what this book classifies as 'open houses' were vulnerable to sexual assault.

Perhaps the frequency of sexual violence at home is not so surprising if we consider the braided connections between intimacy, social spaces and power hierarchies in households. This pioneering work leaves much still unexplored, especially in terms of the casual and intentional use of coercion in everyday life, of the kind Joan Symonds experienced, and in consensual relationships, of the kind Anne Raoul experienced and which young women routinely experienced with their intimate partners. These forms of sexual violence were rarely documented and thus may appear to us not to have been as ubiquitous as they likely were. Moreover, these forms of mundane sexual violence were often intimately linked to domesticity.

Peril stories: coercion in consensual relationships in an old regime city

Jean Pillot and Marguerite Perricaud met in 1722 when they both worked in shops that sold goods in Lyon's expansive textile trade. Marguerite recalled that Jean pursued her, as she said, for a year and promised marriage. She told him he had to ask her father. Marguerite told a co-worker that he loved her and she loved him. Their relationship was carried out primarily through walks in the streets and public squares. Neighbours often saw them together. As with all young couples, these walks were occasions for intimacy as they kissed and hugged in full view. He promised to marry her and she promised him 'the last favours', their usual euphemism for intercourse.

One evening, Jean came into Marguerite's room with a candle, locked the door and put the candle in a candlestick. He made many protestations of affection and promised again that he would never have another woman. Then he seized her by arms, threw her on the bed and "despite all the resistance she made knew her twice carnally" while assuring her again that he would never have any woman besides her and that she had nothing to fear. Her articulation of how they loved each other and his that she had nothing to fear points to the rollercoaster of emotions that young people's relationships could involve. They continued to see each other and have sex afterwards, in the expectation, as she said, of marriage.[29]

If Perricaud's account of her first experience of intercourse in an ongoing consensual relationship seems jarring to us, the scenario she described was commonplace.[30] Young Lyon women narrated their sexual histories of consensual relationships with two intertwined aspects of first intercourse as a pivotal transition between courtship and marriage: the centrality of male force and the shift from public to private intimacy. Retrospectively, they recounted their experiences in the form of peril stories in which space framed and reframed events, the meanings and emotions attached to them, and the way they were recollected.

The experiences of young single workers in Lyon from about 1660–1760 who were silk workers or working in the varied associated textile trades suggest rank-specific conventions and

experiences of intimacy between young couples in consensual relationships. They generally started work in their mid-teens and the average age of marriage was 26–27. For about a decade between mid-teens and mid-twenties, they were emerging adults between childhood and marriage whose working lives are far more familiar to us than their intimate lives.

The texture of their sexual intimacy was narrated by young women and witnesses in a voluminous set of legal material generated by what were essentially paternity suits. These have often been erroneously categorized in French and early modern historiography as 'pregnancy declarations' (*déclarations de grossesse*) and linked erroneously to the 1556 Edict on Clandestine.[31] The legal frame of such cases meant plaintiffs were women who could demonstrate that they had been seen to be part of a stable couple between whom marriage was a feasible prospect. Although it was highly unusual for young couples to end their relationship in court, methodologically the back stories young men and women as well as their neighbours, friends and co-workers who became witnesses told about courting, sex and violence within specific spaces were mundane and quotidian. They described very conventional relationships headed towards marriage that were exceptional only in their ending. They are revelatory for us because of their focus on working people doing family and house in the specific form of transition to marriage, including the pivotal centrality of domesticity and sexual violence.

As in other parts of pre-modern Europe, Lyon's streets and buildings had multi-purpose spaces. The streets were public spaces that were at once commercial, social, productive, functional and emotional as well as sites of religious observation, revelry, and intimacy (and some other things). Yet the buildings that fronted on the streets masked complex interior space where public and personal, domestic and commercial were interwoven in shared rooms, courtyards, staircases and balconies. So Lyon households were very much 'open houses' – people, activities and goods circulated between households that were very porous; cooperation and friction over many matters profoundly shaped relations between and within households. The households were very much sites of production and credit/debt relations, as well as residential. The household as a material structure was also a shaper of the particular forms of relationships and meaning attached to them.[32]

Young women's narratives of their sexual histories marked personal as opposed to public space in quite specific ways as did the discussions of their neighbours, co-workers, kin and friends and they tied the register of space closely to appropriate expressions of intimacy depending on the stage of relationship. For young couples, public space was the appropriate site for licit intimacy. They were together in the streets, in the city's newly laid out public squares and, especially on Sundays, along the riverbanks, gardens and orchards of the areas just outside town. Neighbours, friends and co-workers also commented on walking out as being a key signifier of a stable couple, often remarking on the frequency, such as almost every evening and on Sundays. Young couples linked arms but they also hugged, kissed, sat on laps and often more during their walks. Observers who were later called as witnesses recounted this kind of behaviour as completely conventional and appropriate. That is, young couples explored physical as well as emotional intimacy, and communities saw these experiments with desire, female as well as male, as a licit, typical developmental stage, as we would say today for emerging adults – as long as they were in public sites and in public view.

The specific use of space was one of the key means by which such young couples and their communities policed the boundary between the kinds of intimacy that were acceptable or unacceptable. What was unacceptable was for young people to duck out of public view (behind buildings, in alleys, or to go into the rooms where either one slept),

and such behaviour did bring scepticism and criticism about what they were up to. Any kind of seeking privacy fit this category.[33] Young men and women were quick to insist that they did not enter each other's rooms, and neighbours who saw a young couple go into a room together were quick to comment. Interior, privatized space was a no-go zone for premarital intimacy.

Couples' shift from the public intimacy of walking out to intercourse was routinely preceded by lengthy negotiations about marriage, sometimes even written promises to marry, as part of the consent. Young women themselves distinguished between allowing their partners to take what they called 'liberties' (roughly cuddling and kissing) and 'the last favours' as they term intercourse. Young women emphasized that they only had sex after repeated affirmations of the intent to marry, usually including the consent of parents or kin, and often other steps too. That is, the shift to marriage took the form of an extended transition with various elements, rather than a wedding day, and witnesses often referred to intercourse with the euphemism 'what happens between husband and wife'. Despite these explicit preparations and negotiations that signalled mutual consent, as did the ongoing intimacy while walking out, young women's sexual histories marked first intercourse as pivotal shift marked by a change in location of intimacy from public to privatized (albeit often temporarily) 'domestic' space.

Domestic space then played a pivotal although complex, and in some ways contradictory, role in young women's legal narratives of their sexual histories. Even though they detailed the consensual relationships that included public intimacy leading up to first intercourse, as they highlighted the switch to (pre)marital intimacy in residential rooms that had previously been off limits, they also emphasized a sense of danger and use of force rather than desire, despite the previous months of public intimacy and explicit expectation of marriage. And the use of force was an integral component of the first time.

That is, young women constructed their sexual histories as peril stories. To understand these narratives, we need to consider what happened, the legal requirements that occasioned the telling, the ubiquity of violence and subsequent events, that is, by the failure of their relationships. Historians of many different regions have observed this pattern. Arlette Farge looked over 30 years ago at complaints to the Paris police for seduction and abandonment in the late eighteenth century. Briefly, she interpreted the use of force as women drawing on what she has called women's deep memories of the Sleeping Beauty tale, that is, they drew on oral popular culture tradition. Elizabeth Cohen, in a great article about Artemesia Gentileschi, has argued that the emphasis on violence could have been a legal trope. In other words, women used a prescribed legal script because that was what the cases required to be successful. Julie Gammon observed that historians have argued that distinctions between rape and seduction were often blurred in popular discourse, which complicated allegations of rape. Katie Barclay has looked at seduction cases in Scotland, which were also couples purportedly on the way to marriage, and argued that narrative of force was a way to engage women's desire and needed to overcome modesty.[34] In these works, gender historians have concluded that men were expected to use a degree of violence in order to overcome female modesty. Yet in relationships such as those of young Lyon workers, where couples had already engaged in extensive intimacy short of intercourse, women's desire had already been engaged successfully.

It is important – always – to acknowledge the ways in which the legal context shaped what was said – and recorded – but the legal context functioned in various ways. Women had to protect their reputations and to demonstrate chastity as keys to legal success, as well as have witnesses who would attest to the existence of stable relationships where marriage

was feasible. Clearly, women did not have to perform celibacy. Witnesses who confirmed women's accounts of stable relationships where marriage was feasible often talked about the public intimacy with no damage to their reputations and no concern for loss of credibility in court cases. So women used their legal narratives of their relationship histories in part to defend their honour, and to distinguish their involvement in intimacy from prostitution, and that mattered in legal terms as well as community ones.

Critically, however, historians must acknowledge that the use of force was a mundane aspect of daily life and this use of violence was in fact also a staple of first intercourse. When young women recalled that their intimate partners had used physical coercion to force them to have intercourse and overcome their resistance, they were not simply fantasizing about age-old fairy tales or strategically mobilizing a particular legal trope. Husbands and employers were legally allowed to discipline wives, servants and apprentices and this use of violence coded as discipline, short of what was deemed excessive and thus abusive, was routinely experienced, observed and accepted in early modern communities. Similarly, the use of violence in first intercourse reflects a particular historical moment in terms of heterosexual intimate relationships. What was constructed as conventional in the sense the experience of them and attached meanings was specific to time, place and rank, no less with intercourse between intimate partners than other kinds of constructed conventions.[35] It is noteworthy that when the young male partners were questioned by the court, they were never asked to address the allegations of force. That silence in itself is very telling because it suggests legal officials took coercion as a norm.

This use of force was also part of the conventions and expectations surrounding a shifting ground for intimacy as the decision to marry consolidated. Thus, young women were aware that young men expected they could and would take their virginity. Even so, women in consensual relationships had exhibited plenty of desire in the form of public intimacy that had often lasted for months. They also often recounted explicit discussions about marriage in which they agreed to intercourse in return for their partners' commitment to matrimony!

Women often mentioned that their partners had given them written promises, not just verbal ones. Antoine Flacheron gave Anne Berchet, for example, a written promise to marry in 1680. In it, he promised to marry her "in a true and loyal marriage" whenever she or her family wanted and he explicitly acknowledged the link between promises to marry and intercourse. His note admitted "subsequent to those [promises] I recognize that she allowed me to visit her often and to have sex with her."[36] Young women clearly anticipated and explicitly discussed having sex ahead of time in ways that were not romantic or swept away by passion of the moment.

The violence that was made routine as part of first intercourse in ongoing consensual sexual relationships belonged to a wide range of sites where the use of force was accepted in early modern societies. Even more striking assaults as part of first intercourse drew no rebukes from judges. In 1730, Claire Jaillard recounted her relationship history with Claude Cuisse. They had been a couple of two years and it was eight months since he promised to marry her. One Sunday morning when her father was out at mass, Cuisse reiterated his promises and "profiting from her being alone" he threw her on the bed and although she "resisted energetically", he made her give in when he banged her head against a cupboard so hard that it left her dazed and that made it "easy for him" to have intercourse with her.[37] The asymmetrical power dynamic that shaped their consensual relationship in terms of his physical strength and certainty that he had the right to impose the transition to intercourse on his partner, combined with the sudden and fleeting privacy offered by a temporarily empty residence, enabled his sexual violence.

In fact, violence was probably a routine part of early modern sex. Sharon Block has argued that coercion was always a part of sex in early America, and Garthine Walker notes that prosecution for rape in early modern England required what she terms as beyond normal sexual aggression. Young men had sexual scripts about how first intercourse would go, and these included expectations that use of force would be required, and young women likely shared these.[38]

The social spaces and power hierarchies associated with domesticity were critical to these peril stories. What we know is what women said when the projected outcome, marriage, had not materialized. Certainly, shifting to a personal space out of sight was equated with intercourse and intercourse with marriage, but the narrative of 'he found her alone, locked the door and used force while whispering sweet nothings and promising again to marry her' complicates the way in which social space framed these accounts. They slept in rooms where they likely also ate, worked and welcomed visitors. Beds were clearly a site of social space and one associated with 'what a husband and wife do', in the usual language of the day, as well as with sleep, work, reproduction, death and a wide range of emotions.[39] The association between intercourse and marriage when it took place in a bed distinguished it from sex on a Sunday afternoon in an orchard, or during one of the many walks couples took together, when the association was clearly more casual.

The locking of the door had multivalent meanings that might have changed over time or even perhaps in the same episode. Was he locking her in or locking other people out? Working people did not have their own rooms, of course, that is, they were always sharing. Privacy in early modern society was fraught in terms of meanings – secrecy was often associated with deceit or wrong doing but it is also clear that community conventions that accepted quite a broad range of intimacy in public regarded intercourse as a personal matter. It was very hard to make a shared, multi-function inside space personal or private. In such a context, spaces like the alley between the bed and the wall, the *ruelle*, emerged as a 'private' space where personal goods might be kept and other people would not look. For instance, a young woman hid her newly delivered baby in a bodice of hers in the *ruelle*. (The baby was dead through uncertain circumstances by the time of its discovery.)[40]

The emphasis on force and the locking of the doors to demarcate a barrier in open houses highlighted men's unpredictability in these recollections of first intercourse, and the meanings attached to it may have shifted over the course of a relationship. Locking the door might have been about creating a temporarily private personal space associated with desire, excitement, anticipation and acts of marriage, as well as perhaps anxiety and fear in terms of the routineness of the use of violence. However, the danger was at the forefront of women's minds when they looked back because of the subsequent failure to marry, and in this recollection, domestic space with the barrier of a locked door was a trap where virtue was threatened, rather than an intimate space with connotations of matrimony. The recollected narratives were shaped by what happened and by the legal context of the recollection but also by the subsequent failure of the relationship.

If an open house pattern allowed battered wives to mobilize neighbours for help, the door locking in these consensual relationships marked the use of force in these circumstances as legitimate. Indeed, none of the young women apparently cried out for help to summon their neighbours or complained afterwards about the use of force in the way battered wives did. This particular use of force was apparently regarded as quotidian and perhaps predictable. If sexual violence punctuated consensual relationships as a key transition step into marriage, the opening and closing of the house's space was a register of danger as well as desire.

Domesticity and rape culture in an old regime city

Accounts of unwanted sexual contact in different circumstances were also narrated as peril stories, inflected by domesticity and the insider/outsider categorizations of open houses. The tolerance of and indeed normativity of violence between intimate partners in ongoing relationships, as well as pervasiveness of what we call rape culture, is illustrated by a comparison of the ways in which sexual violence was framed in different contexts in Lyon: the few criminal prosecutions of rape and the occasional instance in paternity suits, where sexual violence was clearly marked as rape, in comparison to accounts of first intercourse in consensual relationships. The intimacies of domesticity inflected framings of these different versions of sexual assault in key ways.

Not surprisingly, the patterns in Lyon were much the same as in other parts of Europe where rape was in principal a capital crime but prosecution was rare and finding men guilty was even more exceptional, as we have seen. A total of 47 rape prosecutions, plus one instance of incest rape, survive for the decades between 1670 and 1760, which is about one every other year. Eleven were for girls who were plausible virgins – that is nine of them were pre-puberty and two were in their mid-teens.[41] During those decades Lyon's population exceeded 100,000 residents and kept growing.[42] Only six men were convicted in a total of four rape cases. Two men were sentenced to be hanged for rapes of ten- and 11-year-old girls, one was sentenced to nine years in the galleys for rape of a 16-year-old, and three to the galleys for the gang rape of a young woman. Most of the cases, even involving children and teens who were plausible virgins, were dismissed or placed in a legal category (*plus amplement informé*) that meant they were stayed for a fixed period of time in case further evidence appeared – which it basically never did. These low rates of criminal action demonstrate that in practice there was virtually no chance of sexual assault in any form being prosecuted.

Comparisons of accounts of force in situations where women marked sexual violence as rape show that narratives of sexual violence were quite distinctive when they were not marked as part of what had been consensual relationships. In all events, very little or no specific detail was given about intercourse itself.[43] Regardless of type of legal action, there was virtually no discussion of the act, whether in consensual relationships,use of force or rape. As we have seen, women in ongoing consensual relationships described a lengthy courtship and commitment to marriage before a coercive shift to intercourse and then continued consensual sex. When encounters in complaints of the same kind (that is paternity suits) were not marked as part of what had been an ongoing consensual relationship, the narrative was different. For example, Jeanne Joannon, a draw girl, recalled how when she opened the door for her employer at 2 a.m. one morning, he took her with "the most brutal intensity" into a room and threw her on the bed where despite all her resistance he had sex. That one coerced sexual encounter "obliged her to leave his service" and go to live somewhere else. To escape his violence, she left her job and her living space.[44]

The unwanted sex in narratives that marked the incidents as non-consensual did not come out of the blue, but had been preceded by pressure for sex and followed by the woman having to leave her job or experience empty promises of support. These were often marked as rapt/seduction in the cases, by the plaintiff or her lawyer, even though the legal action was a paternity suit. The young women and sometimes the court officials denounced the disorder employer–servant relations caused. Such employers they claimed 'abused the authority as master' and 'must be punished because contrary to human and divine laws'. No punishment followed, however, as the court judged them like any other paternity suit with

a financial provision to cover the women's costs for childbirth and a wardship provision to make them responsible for the babies' upbringing.

This form of sexual assault between employer and employee and its lack of consequence were saturated with the intimacies, social and emotional, of domesticity. They took places in households where both parties were often co-residents but had deeply asymmetrical power relationships. Complaints about employers who abused the authority of masters focused on the disruption to the household, not the ruining of their female victims' lives. Laura Gowing has made the important point that not all sexual contact between servants and employers was coercive because young women sometimes made opportunistic use of their sexuality as a negotiating lever.[45] This critical perspective of course does not counter the many instances in which sex was coerced.

'Rape' as a legal criminal offence in Lyon was, in contrast, almost always framed as being between strangers – that is, unlike coerced sex in consensual relationships that was often preceded by pressure of various kinds for sex, events marked as rape emphasized struggles to resist to exhaustion, medical reports often mentioned injuries to other parts of the body, and plaintiffs and witnesses often spoke of subsequent mental health impacts. The identification of 'rape' with strangers demonstrates again that 'rape' was defined contextually in terms of the parties and the social spaces in which it occurred. Karin Jansson's work on Sweden has illustrated that men's violence in the context of sexual assault was assessed variably depending on the power and authority they were supposed to have in their communities. Thus what might be assessed as rape by a peasant would not be assessed as rape by an elite man. Swedish regular soldiers accused of rape were quite often convicted but officers very rarely. Examples of this kind of patriarchal calibration between men can be found all over early modern Europe. In Spain, for instance, men of colour were far more likely to be accused of – and convicted of – rape than men born in the Iberian Peninsula. Edward Behrend-Martinez has argued that foreign men, often enslaved people, were seen as especially threatening to family and political institutions (including Spanish-born patriarchy in both instance) and much more likely to be prosecuted for sexual acts that other men escaped punishment for, or were even regarded as normal for.[46]

Considerations of space, however, also suggest that 'rape' was impossible within the parameters of domesticity. The complex and shifting social spaces and power in hierarchies that were integral and even naturalized in households meant that sexual violence that occurred in that context was something other than 'rape'.

Women framed their peril stories about experiences of sexual violence in ways that consistently highlighted the dangers of asymmetrical gendered power relations, but differentiated in culturally special ways between intimate partners, employers or neighbours and outsiders.

Conclusion

The association of the social spaces and power dynamics of domesticity with sexual violence informed young women's peril stories. Households as material and constructed spaces shaped intimacy in all its forms, between consensual partners and in contexts that included same-sex sex, child abuse and incest as well as rape. The experiences of the ubiquity and mundanity of sexual violence in early modern Europe were processed through and made possible by the layers of intimacy and power of domesticity.

Young men and women knew that they should not go into each other's rooms when they were single if they wanted to preserve their reputations, while being in a room with

a closed door marked an important phase, pre-marital sex, in the transition from single to married. For young women (and no doubt young men although we don't have their versions), these sleeping spaces were sites of desire and danger to be managed by at least interrupting the open house routine coming and going of other residents, neighbours or co-workers with a locked door. However, in highlighting the locked door and the use of force, young women elided their own earlier desire and consent to marriage, as well as the many other parties to their relationship.

The broad acceptance of violence as a norm at all stages in intimate relationships in early modern Europe, as well as other aspects of domestic and community life, has to be acknowledged. The mundane sexual violence that punctuated consensual relationships as part of a key transition step into marriage was another form of the ubiquitous use of force as a legitimate aspect of daily life in early modern society. The force that accompanied unwanted sexual encounters in household-based workplaces and in cases of incest, child abuse and same-sex sex was inflected in practice and meaning by the intimacies of domesticity and open houses. While the 'excessive' use of force in spousal battery was calibrated and regulated by early modern communities and courts, the quotidian use of violence in the most intimate of household interactions occurred largely beyond the reach of the law and with little apparent community regulation.[47]

Indeed, these peril stories highlight another critical issue: the management of access in the open house was about power relations. The closing of part of any part of the open house was integral to shifts in intimacy and shifts in emotions, negative as well as positive, associated with intimacy as well as with actions, consensual or coerced. Extant evidence rarely provides historians with even incidental observations when children, same-sex partners or family members were the subjects of sexual violence. Little documentation suggests the verbal as well as physical coercion, the emotional damage or the long-term consequences of these varied forms of sexual violence.

In the long history of sexual violence, change has been remarkably slow. Overall, persistence is in fact very striking as most western societies continue to struggle with these issues today, as the rise of the #MeToo movement in the autumn of 2017 demonstrated. Garthine Walker notes that if historians emphasize change, they indicate inappropriately that modern societies handle such issues correctly.[48] Yet in fact, if force is not at the centre of intimate consensual sex today, unwanted sexual contact at work, date rape, same-sex rape and the sexual abuse of children remain depressingly common. The many perils of contemporary sexual violence remain intimately, although not exclusively, tied to the social spaces and power hierarchies of domesticity.

Notes

1 Somerset Heritage Center, QSR82, 6 September 1650, cf. http://humanities-research.exeter.ac.uk/womenswork/courtdepositions/cases/Case15_SHC-QSR82.html, last accessed 22 Feb. 2020.
2 Claudia Jarzebowski, *Inzest: Verwandtschaft und Sexualität im 18* Jahrhundert (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006).
3 For a quick review of Pepys' self-recorded reiterated sexual assaults, see Kristian Martin, "The Sex Life of Samuel Pepys", cf. www.rmg.co.uk/discover/behind-the-scenes/blog/sex-life-samuel-pepys, last accessed 22 Feb. 2020; for Thistlewood, see Trevor Burnard, *Master, Tyranny and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

4 Amy Stanley, "Writing the History of Sexual Assault in the Age of #METOO", *Perspectives on History* (November, 2018), cf. www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/november-2018/writing-the-history-of-sexual-assault-in-the-age-of-metoo, last accessed 22 Feb. 2020.
5 For the challenges to historians who have chosen to work on sexual violence, see Sharon Block's discussion at https://twitter.com/ShazBlock/status/1044993852271030272, last accessed 29 Jan. 2019; For the resort to cultural narratives or legal imperatives to explain women's account of sexual violence in otherwise impeccable early modern work, see for example Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) p. 37; and Elizabeth Cohen, "The Trials of Artemisia Gentileschi: A Rape as History", *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 31, 1 (2000), pp. 47–75; see also Francisca Loetz, *A New Approach to the History of Violence: 'Sexual Assault' and 'Sexual Abuse' in Europe, 1500–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); and Maurice Cottier, *Fatale Gewalt: Ehre, Subjekt und Kriminalität am Übergang zur Moderne. Das Beispiel Bern 1868–1941* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2017).
6 Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique B5832 31 May 1690.
7 Julie Hardwick, "Early Modern Perspectives on the Long History of Domestic Violence: The Case of Seventeenth-Century France", *Journal of Modern History* 78,1 (March 2006), pp. 1–36.
8 The US Center for Disease Control, the official agency for a range of public health issues, defines sexual violence in all these ways: cf. www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/sexualviolence/definitions.html, last accessed 29 Jan. 2019.
9 Anne Leah Greenfield (ed.), *Interpreting Sexual Violence, 1660–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).
10 Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)
11 For a summary of the criminalization of rape across northern Europe in the sixteenth century, see Julius Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 140–147; for laws on incest in the early modern German regions, see Mary Lindemann, "Aufklärung, Literature, and Fatherly Love: An Eighteenth-Century Case of Incest", in David Luebke and Mary Lindemann (eds.), *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York: Berghahn, 2014), pp. 184–203 (186–88).
12 Mary R. Block, "'For the Repressing of the Most Wicked and Felonious Rapes and Ravishments of Women': Rape Law in England, 1660–1800", in Greenfield, *Interpreting Sexual Violence*, pp. 23–34 (33 and passim).
13 For a transcript of Brackley's testimony, see Patricia M. Crawford and Laura Gowing (eds.), *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England: A Source Book* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 18–19.
14 Penny Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence in the Ears of Religion", in Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 75–99, quote pp. 86–87. Roberts uses literary and memorialist accounts that demonstrate sexual assault was a routine part of warfare, but did not provide individual accounts. Tom Hamilton's in progress work on judicial records that include women's accounts of their rapes in the Wars of Religion will add an important perspective.
15 Mariana Muravyeva, "Do Not Rape and Pillage Without Command: Sex Offences and Early Modern Armies", *Clio: Women, Gender, History* 39 (2014), cf. https://journals.openedition.org/cliowgh/466, last accessed 29 Jan. 2019; for a summary of the thin treatment of rape as a staple in early modern warfare, see Holger Hoock, "*Jus in Bello*: Rape and the British Army in the American Revolutionary War", *Journal of Military Ethics* 14, 1 (2015), pp. 74-97, esp. p. 75 and passim. Hoock has important and fascinating evidence from court martials of British soldiers for rape in the American Revolution; see also Hans Medick, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Zeugnisse vom Leben mit Gewalt* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018), pp. 155–57.
16 Miranda Chaytor, "Husband(ry): Narratives of Rape in the Seventeenth Century", *Gender and History* 7, 3 (November 1995), pp. 378–407.
17 For these figures and other similar examples across early modern Europe, see Ruff, *Violence*, pp. 141–42.
18 Garthine Walker's work includes the following: "Re-reading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England", *Gender and History* 10, 1 (1998), pp. 1–25; Garthine Walker, "Sexual Violence and Rape in Europe, 1500–1750" in Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (eds.), *The*

Routledge History of Sex and the Body, 1500 to the Present (London: Routledge, 2013); Garthine Walker, "Everyman or Monster? The Rapist in Early Modern England, 1600–1750", *History Workshop Journal* 76, 1 (October 2013), pp. 5–31; Garthine Walker, "Rape, Acquittal and Culpability in Popular Crime Reports in England, 1670–1750", *Past and Present* 220, 1 (August 2013), pp. 115–42.

19 Aparna Gollapudi, "The Disordered Fundament: Sexual Violence on Boys and Sodomy Trial Narratives in the Old Bailey Proceedings", in Greenfield (ed.), *Interpreting Sexual Violence*, p. 46 and passim.

20 Merrick's extraordinary work has been revelatory for the world of male same-sex relationships in eighteenth-century Paris. For these incidents in particular, see Jeffrey Merrick, "Commissioner Foucault, Inspector Noël, and the 'Pederasts' of Paris, 1780–83", *Journal of Social History* 32, 2 (1998), p. 293; Jeffrey Merrick, "'Brutal Passion' and 'Depraved Taste': The Case of Jean-François Pascal", in Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibalis (eds.), *Homosexuality in French History and Culture* [2001] (New York: Routledge, 2012), esp. pp. 86–87.

21 Cristian Beco, *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain's Golden Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), esp. pp. 69–74.

22 Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in Early Modern England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), quotation p. 248 and pp. 245–48.

23 Manon van der Heijden, "Women as Victims of Sexual and Domestic Violence in Seventeenth-Century Holland", *Journal of Social History* 33, 3 (2000), pp. 623–44.

24 Claudia Jarzebowski, "The Meaning of Love: Emotion and Kinship in Sixteenth-Century Incest Discourses", in Luebke and Lindemann (eds.), *Mixed Matches*, pp. 166–83. For an example of a prosecution of a charge of spiritual incest by a young nun against her confessor, see for the concept of "spiritual incest" between priests and nuns, see Cathy McClive, *Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France* (London: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 128–35.

25 Ulinka Rublack, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 231–54 (233, 236).

26 Laura Gowing, "The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth-Century England", *Gender and History* 14, 2 (2002), pp. 183–201.

27 Sarah Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 89–94 documents these kinds of unwanted contacts and summarizes other scholarship about servant–master sexual exploitation. Ruff, *Violence*, p. 142 gives statistics about the high proportion of servants in rape prosecutions in a variety of regions.

28 Maza, *Servants and Masters*; Renato Barahona, *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain: Vizcaya, 1528–1735* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 69–72 (71); Rublack, *Crimes*, pp. 232–33.

29 Archives Départementales du Rhône (hereafter ADR), BP3544, 11 Jan. 1723, Dossier of Perricaud and Pillot.

30 For some examples of this kind of use of force as a routine part of first intercourse in other regions of Europe, see Abigail Dyer, "Seduction by Promise of Marriage: Law, Sex and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Spain", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34, 2 (2003), pp. 439–55; Barclay, "Seduction"; Stefan Breit, *'Leichtfertigkeit' und ländliche Gesellschaft: Voreheliche Sexualität in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991); Ulrike Gleixner, *'Das Mensch' und 'der Kerl': Die Konstruktion von Geschlecht in Unzuchtsverfahren der Frühen Neuzeit (1700–1760)* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1994).

31 For a full discussion of the issues related to these legal documents and to the young workers of Lyon, see Julie Hardwick, *Sex in an Old Regime City: Intimacy and Young Workers in France, 1660–1689* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2020).

32 See the work of Joachim Eibach and others cited in the introduction to this volume on these 'open house' issues. For an interesting comparison, see Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

33 When a young silk worker used to call his partner to go into a storage cupboard where they worked under the pretence of getting supplies, for example, and she came out "all disheveled", her co-workers were quick to suggest to her that they thought she was more "*sage*" (sensible we might say or prudent). See ADR, BP3541, 22 October 1680 Dossier of Roussin and Chabassy.

34 Farge, *Fragile Lives*; Cohen, "The Trials of Artesmia Gentileschi"; Gammon, "Researching Sexual Violence, 1660–1800: A Critical Analysis", in Greenfield (ed.), *Interpreting Sexual Violence*, p. 15;

Katie Barclay, "From Rape to Marriage: Questions of Consent in Eighteenth-Century Britain", in Greenfield (ed.), *Interpreting Sexual Violence*, pp. 39–44. Barclay cites Anna Clark's argument that "forcible seduction" played a normal part of courtship rituals.

35 Garthine Walker discusses the ways in which accounts of sexual violence are culturally and historically specific and rely in part on frameworks of story-telling. See Walker, "Re-reading Rape", p. 5; for the classic statement of how we can recover the voices of ordinary people from legal texts that have many layers, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1990).

36 ADR, BP3541, 14 May 1680, Dossier of Berchet and Flacheron.

37 ADR, BP3549, 2 Nov. 1730, Dossier of Jaillard and Cuisse.

38 Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Walker, "Everyman or Monster?"

39 For beds as social sites, see Laura Gowing, "The Twinkling of a Bedstaff: Recovering the Social Life of English Beds, 1550–1750", *Home Cultures: The Journal of Architecture, Design and Domestic Space* 11, 3 (2004), pp. 274–304.

40 For the early modern emergence of the gap between bed and wall (the *ruelle* in French) as a particular site of intimacy and privacy, see Orest Ranum, "The Refuges of Intimacy", in Roger Chartier (ed.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3: *Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 218–25; for the baby's body hidden in a *ruelle*, ADR, BP3009, 18 July 1724, Dossier of Louise Gimel.

41 These include the cases listed in a published essay and additional cases located by Prof. Cathy McClive in her very systematic work on the criminal court records in Lyon. See Maïte Billore, "Paroles des femmes violées devant la justice Lyonnais (xvi–xviii siècle)", in Lydie Bodiou et al. (eds.), *Le corps en lambeaux: Violences sexuelles et sexuées faites aux femmes* (Rennes: Presse Universitaire de Rennes, 2016). I thank Prof. McClive for sharing her material with me.

42 Maurice Garden, *Lyon et Les Lyonnais au XIIIè siècle* (Paris: Les Belle Lettres, 1970), p. 34.

43 This absence of specific detail about the sex act itself was the norm in other places too. See Walker, "Re-reading rape".

44 ADR, BP3543, 18 June 1720, Dossier of Joannon and Petro; Gowing, "The Haunting of Susan Lay".

45 Gowing, "The Haunting of Susan Lay".

46 Karin Jansson, "Conceptualizing Rape: Gendered Notions of Violence in Sweden, 1600–1800" (PhD diss., University of Uppsala, 2002); Edward Behrend-Martinez, "Spain Violated: Foreign Men in Spain's Heartland", *European Review of History: Revue d'européenne d'histoire* 22,4 (2015), pp. 579–94.

47 For courts and communities' regulation of wife battery if not the beating of children, husbands or elders, see Julie Hardwick, "Early Modern Perspectives on the Long History of Domestic Violence: The Case of Seventeenth Century France", *The Journal of Modern History* 78, 1 (2006), pp. 1–36; Julie Hardwick, *Family Business: Litigation and the Political Economies of Daily Life in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 183–221.

48 Walker, "Sexual Violence".

13

MANAGING CONFLICTS AND MAKING PEACE

Inken Schmidt-Voges and Katharina Simon

Conflicts are normal, ubiquitous and unavoidable. They form an integral part of human society and the core for long-term cooperation and change.[1] This is particularly true for the domestic sphere, the social formation in which most people spend most of their time and which is constituted by a variety of different relations and emotional bonds. Looking at how past conflicts were managed, regulated and resolved by means of peacemaking on the domestic level involves analysing an important part of early modern people's everyday experience. Doing so allows for closely observing how men and women, and boys and girls, dealt with diverging interests, plurality and change. In the following, we will outline different dimensions of domestic conflict management, ranging from informal settings within the household and neighbourhood to more formal juridical proceedings. The first section provides an introductory overview of the domestic sphere's setting, looking at its members, its normative frameworks and its entanglement with social surroundings as well as typical causes of conflict and strategies to manage those. Based on these more systematic aspects of the topic, the following section summarizes various research on manifold aspects from a European perspective, thus providing an overview with regard to current research work. Understanding conflict management as a communicative process,[2] the third section will elaborate on different stages and address different forms of peacemaking in the domestic sphere by retracing practices and strategies in two exemplary case studies. They show that informal and judicial resolution efforts were often closely intertwined and norms were not simply applied, but their application was negotiated, modified and balanced in a widely ranging communicative community.

Introduction

To understand how conflicts evolved, how people acted and which ways of handling and ending conflicts were available, it is necessary to examine what we call the domestic sphere in its social, political and cultural frameworks. Bearing in mind that early modern societies were characterized not only by social but also by legal inequality which depended on each person's position within this society, it is obvious that we have to consider hierarchies, their

implications for the scope of action a person had and the societal constraints displayed in the communicative processes of settling conflict and restoring 'peace'.

As a social group, the domestic sphere consisted of the household and family. Although early modern people only rarely made this distinction, it became a powerful issue during the transformations in the eighteenth century. In different European languages, *menage*, *masserizia*, 'household', *Haushalt*, *hushall*, *hogar*, *casa* or *domoj* referred to a group of people who commonly earned their livelihood together and thus secured their basis for life. Ideally, a (married) couple formed the core; their offspring and, depending on the income structure, additional servants, apprentices and assistants, and sometimes even relatives, wards and other diversely related persons added to the domestic sphere. Given the high mortality rates not only in childhood and childbed, family structures – understood as a shared parentage and lineage – quite often displayed rather a patchwork character.[3]

Legally, everyone who was under the tutelage of the *paterfamilias*, belonged to the social space of the domestic sphere. While marriage and parenthood or filiation were understood as permanent relations, servants, assistants and apprentices were only temporarily members, often with contracts for half a year. Studies in microhistory and historical anthropology have shown that this could, but did not necessarily, affect emotional bonds. We know of many servants who left after some months in strife, but there also existed wills in which ladies left their lifelong housemaids precious clothes, fabric and bed linen to express their fondness.[4] The variations and combinations of these social relations within the domestic sphere were countless in Europe. Over time and even within a given household, the configuration could change frequently.

The social relations that constituted the domestic sphere were regulated by a variety of implicit and explicit norms, which came into play in conflict situations. Explicit norms were set up in laws, statutes and ordinances, regulating questions of tutelage, inheritance, matrimonial property, rights and duties of masters and servants as well as conditions when taking over guardianship or adopting a child. Depending on the legal cultures and traditions, such laws were part of secular as well as ecclesiastical legal matters. Apart from statute law, religious texts such as tracts, sermons and conduct literature facilitated a set of behavioural norms founded in Christian theology, thus defining role models and societal expectations for household and family members. Such implicit norms also played a decisive role in trials on church discipline as well as in witness statements before civil and criminal courts.[5] Finally, tradition and customs as well as group norms not uncommonly in conflict with legal and religious norms shaped not only interaction but also the perception people gained of specific constellations of conflict. In most cases, all three levels came into play in countless variations.[6]

Different conflicts occurred in different contexts. Unsurprisingly, access to and the transfer of property often led to arguments, contests and (court) disputes. Many court records document domestic contentions ahead of signing inheritance or marriage contracts; when, in the event of death, circumstances changed, clauses were unclear and contested.[7] A vast majority of conflicts, however, arose from tensions, diverging interests and opinions in matters of everyday life. Whether it was economic decisions, attitudes to work, leisure, hospitality and generosity, conjugal fidelity, children's choice of partners, childcare and caretaking for the elderly, many occasions gave rise to conflict. In court records, which are the most fruitful type of source to research domestic conflict, various conflicting parties emerge: married couples, parents and adolescent children, adult siblings, wards and guards, servants and masters, step siblings, apprentices and housekeepers, step parents and children, godchildren and unmarried co-residents.

The many issues of potential conflict underline what sociologists have defined as the integrating function of conflict, dispute and contention as they all involve negotiating conflicting goals and interests, contesting prevailing norms and thus transforming and adapting norms and rules to social and societal change over time and region.[8] In this regard, conflicts indeed played a decisive role in everyday life. What actually mattered and was of major concern for early modern people, was not only the fact *that* conflicts in the domestic sphere were to be dealt with, but *how* they were dealt with and what means the arguing parties chose to defend their sides.

To fathom these practices of conflict resolution, we have to rely on court records and other written documentation of domestic conflicts. It is in the nature of our available source material that we can only draw our conclusions from those domestic conflicts which were litigated and thus produced records. Most cases reflect conflicts which had gone out of control, i.e. which had left the scope of what was perceived as routines of conflict settlement. Historical research has outlined that in early modern times judicial conflict resolution often came into play when one of the parties was dissatisfied with informal negotiations amongst family and neighbourhood – without, however, stopping informal efforts to settle the conflict. Thus, people made use of the fact that once the authorities gained knowledge of a severe conflict, they were obliged to restore public and private order.[9] Accordingly, in documenting the witnesses' narrations, court records provide abundant insight into various forms of conflict regulation in the domestic sphere beyond judicial clearance.

However, the conflicting parties as well as the court officials representing the authorities had a vital interest in restabilizing disorderly households, simply because both of them depended on a viable household as the basis of pursuing one's life goals; only rarely was a household or a marriage dissolved. Most solutions aimed at managing conflicts by both clarifying the matter in question and reconciling the arguing parties. These complex arrangements were intended to restore the individual's honour. This orientation manifested itself in the fact that, although sanctions and punishment were indeed imposed to mark the wrongdoing (often on both sides), it was techniques of mediation (as we would call them today) that formed the core in conflict regulation. After identifying the radius of conflict, all conflicting parties were reminded of their respective duties and expected behaviour as well as an indulgent and lenient attitude towards the flaws of their fellow housemates. This procedure often resulted in the judges' request to "live together peacefully and approach each other in a peaceable manner",[10] a request which referred to the Christian foundation of domestic virtues as well as the state's claim for monopoly over the use of violence and each subject's duty to maintain peace and order in the domestic as well as in the societal sphere.

To guarantee the fulfilment of these sanctions, the social environment of such dysfunctional households (in German often called *Übelhauser*, i.e. evil houses) was frequently monitored by the authorities to keep an eye on the men and women's future attitudes and thus safeguard a viable *modus vivendi* within the household in question. However, the neighbourhood did not only take its place as the authorities' instrument of social control to survey and implement disciplinary measures but also formed itself as an integral part in the practices of conflict management. Since social, cultural and financial bonds intimately connected the household 'economies' of a neighbourhood, conflicts not only disturbed the peace within the community. They also created imbalances in the proper functioning of the neighbours' network system of mutual support and obligations.[11] Therefore, neighbours often actively intervened in domestic conflicts and acted as mediators, witnesses or peacemakers. Just as different actors from the household's social network such as friends, kin

and neighbours acted as mediators, they applied different strategies of negotiating the conflict ranging from informal communication with or without intermediaries' help, to semi-formalized practices of arbitration over legal proceedings.[12]

State of research: approaches to domestic conflicts

The history and state of research regarding the history of domestic conflicts appear to be rather fragmented. It never formed a self-contained and coherent field of research but emerged as a by-product of other research strands mainly occupied with the socio-cultural analysis of the ambiguities and complexities of early modern rule, power and gender relations within society, and practices and techniques in maintaining public order. Most influential were studies inspired by the French Annales School, the history of the Reformation and confessionalization, the history of crime and criminal justice and, of course, women's, or rather gender, history. They used different approaches and research angles, but all drew on conflict-driven court records as main source material to gain insight into the hidden spheres of the self-evident of domestic everyday life.[13]

The Annales School opened the historians' awareness to a hitherto neglected corpus of source material to conduct research on more structural aspects of social history and, in later studies on the ordinary individual's fate, brought in serial sources such as juridical wills, marriage contracts and parish registers. Apart from providing material for more structural questions, court records proved to be particularly informative with regard to qualitative research. This inspired new approaches to cultural social history using common people's knowledge and mentality as well as the diversity of social practices, in accordance with, in contrast to or simply parallel to the existence of official normative settings.[14] Arlette Farge, in her studies on eighteenth-century France, was the first scholar to read domestic conflicts as the individuals' strategy to pursue their interests, secure their necessities and survive in the perplexities of life. Not only did she reveal what everyday life in Paris looked like in pre-revolutionary France, she also consequently looked at the individual person placed within a domestic sphere and not at families or households as an acting unit.[15] Her edition of domestic conflict cases from the Bastille Archives proved to be highly compatible and inspiring for studies in gender and generational relations, working attitudes, religious life, criminal studies and emotional history.[16]

A different approach and interest in domestic conflict characterize the studies conducted against the background of the Reformation, as well as those inspired by approaches to social control and disciplining. The 'social turn' in the 1980s drew scholarly attention to aspects of change and continuity in the domestic sphere. Looking at the Protestant aim to reform family life raised the question of to what extent this aim actually influenced everyday life and how people managed to align their social practices within new normative frameworks. By exploring the records of the newly implemented courts of church discipline in Lutheran as well as Reformed parishes, domestic conflicts became the window through which one studied the impact of Reformation processes at the bottom of society.[17]

It soon became obvious, however, that it was the people themselves who made use of the judicial institutions to regulate their conflicts rather than the disciplining interest of the authorities. Many studies in the field of the history of crime and criminal justice and legal history revealed the close intertwining of judicial and extra-judicial forms of conflict regulation and the creative, interest-bound use people made of the different possibilities to seek clearance. French scholarship developed the concept of *l'infrajudiciare* to analyse the working and implementations of this particularly multi-layered setting of conflict regulation,

which was amply adopted in the 1980s and 1990s European research environments.[18] Domestic conflicts were treated as one among many conflict constellations, and again it became apparent that conflicts were a normal part of domestic life and necessary to accommodate the diverging interests within a household.[19]

Those interested in gender relations undertook the most intense research. While in the early days of women's and gender history a special focus was on the circumstances of women's lives, challenges and the influence of a patriarchal order,[20] gender increasingly evolved as a general category to analyse social difference. Thus it is not easy to allocate single studies exclusively on one single approach. Thematically, gender-related studies on domestic conflict predominantly explored marital conflict with a huge stress on the use of violence, its (de)legitimization and the change over time in attitudes towards domestic violence.[21] Another research focus lies on women before the court, analysing female litigants and female agency in cases of domestic violence.[22] A more recent development is to take into account conflicts concerning the transfer of property in case of marriage or inheritance.[23] Apart from court records, a vast number of contracts show the surprisingly diverse options for women to secure their share of a household's belongings and even to decide on inheritance options for their offspring.[24]

This tremendous diversity in research was not only due to the large geographical focus on Europe but also the legal and judicial diversity, confessional pluralism, regionally differing social practices and norms and – last but not least – the diverging time spans; all of this made it difficult to identify major topics within this research field. Yet one might identify *three* overarching questions recent research discussion engages with: first, the extensive entanglement of the domestic sphere with its social surroundings of neighbourhood and kinship;[25]second, the norms that shaped different forms of conflict management and how these narrative norms were used to express a plaintiff's position; and third, how peacemaking was performed. Since the norms ascribed to the domestic sphere were phrased in a more general way to cover social diversity, and since the domestic sphere was entangled with its social environment, these norms provided much scope for interpretation and negotiation. These aspects will guide the reader through two case studies, which will serve as a reference point to develop the relevant issues regarding domestic conflicts in early modern Europe.

Negotiating domestic conflicts – two case studies from eighteenth-century Germany and England

Looking at two case studies allows us to illustrate the manifold ways in which domestic conflicts evolved, developed and were regulated by its actors. By presenting a case recorded at an urban court in late eighteenth-century Germany and a second one documented at a church court in early eighteenth-century England, it is possible to stress not only the respective singularity of each case but also its specific contexts and similarities. Although the two cases differ in time, legal culture and cause of conflict,[26] strategies and techniques in managing it hint at commonly shared attitudes and practices of conflict management in early modern Europe. One involves the social surroundings such as neighbourhood, kinship, friends, godparents and other persons of local recognition who were asked for mediation. Once a conflict entered the judicial stage, this group could split and form 'witnesses alliances' in testifying for either one or the other party, depending on their social ties. A second important aspect is to recognize that judicial conflict management centred around the cause of action brought in by the plaintiff. Although the constellations of conflict were

often much more complex and comprehensive, people chose a formal context that seemed most promising. A third aspect is the frequent reference to peace rhetoric which hinted at the strong efforts made by all actors not to convict a single person but to reconcile and restabilize the social networks of the arguing parties. Restoring 'peace' in the sense of an undisturbed social order was fundamental to early modern societal stability, often at high individual costs.

A dysfunctional household in eighteenth-century Germany

In late October 1773, Susanna von Blechen fled her house in the medium-sized, biconfessional town of Osnabrück in north-west Germany and sought rescue from her violent husband in her neighbour's house. The neighbour instantly wrote a petition to the town's magistrate to take action and ensure the safety of his neighbour's living conditions and thereby to end the constant disturbances in the neighbourhood. Shortly before, a maidservant of von Blechen's household had sued her master for violence and cruelty as she reported him to have prohibited her and her mistress, von Blechen's wife, to care for his son, suffering from smallpox. When his wife ignored this order and spooned the dying child some fresh water, he beat her so hard she lost consciousness.[27] This neighbourly intervention started a series of official hearings before the magisterial court. Seeking to stop the violence, the judges tried to work out the underlying conflicts and restore peace and security in the neighbourhood. Apparently, the conflict had quite a back story, and the court's minutes unfold the depths of an obviously dysfunctional household and the perplexities it caused. Narrating the different forms of violence the accused was said to have committed, the neighbour displayed a particular interlacing of normative frameworks he saw as being transgressed and in need of renegotiation.

Life-threatening violence was the pivotal factor for the neighbour (as for neighbours in general) to intervene in this domestic conflict by involving the municipal authorities. By no means was this the first occurrence of violent behaviour the neighbours, as well as the household members, had had to cope with. Several eyewitness reports from the respondent's neighbourhood tell the story of a quarrelsome man. Initially, von Blechen seemed to express his discontent about the neighbours' purchasing behaviour by blaming them for buying their clothes and haberdashery from migrant hawkers rather than in his shop. Soon he started to ravage people in the street, throwing chunks at neighbours' chickens and dogs, invading their homes at lunchtime, insulting, offending and menacing the family, and causing many other 'disturbances' to the neighbourhood's tranquillity and respectability. At the same time, the cohabitants in the street had already at a certain time very precisely recognized what was going on inside von Blechen's house and how he treated his wife and servants. The conflict escalated when his use of violence became the subject of public debate.

The use of violence, physical as well as verbal, and the question whether it was legitimate or not, was often subject to contrary perceptions. The use of violence and ways of conflict management in general were regulated by manifold, often diverging normative settings. While church and theological texts stressed peaceableness, indulgence and straightforward godliness as core Christian virtues and attitudes to conflict management, secular authorities were involved in an encompassing process of reducing and monopolizing the legitimate use of violence throughout medieval and early modern times. This concerned inter-personal as well as inter-group violence on all levels of society and raised specific problems with regard to the domestic sphere. Although the use of physical violence was increasingly banned as a legitimate means of conflict resolution, it was, to some degree,

allowed within the domestic sphere. As the formal ruler the housefather was conceded the right to corporal punishment in cases of severe defiance of his subordinates. To what extent violence was acceptable to use differed widely, though the following can be observed: while in the sixteenth century bleeding indicated the undue use of violence, even bruises were sufficient to claim ill-treatment in the eighteenth century.[28] Thus, referring to violence was not only a description of what had happened but also a matter of interpreting the respective actions. While plaintiffs often sued for exorbitant violence, many of the accused men claimed it was necessary to castigate others in order to keep up domestic order.

In Blechen's case, he presented two witnesses who gave testimony about the rightful, prudent and careful conduct of Blechen as a housefather in seeing after the domestic economies, an orderly household as well as a pious and devout family. His efforts, alas, were, in their opinion, all too often thwarted by his obnoxious wife who herself would refuse a decent housewife's work out of superior self-esteem. That is why her husband claimed to be forced to hire day labourers despite the household's straitened situation – unsurprisingly, the two witnesses were precisely these day labourers, coming in now and then from a nearby poor quarter.

On the other hand, Susanna von Blechen was able to present, besides the named neighbour who harboured her in times of imminent danger, a number of other respected neighbours and members of her kin, being part of the Osnabrück patriciate and – due to the dense housing situation in Osnabrück – not just kin but also neighbours and officials. Those and the maid servant drew quite a different picture, describing Johann Anton von Blechen as a neglectful, volatile, often drunk person, fulfilling his duties as *paterfamilias* at no level and thus ruining his business by phases of inertia or exuberant activity. According to them, he was unable to guide his household in accordance and consent with his wife. His order not to tend to his dying child but curse it as being 'the devil's' was seen as significant for his general lack of virtue and morality.

What we can see is that discussing the quality of the observed violence served as a delicate indicator for the general performance in terms of conformity to moral expectations and local customs. The urban court depended heavily on the witnesses' perception of the situation as well as the long-term 'performance' of the household members to arrive at a decision. This underlines the importance and potency of the entangledness and connectedness of a household and its members with their social environment.

Neighbourhood and kin as securing networks were not only important to provide shelter and support in bringing a case to court for the suing party; they also formed a crucial base for the authorities to implement their settlement. In Blechen's case, the urban court decided to initiate a process of mediation and reconciliation. After a time of separation, in which Blechen was taken into detention, he and his wife were summoned to the court, a mutual talk took place and Blechen showed remorse for his actions, asking his wife's forgiveness and making a vow to improve, "to keep the peace and behave in a quiet, Christian way."[29] To confirm this reconciliation both parties shook hands.

Although this ritual perfectly followed the traditional ceremony of establishing peace, the urban court was apparently not fully convinced and formally instructed the neighbour (who had initially started the court intervention) to visit the Blechen house regularly to make sure the husband would keep his vow and report to the court. So the neighbour made formal visits every evening, and soon he had to intervene again in domestic discord. While other records from guilds and private law suggest that the wife soon (re)established herself as a retailer in the neighbourhood market, the husband died some years later. This outcome was far from being an exception – many cases studied in different European societies add to

this assessment. Not only the rigorous enforcement of legal norms was essential to the authorities – but also the economic welfare of the households and above all that of the patriarchal order of society. All this was not bound to the sex of the householder but to the appreciated fulfilment of household norms. In this case, it was the wife who proved to be the responsible householder and used judicial proceeding in accordance with her neighbours to secure the household economy, safety and welfare of her family.

Disputing the maintenance of a bastard child in England c. 1700

In 1705, Sarah Slater, a 24-year-old "spinster" from Calverley near Bradford, gave birth to a child.[30] She claimed Richard Stanhope, an unmarried local man, to be the father. We can retrace Sarah's story in the church court records in York because Sarah's stepfather Laurence Burk sued Richard three years later. While the formal charge to bring this conflict to court was fornication, the plaintiff rather aimed at settling the maintenance of the child. Looking at this conflict offers glimpses of different practices of domestic conflict resolution which necessarily depended on including the social surroundings. How and when did family members and neighbours perceive actions as a breach of norms? How was the dispute negotiated, and how did the different actors and spaces of negotiation interact?

While giving birth outside of wedlock was generally considered to be a sin and therefore a rupture with legal norms, the negotiation of Sarah's case shows that social norms and practices were not congruent and norms could be bent or applied flexibly within a certain range. Clerical and secular law treated pre- and extramarital sex as 'fornication cases', commonly punished with a staged ritual of public penance, public whipping or imprisonment.[31] Understanding marriage as a pillar of social order led to the condemnation of extramarital sexual relations as a threat to that order, as a large number of contemporary sermons and conduct books underline.[32] Nevertheless, the numbers of fornication cases and illegitimate children were high and even rising throughout the eighteenth century.[33]

Despite seemingly clear regulations, the topic was more complicated and blurry in practice. Before the Marriage Act of 1753, there existed a variety of marriage practices and inconsistencies causing troubles with illegal marriages, bigamy and secret weddings.[34] Due to informal marriage rituals such as 'spousing' and 'handfasting', where people exchanged vows in front of self-chosen witnesses, and the bending of clerical regulations, there was plenty of room for debate about the validity of marriage.[35] Mothers of illegitimate children often made use of this circumstance and claimed to either had been informally married at the time of conception or had been promised marriage by the father of the child.[36] The practice of consummating a promised marriage was common and widely accepted, as long as the couple would marry once the woman got pregnant.[37] There were two diverging but coexisting systems of norms and practices that defined the scope of conflict. While the established set of customs and traditions took notice of clerical and secular norms, in practice they often allowed for more pragmatic solutions. Both legal and societal norms forbade premarital sexual relations, yet the non-standardized marriage law as well as local custom extended the boundaries of these regulations. This twilight zone between proper and deviant behaviour formed the scope of action in which the families – with help from friends and neighbours – could debate and finally settle their disputes.

That Sarah and Richard's relationship had transgressed the boundaries of chastity is apparent in the witnesses' reports that mentioned hugs and kisses, sitting on one's lap and other forms of closeness, hinting at a physical relationship.[38] Their surrounding did not

object to this behaviour due to the publicly known promise of marriage that several witnesses verified. Only when Richard neglected his promise and responsibility, the situation turned into a conflict with severe consequences for Sarah.

Here, too, the conflict's back story can be traced in the court's minutes, albeit at some points only with educated assumptions. The conflict caused by Sarah's pregnancy impinged upon the domestic sphere, involving the families and households of the two lovers. Although Sarah and Richard believed their romantic meetings at Sarah's house to be private, it was always under the scrutiny of family and neighbours' eyes. So they knew of the couple's courting, aided with the birth, and finally they were able to support her in her claim of a marriage proposal and maintenance because the lovers' talk had permeated the walls of the domestic sphere.

The first 'official' reaction to the birth of Sarah's illegitimate child comes from the churchwardens. Following their task to keep order and peace within the parish, they brought forward the names of Sarah and Richard in a petition, naming several fornicators within the parish.[39] At some point, the Stanhopes as well as Richard's family apparently agreed to maintain the child, which had been sent to live with Hannah Waterhouse, a labourer's wife from Bingley. The practice of 'outsourcing' young children – legitimate or illegitimate – to family members or local families was a common handling of such affairs.[40] But when the Stanhopes presumably neglected the agreement to maintain the child, Hannah Waterhouse sent the child back to its mother due to pending maintenance. She stated she had received money for two of the three years the child had lived with her.[41] With the return of the child to the household Sarah lived in and her return to the village public, the once settled agreement of the unlucky liaison turned into a public dispute over the failed marriage. The "common voice and fame" spread on market squares,[42] at church and in the local public house as well as in various homes where neighbourly exchange and gossip could take place. Gossip served as a form of social control, observation and assessment according to local norms and customs but also helped solve disputes, for instance by increasing publicity and pressure on both parents to come to a suitable solution.[43] But this expansion also allowed further actors to mediate, strengthened arguments and ideas of resolution and thereby increased the chances of a successful ending.

It was Sarah who took action to solve the complex situation in a way that would not damage her reputation any further. While historical research has often tended towards a depiction of unmarried mothers as victims and passive bearers of their misfortune, recent studies underline women's agency.[44] By again naming the father, Sarah tried to publicize the fatherhood and influence public opinion in her favour.[45] With the community's help, she increased pressure on the father and tried to convince him to keep his promise of marriage and maintenance. Secondly, Sarah sent a group of friends to Thomas Gill, presumably a trusted acquaintance of the family or a well-respected member of the local community, to ask him to mediate in the conflict.[46] They chose him, and Thomas Gill took this task seriously. He met with Richard's father John Stanhope to remind him of his responsibility towards his grandchild. Following Thomas Gill's request, Burk and Stanhope met to settle the matter on behalf of their children. Gill reported that Stanhope had acknowledged his son's fatherhood and was willing to pay for the maintenance of the child. He even promised to bequeath his grandchild one hundred pounds upon his death.[47] It is this step of the resolution process that shows the importance of the social entanglement of the domestic sphere with its social surroundings. Here, it is fundamentally necessary to deal with aspects involving the households economies – financially as well as morally – as a precious resource. Sarah and her stepfather's agency shows that this family was still

a respected member of the community and that Sarah was not taken as a sinner, but a young woman who had every reason to trust a young man's promise of marriage and consent to a consummation. Sarah and her family successfully managed to establish this view of the case. While friends and neighbours confirmed the charges, they neither judged nor defamed Sarah but tried to support her by acknowledging her point of view.

Despite all these attempts to solve the conflict, the existence of the court case indicates that the extrajudicial settlement ultimately failed and legal actions should enforce and secure the informally negotiated agreement. Unlike the spaces of settlement within the community, the legal space of the court had a more official aura. The setting provided a certain authority and legitimacy that helped guarantee and secure the resolutions by writing and conserving them in legal documentation. Thus, the courts could provide a form of conflict resolution after informal mediation was at a standstill, while simultaneously they used to strengthen and support the resumption of informal negotiation.

The court case ended without verdict, a common phenomenon in early modern church courts, which historians generally explain as evidence for extrajudicial agreements before the verdict.[48] The high number of cases without verdict shows that by going to court many plaintiffs aimed at strengthening the case and speeding up the trial, but did not necessarily intend to see it through to the end.[49] Apparently, legal and extrajudicial practices of conflict resolution worked hand in hand. While informal negotiation within the community offered immediate actions and solutions according to the existing framework of custom and norms, the legal option provided authority and security to complement or conclude the settlement.

Looking at this case of bastardry has illustrated that domestic conflicts were not necessarily restricted to that sphere but could be extended to a broader space of negotiation within the local community. Even if not all friends and neighbours were as supportive as Sarah's, the example shows that conflict resolution was most successful with the help and support of one's social network of family, friends and neighbours. Leaving the domestic sphere exposed the case to the scrutiny and gossip of the neighbourhood but also heightened the chances of support and successful mediation within the community. Although regulations of premarital sexual relations and illegitimate children seemed to be unequivocal, in social practice those boundaries could be negotiated and even neglected if pragmatic solutions and solidarity were needed. Pragmatism and the primary goal to take care of mother and child seemed to outweigh moral principles in this case.[50] Just as different actors tried to mediate, they applied different strategies of conflict management. With Sarah's agency, and neighbours, friends and local authorities mediating, as well as fathers agreeing and using extrajudicial and legal means to settle the conflict, all these practices were interconnected and worked jointly on the collective settlement of the dispute. Involving the church court was just another strategy to bring a solution about – but in this case, we do not know who shared the information of the illegitimate birth to the churchwardens. Adding to research into infrajustice, this case points to the fact that resolving conflicts in the domestic sphere in informal or legal negotiation is not generally a hierarchical process, but makes use of two concurring and cooperating systems which were active either simultaneously or successively. Hence, conflict resolution was a multi-layered set of practices within families, neighbourhoods and local communities making use of different forms and spaces of negotiation to settle the matter and re-establish the domestic and local order, often labelled as 'peace'. This reference, however, should not mislead us about a harmonious and unanimous view of early modern communities. Restoring order meant reinstalling mechanisms of power, so that the individual cost and constraint to be part of this order

could be high. The price Sarah had to pay was the separation from her child and a considerable blow to Sarah and the family's honour, which could not be averted in the mediation process. Even if norms were bent in local customs and practices of negotiation, the local peace was still defined by those norms, which became manifest in the struggle for the interpretative prerogative.

Conclusion

Looking at the two case studies allows retracing the different practices of conflict management and peacemaking within the domestic sphere and its social surroundings. Keeping in mind that all our knowledge of these processes is based on source material that implicates the escalation of conflicts to the highest level, it is, however, fair to assume a high level of successful conflict management within the domestic sphere. And as much as the everyday practices to keep up the maintenance and the viable operation of a household were entangled with neighbourhood, kinship and community, so were the practices of overcoming dissent and conflict. Different actors such as family and household members, kin, friends and neighbours, intervened, mediated, testified and kept an eye on the process of reconciliation to settle the conflict in question. Depending on their status within the community, they had different possibilities to pursue their interests. In choosing the way in which and to whom a matter of dispute was made public, a number of measures were at stake to resolve the conflict: private homes, public houses, squares, church pews, and market places, courts or other places apt for news exchange and gossip. While making use of these spaces helped to blame, defend, exchange arguments and look for possible solutions, the people acting in these spaces were all part of the process of conflict management and local peacemaking. While open violence as a means of conflict resolution was gradually condemned and replaced throughout the early modern period, physically or mentally abusive forms of conflict management still prevailed and hinted at the underlying power relations in such communicative processes. Not only could gossip either humiliate or 'correct' errant behaviour, it could also help to find solutions through increasing public pressure. Apart from gossip, rather drastic forms of social control existed such as 'rough music' or other forms of public humiliation.[51] The most common and accepted practice, however, seemed to be immediate communication between the disputing parties either face to face or mediated by family members, friends, neighbours or well-respected authorities within the community. These settings, ranging from formal conversation to semi-formalized arbitration, aimed at finding solutions that corresponded both with local custom and community-held ideas of justice and reconciliation and the need for operating households. Next to these community-based practices, legal actions were an option to speed up and further the process of conflict resolution when informal resolution was slow or ineffective. However, as the court records show, those rather informal practices of mediation often continued alongside the legal proceedings, not uncommonly encouraged by the court. There was no linear or hierarchical system to be followed but a flexible, functional, pragmatic and adjustable way of making use of different mediators, spaces and practices of mediation according to one's needs. As the case studies show, these different practices and actors worked hand in hand, pursuing the main goal of restoring peace within house and community rather than punishing the transgression of laws and norms. This explains why, instead of the norms themselves, their application on specific conflict constellations was open to negotiation within a certain range and thus opened scope for sustainable solutions.

Understanding domestic conflicts as social practices to deal with plurality and dissent over the decisions people made every day sheds light on how cooperation worked on the micro level of societal organization during times in which most people were dependant on cooperation with others to manage even the bare necessities of life.

The ways in which these communicative processes from conflict management to peacemaking were staged depended on normative frameworks. Yet these frameworks themselves showed a structural and often contradictory diversity. Legal norms, ecclesiastical norms and group-related social norms were closely entangled with each other in cases of domestic conflict. The way in which they were connected, weighed against each other and finally made to match reveals much about the relationship between norms and practices in early modern societies. They illustrate how norms controlled behaviour and action and how in these communication processes norms could be changed when specific constellations were interpreted and judged differently over time.

Yet as it was characteristic for early modern legal culture that authorities and courts only came into play when informal measures taken by the involved people failed, the strong emphasis on the normative framework and behavioural norms concerning conflict management makes sense. The constant admonishment to act 'peacefully' did not refer to a submissive attitude. It encouraged engaging oneself in finding solutions that balanced conflicting interests within the given framework of a societal system shaped by legal inequality and open power relations.

Clearly, social changes in dealing with domestic conflict were promoted not only on this low level with rather gradual and long-term effects. Systematic changes in legal and political culture, which most European societies faced from the late eighteenth far into the nineteenth century, had a large impact. New ideas about marriage, gender conceptions, family and household relations fostered legal changes that altered the array of possibilities to negotiate domestic conflicts considerably.[52]

Notes

1 Cf. for example Paramjit S. Judge, *Foundations of Classical Sociological Theory: Functionalism, Conflict and Action* (Delhi: Pearson, 2012), pp. 124–27.

2 Gudrun Gersmann, "Orte der Kommunikation, Orte der Auseinandersetzung: Konfliktursachen und Konfliktverläufe in der frühneuzeitlichen Dorfgesellschaft", in Magnus Eriksson and Barbara Krug-Richter (eds.), *Streitkulturen: Gewalt, Konflikt und Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft (16.–19. Jahrhundert)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 249–68.

3 Cf. the works of the Cambridge Group with Peter Laslett, the studies of Michael Mitterauer and recent research of the network "Family History and Demography" in the SSHA.

4 Charmian Holly Mansell, "Female Servants in the Early Modern Community – A Study of Church Court Depositions from the Dioceses of Exeter and Gloucester, c. 1550–1650" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2017); Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, "Consumerism and the Industrial Revolution", in David B. Clarke, Marcus A. Doel and Kate M. L. Housiaux (eds.), *The Consumption Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 42–47; Renate Dürr, *Mägde in der Stadt: Das Beispiel Schwäbisch Hall in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1995).

5 Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578–1700* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990); Heinrich-Richard Schmidt, "Die Pazifizierung des Dorfes – Struktur und Wandel von Nachbarschaftskonflikten vor Berner Sittengerichten 1570–1800", in Heinz Schilling (ed.) *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1994), pp. 91–128; Inken Schmidt-Voges, *Mikropolitiken des Friedens – Semantiken und Praktiken des Hausfriedens im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Steve Hindle, "The Keeping of the Public Peace",

in Paul Griffith, Adam Fox and Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (New York: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 213–49.

6 Maria Ågren, *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Joachim Eibach, *Frankfurter Verhöre: Städtische Lebenswelten und Kriminalität im 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003).

7 Cf. Margareth Lanzinger et al. (eds.), *Aushandeln von Ehe: Heiratsverträge der Neuzeit im europäischen Vergleich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010); Stefan Brakensiek, Michael Stolleis and Heide Wunder (eds.), *Generationengerechtigkeit? Normen und Praxis im Erb- und Ehegüterrecht 1500–1850* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006).

8 Cf. for example Didier Le Gall, "Family Conflict in France Through the Eyes of Teenagers", in Renate Klein (ed.), *Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Family Violence* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 79–100 (82–84); Ivana Markova, "Introduction: Conflict and Trust in Dialogue Perspective", in Ivana Markova (ed.), *Trust and Conflict: Representation, Culture and Dialogue* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1–15 (12).

9 Martin Dinges, "Justiznutzungen als soziale Kontrolle in der Frühen Neuzeit", in Andreas Blauert and Gerd Schwerhoff, *Kriminalitätsgeschichte: Beiträge zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Vormoderne* (Konstanz: UVK, 2000), pp. 503–44. For the research concept of "infrajustice" see fn. 18.

10 Schmidt-Voges, *Mikropolitiken des Friedens*, p. 283.

11 Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Joachim Eibach, "Das offene Haus. Kommunikative Praxis im sozialen Nahraum der Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38, 4 (2011), pp. 621–44; Inken Schmidt-Voges, "Das Haus und seine Nachbarschaft: Integration und Konflikt", in Joachim Eibach and Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas. Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: deGruyter, 2015), pp. 417–32.

12 Glenn Kumhera, *The Benefits of Peace: Private Peacemaking in the Late Medieval Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 122.

13 Eibach, *Frankfurter Verhöre*; Roodenburg, *Onder censuur*; Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile: Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIII siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1986); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Village occitan de 1294–1325* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982).

14 Most influential in a mentality- and everyday-life-orientated analysis of court records are the works of Natalie Zemon Davis, Nicole and Yves Castan and Arlette Farge. Lately reflected in Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives* [1989] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

15 Cf. Farge, *La vie fragile: Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1992); or Julie Hardwick, *Family Business: Litigation and the Political Economies of Everyday Life in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

16 Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault (eds.), *Disorderly Families: Infamous Letters from the Bastille Archives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

17 Cf. the works of Heinz Schilling and Herman Roodenburg; cf. Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household – Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Schmidt, "Die Pazifizierung des Dorfes", pp. 91–128; Susanna Burghartz, "Ordering Discourse and Society: Moral Politics, Marriage and Fornication During the Reformation and the Confessionalisation Process in Germany and Switzerland", in Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *Social Control in Europe*, Vol. 1 (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1990), pp. 78–98.

18 Alfred Soman, "L'infrajustice à Paris d'après les archives notariales", *Histoire, Économie et Société* 1, 3 (1982), pp. 369–76; Benoît Garnot (ed.), *L'infrajudiciare du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine* (Dijon: Editions Universitaire Dijon, 1996); for a concise overview of concepts, research debates and fields of interest see the article of Karl Härter, "Konfliktregulierung im Umfeld frühneuzeitlicher Strafgerichte: Das Konzept der Infrajustiz in der historischen Kriminalitätsforschung", *KritV, CritQ, RCrit. Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft/Critical Quarterly for Legislation and Law/Revue critique trimestrielle de jurisprudence et de législation* 95, 2 (2012), pp. 130–44.

19 Cf. studies on different regions, towns and territories, for example Renato Barahona, *Sex Crimes, Honour and the Law in Early Modern Spain, Viscaya 1528–1735* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016) or for Wales cf. Claire Louise Egan, *Community Conflict in Early-Modern South-West England: Provincial Libels and Their Performance Contexts* (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2014).

20 For a brief overview of the emergence of patriarchal order in early modern times and its perception in nineteenth-century scholarship cf. Claudia Ulbrich, "Gender Roles", in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online*, cf. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2352-0272_emho_COM_020052, last accessed 28 Sept. 2019.

21 E.g. Marianna Muravjeva (ed.), *Domestic Disturbances, Patriarchal Values: Violence, Family and Sexuality in Early Modern Europe, 1600–1900* (London: Routledge, 2017); Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History 1660–1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Cf. Michaela Hohkamp, "Grausamkeit blutet, Gerechtigkeit zwackt: Überlegungen zur Grenzziehung zwischen legitimer und nicht-legitimer Gewalt", in Magnus Eriksson and Barbara Krug-Richter (eds.), *Streitkulturen: Gewalt, Konflikt und Kommunikation in der landlichen Gesellschaft (16.–19. Jhd.)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 59–81; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Cynthia Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Don Herzog, *Household Politics: Conflict in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Roper, *The Holy Household*; Alexandra Lutz, *Ehepaare vor Gericht – Konflikte und Lebenswelten in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2006); Vitus Kapfelsperger, *Eheverfahren und Eheprozesse in Staat und Kirche – Eine rechtsvergleichende Betrachtung* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015).

22 Tim Stretton, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Tim Stretton and Krista Kesselring (eds.), *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Cordelia Beattie, *Married Women and the Law in Premodern Northwest Europe* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013).

23 Rebecca Mason, "Married Women, Property and Paraphernalia in Early Modern Scotland", in Anna Bellavitis (eds.), *Gender, Law and Economic Well-Being in Europe from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century: North Versus South?* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 200–14.

24 Cf. e.g. Lanzinger et al. (eds.), *Aushandeln von Ehe*; Margareth Lanzinger and Janine Maegraith, "Houses and the Range of Wealth in Early Modern Gender- and Intergenerational Relationships", *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte/European History Yearbook* 18 (2017), pp. 14–34; Alexandra Shepard, "Provision, Household Management and the Moral Authority of Wives and Mothers", in Michael J. Braddick and Phil Withington (eds.), *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of John Walter* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 73–90.

25 Capp, *When Gossips Meet*; Emily Cockayne, *Cheek by Jowl: A History of Neighbours* (London: Vintage, 2012); Eriksson and Krug-Richter (eds.), *Streitkulturen*; Julia Haack: *Der vergällte Alltag: Zur Streitkultur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008); Laura Kounine, "The Witch on Trial: Narratives of Conflict and Community in Early Modern Germany", in Stephen Cummins and Laura Kounine (eds.), *Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2017), pp. 229–54.

26 Tim Stretton offers an introduction to the legal structures and developments in early modern England in regard to its impact on disputes and conflict resolution. See Tim Stretton, "The People and the Law", in Keith Wrightson (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 199–220; for German legal culture see the volume Andreas Blauert and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Kriminalitätsgeschichte: Beiträge zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Vormoderne* (Konstanz: UVK, 2000).

27 The case is documented in the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Staatsarchiv Osnabrück (NLA OS), Dep 3b IV Nr. 239; NLA OS Dep 3b IX Nr. 311. See also for a broader discussion and all references to quotations Schmidt-Voges, *Mikropolitiken des Friedens*, pp. 262–77.

28 Cf. Hohkamp, "Grausamkeit blutet".

29 Quoted from Schmidt-Voges, *Mikropolitiken des Friedens*, p. 276.

30 The libel explicitly categorizes Sarah as "spinster". The Cause Papers of the Archbishopric of York, held at the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York (BIA UY): CP.I.2761; the analysis of the case is part of a larger study on practices of conflict management and peacemaking within local communities as 'Peacemaking from Below' focusing on eighteenth-century Yorkshire by Katharina Simon, forthcoming.

31 Bernard Capp, "The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England", *Past & Present* 162, 1 (1999), pp. 70–100 (75).

32 Cf. Adrian Wilson, *Ritual and Conflict: The Social Relations of Childbirth in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2013), chapter on "Legitimate and Bastard Births – Regimes of Punishment"; for the discourse of marriage as a discourse of order see Susanna Burghartz, *Zeiten der Reinheit – Orte der Unzucht: Ehe und Sexualität in Basel während der Frühen Neuzeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999).

33 The first extensive research on illegitimacy was conducted by Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan*

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); see a current research report in Samantha Williams, "The Maintenance of Bastard Children in London, 1790–1834", *The Economic History Review* 69, 3 (2016), pp. 945–71 (945–47).

34 For further information see Lawrence Stone's 'classic' overview: *Road to Divorce England 1530–1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); more recent studies on the topic are for example Keith A. Francis, "Canon Law Meets Unintended Consequences: The Church of England and the Clandestine Marriage Act of 1753", *Anglican and Episcopal History* 72, 4 (2003), pp. 451–87; Rebecca Probert, "The Impact of the Marriage Act of 1753: Was It Really 'A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex'?", *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, 2 (2005), pp. 247–62.

35 Many young couples trying to get married without their families' consent or to hide previous engagements decided to have the banns read in distant parishes or decided to elope. These practices were not outside the Churches' marriage regulations but bent them considerably causing room for misinterpretation and debates about their validity. Cf. Veronika Christine Pohlig, *Adultery in Early Stuart England* (PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 2009), p. 29.

36 Capp, "The Double Standard Revisited", pp. 75–76.

37 Nina Koefoed, "From Sinner to Parent: The Regulation of Non-Marital Sex in Denmark During the Eighteenth Century", *Women's History Magazine* 66 (2011), pp. 12–18 (13); Charles Donahue, *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Arguments About Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 215.

38 For example in Mary Dawson's testimony: BIA UY CP. I. 2761.

39 BIA UY CP.I. 2761. Petition of the churchwardens.

40 Helen Berry Elizabeth Foyster (eds.), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 213.

41 Hanna Waterhouse's testimony: BIA UY CP. I. 2761.

42 Words used in von Grace Marsden's testimony: BIA UY CP. I. 2761.

43 Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, pp. 57–58.

44 For an overlook see Griet Vermeesch, "The Legal Agency of Single Mothers: Lawsuits over Illegitimate Children and the Uses of Legal Aid to the Poor in the Dutch Town of Leiden (1750–1810)", *Journal of Social History* 50, 1 (2016), pp. 51–73.

45 Sarah's naming the father is mentioned in nearly all depositions. E.g. in BIA UY CP.I. 2761 Statements of Jane Sandall, Mary Dawson and Grace Marsden.

46 BIA UY CP.I. 2761. Statement of Thomas Gill. This was a common strategy in extrajudicial conflict settlements. See Glenn Kumhera, *The Benefits of Peace*, pp. 131, 145.

47 So stated in Thomas Gill's and Benjamin Sandall's testimonies, BIA UY CP.I. 2761.

48 Philippa Hoskin, Simon Sandall and Emma Watson, "The Court Records of the Diocese of York 1300–1858: An Under-Used Resource", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 83, 1 (2011), pp. 148–63 (151).

49 J.A Sharpe, "'Such Disagreement Betwyxt Neighbours': Litigation and Human Relations in Early Modern England", in John Bossy (ed.), *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1983), pp. 167–87 (174, 185).

50 In the eighteenth century, the 'traditional' priority on marrying the parents was gradually replaced by settling the maintenance of the child regardless of the parents' marriage status. Nina Koefoed shows this for Danmark in "From Sinner to Parent", pp. 12–18.

51 Malcolm Gaskell, "Little Commonwealths II: Communities", in Keith Wrightson (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 84–103 (90).

52 See the contributions in Ellinor Forster and Margareth Lanzinger (ed.), "Neues Recht", *Geschichte und Region* 20, 2 (2011) and Stretton, "The People and the Law", pp. 217–19.

PART VII

Emotions and intimacy

14
A SPACE OF EMOTIONS

Claudia Opitz-Belakhal

Introduction

For at least two centuries, the domestic sphere seems to have been the very space defined by emotion and intimacy. And yet, historians have begun to question this somehow a-historical notion of the 'private sphere' and its strong emotional basis. As early as 1960, French Annales-historian Philippe Ariès published a book on the history of childhood and the family, in which he argued quite convincingly that the emotionalized family is a modern phenomenon that did not exist before the eighteenth century.[1] During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a similar intense and emotion-based childcare would have been unknown. Around the same time, German philosopher and historian Jürgen Habermas argued in his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* that not only the family but also society in general changed profoundly during the early modern period. His main argument states that the emergence of a 'public sphere' went hand in hand with the emergence of a 'private sphere', increasingly separated from a public sphere outside the household and the family. One of the main aspects of this new 'private sphere' was its new forms of emotionality between parents and children, wife and husband. As 'private sphere', the household became the family's home, an idyllic space of rest and peace from a stressful 'outside', i.e. the business and political sphere.[2] It became a space of love and affection – a space of emotions.

This chapter first discusses Ariès's (and later Élisabeth Badinter's) seminal theses on substantial changes in parent–(or rather mother–)child relationships during the eighteenth century and beyond. It secondly explores changes in marital relations and emotions during the same time span. Finally, it looks at the 'dangerous' but thrilling emotional relationships of siblings which have been largely ignored by historians but cannot be overestimated regarding the creation of a private 'space of emotion' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[3]

State of research: Ariès, Badinter and beyond – the creation of an emotionalized 'private sphere'

In his seminal book on the history of childhood, first published in French in 1960 and subsequently translated into many other languages, Ariès argues that in the history of western

Europe, childhood is a modern concept initially emerging during the Renaissance and developing more rapidly from the eighteenth century onwards. The Middle Ages, in his view, had no notion of childhood; children were considered as 'little adults', weak and unimportant. Yet the modern concept of childhood considers children differently to adults, as particularly valuable and vulnerable beings who need protection, education, emotional attention and, above all, parental love. The rise of industrial production and nuclear families helped this historical process in many ways, particularly through the separation of work and education from the household and thus through the separation of children from adult society. New notions of childhood, according to Ariès, marked the process of modernization, characterized modern society and emerged only along with the establishment of modern institutions and organizations.[4] What is most important here is the fact that during this process, as Ariès suggests, the family became an increasingly emotion-based social unit and the household an emotional space, a home with children at its very centre.[5]

Ariès's book has raised considerable criticism, particularly from historians of the Middle Ages and antiquity who contest his assumption of 'the invention of childhood' in the early modern period, emphasizing the existing, albeit different concepts of childhood and childcare in the time periods before.[6] However, it is not his claim of a transformation from the seventeenth century onwards per se that is questionable and which is in fact supported by many other scholars. Rather, the fact that Ariès describes this process as a transition to the closed (nuclear) family with reduced social relationships to the outside world has been criticized. His key argument is tied to a modernization narrative where 'older' or 'traditional' collective structures, such as kinship and religious communities, seem to have declined and eventually vanished from the social arena. As many studies have demonstrated since, this assumption is clearly wrong: kinship solidarities, in particular, did not decline, but were strongly reinforced in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[7] However, with the beginning decline of agrarian society and the emergence of other forms of income – capital assets, credit, wages, the circulation of money, etc. – the traditional domestic model indeed entered a critical stage: emphasis shifted from the 'house', or rather household, as a stable unit rooted in a specific location to kinship as a dynamic group, defined by changing social relationships, but not necessarily structurally anchored in a specific place, a house or a landed estate. The unifying element of kinship was no longer the land and material building alone, but now consisted of personal *relations*, which are by their very nature unstable. Houses and families were in the long term not exclusively based on the continuation of the family name, buildings and patrimony, but had to be built and reshaped by every new generation. In this context, education became crucial in defining and shaping new relationships.

In this sense, the new affective family, which emerged in the sources of that period mostly issued from the social and cultural elites, appears to be part of a more general transformation of relatedness.[8] This change implied a substantial transformation of parenthood and had deep consequences for the very concept of education, since the transmission of adequate knowledge and attitudes was increasingly considered a central task of parents. In fact, education became a constitutive feature of the ideal new family, in so far as the kin group became a dynamic network based on active and emotional personal relations.

The years following the publication of Ariès's book saw a vivid debate about childhood concepts of pre-modern times, with most researchers such as Edward Shorter, Lawrence Stone and Lloyd De Mause agreeing with Ariès that there was no parental love protecting children before the eighteenth century.[9] In his book *The Making of the Modern Family*

Edward Shorter states that "[g]ood mothering is an invention of modernization".[10] While, according to him, "a 'residual affection' between parent and child – the product of a 'biological link' – has always existed", he also stressed that there was a "change in priority which the infant occupied in the mother's rational hierarchy of values" from the end of the eighteenth century.[11] French feminist philosopher and historian Élisabeth Badinter took up these ideas and arguments in her book *The Myth of Motherhood*, published in French in 1980 and translated into many languages over the following years.[12] She emphasized the growing burden of childcare and maternal love for women. In her view, the 'natural love' of mothers for their children was an invention of the reformers in Enlightenment and revolutionary France, particularly Rousseau, who wanted to exclude women from the public sphere and political engagement by tying them to the duties of bearing and rearing children. Badinter argued that before the French Revolution, mothers of all social strata were not heavily engaged in child rearing – a child was "more often considered a nuisance, or even a misfortune".[13] So deeply anchored were these practices of negligence of siblings and small children, according to Badinter, that even after the publication of Rousseau's revolutionary educational novel, *Emile*, "it took almost one hundred years to subdue most mothers' selfishness and indifference."[14]

Although Badinter's argument was based on an extended corpus of source material, not many researchers followed her argument that motherly love was an invention of Enlightenment scholars and philosophers. In fact, the debate on the duties of motherhood and especially the criticism of bad mothers along with bad wet-nurses and their vices and faults concerning child-rearing and breastfeeding is centuries old.[15] Late medieval sources already testify to it – and the criticism seems to have been driven by the same concerns and arguments than those of the eighteenth century: the survival of the baby as well as the survival of society and nation seem to have been based largely if not exclusively on the virtues of mothers (and to some extent, of wet-nurses). Maternal love and protection seem to have been the key for children's welfare already in Renaissance moralistic writing – very much as in the Enlightenment debate on the 'nature' of women and her adequate role in a reasonably constituted family and society. And it was closely linked to concepts of cities' or republics' health, survival and good morals.[16] Clearly, mothers cared for their children very much in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – and long before even then. However, they became an even more ambitious target for pedagogues who recommended good breeding practices and infant care to mothers during this 'century of education and pedagogy'. More importantly, a growing number of women were able to read books that were written for this very purpose, particularly addressing a female public; and, no doubt, they even read Rousseau's *Emile*. Johann Michael Hudtwalcker, for example, a merchant from Hamburg, wrote in the biography of his wife, published in 1804, that she had started to read Rousseau and other famous pedagogical author's books on education as soon as they got married because she did not want to have children before being instructed on it.[17]

Of course, eighteenth-century mothers also learned mothering practices from other women (particularly their own mothers). In fact, as Linda Pollock stated, parental care "appears to have altered little from the sixteenth century to date". But when one looks closer to the source material, there were some important changes, particularly during the eighteenth century. Diarists and letter writers from the end of the seventeenth century onwards show a growing concern for the moral well-being and treatment of particularly their own children, but also children in general. "From the eighteenth century on, parents

began to be more concerned with 'training' a child in order to ensure that he or she absorbed the correct values and beliefs and would grow into a model citizen."[18]

Moreover, from the eighteenth century there was a public concern for women as future mothers being well prepared and educated for their 'natural duty'. As German education historian Pia Schmid has shown, it was not only practices but also emotional attitudes that Enlightenment reading material for women, books and articles in women's journals tried to teach them. The 'good mother' was a *loving* mother, a female person who cared even more for her baby and child as it was her natural as well as her most important social duty.[19] Maternal love, then, did not happen as 'naturally' as pregnancy and birth; it had to be learned and trained. That mothers genuinely suffered from the illnesses and death of their children can be taken for granted.[20] Nonetheless, the way these feelings were (and could be) expressed in letters, diaries and other ego documents, differed much from earlier times.[21]

The eighteenth-century debate on motherhood and childcare was not exclusively based on scientific, medical or political arguments. One cannot ignore the growing importance of emotions that are *sui generis* part of the line of argument. Of course, 'natural' maternal love seems to have been the main concern of Enlightenment authors, as Badinter underlines. But a closer look at the sources Badinter used, such as Rousseau's *Emile*, also reveals an extended debate on fathering and paternal love, which emerged at the same time as the debate on women's 'natural' role as mother and child-rearer. Indeed, one can on the whole read Rousseau's *Emile* as a book on good fathering, as the educator's role is paralleled with a good father's behaviour and educating practices. In the fifth and final chapter of his *Emile, or On Education*, Rousseau wrote:

> Instead of providing a wife for Emile in childhood, I have waited till I knew what would suit him. It is not for me to decide, but for nature; my task is to discover the choice she has made. My business, mine I repeat, not his father's; for when he entrusted his son to my care, he gave up his place to me. He gave me his rights; it is I who am really Emile's father; it is I who have made a man of him. I would have refused to educate him if I were not free to marry him according to his own choice, which is mine. Nothing but the pleasure of bestowing happiness on a man can repay me for the cost of making him capable of happiness.[22]

Rousseau's new utopian concept of educating children following 'nature', thus creating a new political society, addressed his male readers to an even greater extent than his female ones, as was the case with most other Enlightened pedagogical authors. In highly emotional terms, he underlined the duties of a loving father at the very end of his novel:

> One morning a few months later Emile enters my room and embraces me, saying, "My master, congratulate your son; he hopes soon to have the honour of being a father. What a responsibility will be ours, how much we shall need you! Yet God forbid that I should let you educate the son as you educated the father. God forbid that so sweet and holy a task should be fulfilled by any but myself, even though I should make as good a choice for my child as was made for me! But continue to be the teacher of the young teachers. Advise and control us; we shall be easily led; as long as I live I shall need you. I need you more than ever now that I am taking up the duties of manhood. You have done your own duty; teach me to follow your example, while you enjoy your well-earned leisure.[23]

Indeed, the love of fathers for their children was by no means absent, neither in moralistic nor in political writings, let alone more 'private' sources such as letters, diaries and other ego documents.[24] And it was by no means only focused on (elder) sons but also on infants and daughters. See, for example, the *paterfamilias* Ferdinand Beneke, a lawyer from the imperial city of Hamburg, born in 1774, who noted in his diary six weeks before his wife Karoline was giving birth to a little girl that he no longer dared to walk around the whole city walls of Hamburg with his pregnant wife, fearing for the health of "the third being that is with us".[25] When his little daughter was born – a dramatic and challenging moment in his life, as he described it in his diary – he fell immediately in love with the beautiful and charming little girl and was so happy about her that he could hardly describe it. Some 20 years earlier, Margarethe Milow, the wife of a pastor from Hamburg, described in her memoirs her husband's enthusiasm when he learned that she was pregnant. Not even a queen's pregnancy could have been welcomed more heartily, she wrote. Her husband loved her even more than before, and was full of sorrow and care for her and the little being in her belly.[26]

Indeed, most fathers suffered when they faced the untimely death of one of their children. They wrote about it in letters to dear friends and relatives, but even more frequently confided their emotions to their diaries. One of these suffering fathers, the lawyer and Senator Martin Hieronymus Hudtwalcker from Hamburg, noted in March 1821 that "God's heavy hand lay hard" on him when his daughter Marie fell sick with a strong influenza and fever. The very moment she recovered, his most beloved 11-month-old baby-son, his "idol" ("der Abgott meiner Seele"), as he wrote, fell ill, too – and died soon after. The father spent almost as much time by his infant's bed as the mother and tried to overcome his grief with moralizing phrases, self-reflections and sweet memories of his "angelical son".[27]

As Yvonne Kniebiehler, Anne-Charlott Trepp, Maurice Daumas, Joanne Bailey and others have shown, there was as much a 'cult of a new fatherhood' during the period of Enlightenment and thereafter as there was a 'cult of a new motherhood'.[28] The new concept of fatherhood went along with individualization and a new interest in children's education and welfare. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that mothers became the centre of (middle-class) family life – or, to put it differently, that they were left alone with their children in the emerging 'private sphere'. The father was still, in the early nineteenth century, the centre of the family life – or better, the head of the family – as we can learn from both legal sources and ego documents of the time. He was responsible for the juridical and economic aspects of family life, its 'governor' or even 'king'.[29]

As the Enlightened political discourse – at least in France – turned increasingly hostile towards the monarchy, it also became more critical of the traditional paternalistic family model. Fraternity, not paternity, emerged as the new principle of both family and society.[30] However, Enlightened authors did not intend to abolish paternal power altogether (not even radical republicans went this far!). Rather, they tried to smooth its impact by claiming paternal love as a remedy against paternal tyranny.[31] This emotionalization of parental love, which can be observed already from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, was clearly a powerful strategy for the 'naturalization' of the family sphere and its separation from the 'political' or public – but it was by no means a-political. As Joanne Bailey underlines:

> First [...] there was an increased emphasis upon openly demonstrative affection between husband and wife and parent and child, with a celebration of emotional over instrumental bonds. Second, patriarchy (defined here as men's authority over

household and family) was in transition from an overt, authoritarian form to a covert version that brought out companionship and tenderness. The latter did not, however, diminish male authority.[32]

From inequality to romantic love? Marriage and emotions in the Enlightenment

The early modern household was based on a married heterosexual couple with their children and other household members, including housemaids and servants, relatives and/or guests.[33] This household seems to have been based on material as opposed to emotional goods, values and interests. Thus, the idea of love as a *constituens* of marriage seems to have been quite unknown until modernity. Marriage in civil law was notoriously not a union of two equals; as a consequence, a marital relationship could not even be friendship, since friendship was considered a relationship between equals. Marital guardianship, one of the legal cornerstones of marriage, gave the husband the legal title to the person and property of the wife, which remained unchanged by the reformed civil law codifications at the end of the eighteenth century: the Prussian *Allgemeines Landrecht* (1794), the Austrian *Josephinisches Gesetzbuch* (1787) and the *Code Civil* (1807) in France.[34] The husband had the right to make decisions in all questions concerning marital life, such as place of residence and living quarters of the family. His name automatically became the marital and family name. Moreover, according to the legal status of property, he could dispose of his wife's assets as he saw fit, manage them and use them as a beneficiary. He had 'parental authority' over the children, and he alone was their legal representative. The wife, on the other hand, was relegated to the domestic sphere. She was entitled and duty-bound to conduct the common household of the couple. Viewed from a legal perspective, gender relations in marriage at this time had very little in common with our current notions of partnership. How then could there be '(romantic) love' or any other positive emotion within the married couple?

The history of romantic love is a very long story – and literary history has been concerned with romantic love for centuries. Despite this, there was and still is an enormous lack of research on the emotional relationships of married couples in early modern and Enlightenment Europe. Anne-Charlott Trepp deplores that until recently the history of marriage and the family has focused on material, social or sexual problems and practices, rather than on emotions. Only for the short period of Romanticism has love marriage been a topic of the history of emotions.[35]

However, the debate on 'true love' as the basis for marriage dates at least back to the eighteenth century. The ideas of self-determination, individualization and personal claims to happiness that emerged during this time influenced members of both sexes. Growing self-determination went hand in hand with an increased emotionalization of pre-marriage communication and letter writing. In fact, during this period debates about married life were abundant in Europe.[36] As the educator Johann Heinrich Campe wrote[37], scholars and writers, as well as educated women and men, discussed questions concerning the proper forms of family life and marriage for the 'fortunate middle class' (*glückliche Mittelstand*). 'Domestic happiness' (*häusliche Glückseligkeit*) was claimed to be the aim of all humans and the source of communal as well as national welfare. The relationship between husband and wife as the very basis of household, family and society was at the centre of these discussions, not only in Enlightenment Germany but also throughout the rest of Europe. The idea of marital unions formed by a loving couple not only became the object of an important

socio-political and ethical discourse but also influenced the choice of marriage partners – at least among the middle class, as Trepp underlines. "It was a predominant theme in the sentimental and romantic literature of the time, it was staged in theaters and expounded upon in contemporary journals".[38]

When it came to marriages based on romantic love, even parental authority was challenged publicly. In 1781, court physician (*kurfürstliche Leibarzt*) Franz May warned against parents' unreasonable opposition to an acceptable marriage of their daughters and against forcing them into unwanted marriage due to miserliness, aspirations or similar motives.[39]

In Hamburg and other German imperial cities, many young women and men considered a 'love marriage' the most, or even the only, desirable form of coupling. Young people were allowed to meet with members of the opposite sex during social events, dinner parties and dancing. Youngsters of both sexes enjoyed significant personal freedom in their search for a partner, though their parents still had a say too. In Protestant German imperial cities, as well as in English towns, they were allowed to choose their partners following their emotional motivations, thereby, as Rousseau put it, following their 'nature' – but only within the same social ranks. The fact that they were not completely free in their choice is shown the by conflicts resulting from uneven matches or transgressing confessional boundaries, which were still a major problem in the eighteenth century – excluding the few years of revolutionary upheaval between 1789 and 1815. Anne-Charlott Trepp states that such conflicts appear more frequently in the sources from 1800 onwards, which indicates a new *individual* claim to romantic love and happiness in marriages.[40]

However, most marriages among the wealthy bourgeoisie in German imperial cities, as well as early modern Swiss city states, followed traditional reasons for matching: wealth, social position and prestige of the families played a role in pre-marital flirtation, as Rebekka Habermas has shown in her study on families in Nuremberg at the end of the eighteenth century, especially for young women. The question of 'money or love' – material vs. emotional fulfilment – was rarely mentioned in the ego documents studied by Trepp and Habermas. The ideal combination was 'money *and* love', i.e. a mix of material and emotional interests.[41]

The contemporary description of most marriage matches being love marriages, although they were often also based on material and social motivations, can be explained with the emotionalized language of the time that dominated most of the ego documents studied by Habermas, Trepp and others.[42] At the same time, it can also be argued, as Trepp does, that "emotional and material needs could, of course, be fulfilled by one and the same person", particularly if this person was firmly anchored in the (more or less wealthy and educated) bourgeois middle class, sharing its values and its 'emotional style'.[43]

As Joanne Bailey sums up,

> the increasing idealization of love between spouses is evident in print culture from the mid-eighteenth century. [...] Moral commentators in Britain, North America, and France attacked marriages made purely to further financial interests. Popular sentimental fiction effused over perfect matches forged through friendship, heart-racing emotions, and joint benevolence for others. Differences in timing are noticeable, as this sentimentalized image only fully flourished after 1800 in countries such as Germany, Sweden and Norway. Without diagnosing it

> as a generational chance in family behavior, it is evident that individuals adopted the sentimental vocabulary of a union of hearts.[44]

Indeed, the emotional(ized) relationship between a young couple was intended to last far beyond the wedding – matrimony celebrations became increasingly emotionalized and sacralized – and ought to culminate in a shared and emotionally-based parenthood.[45]

Love between siblings

While the relationships of parents and children, and of married couples, as the basic units of an emotionalized 'private sphere' have been objects of research for more than half a century, the state of scholarship is rather different for other members of this 'space of emotions', particularly for (emotional) relations between siblings. They have until recently mostly been studied in the context of early modern noble families, where source material is available in abundance – rather than in view of bourgeois families and their family interrelationships.[46]

Yet emotional relationships between siblings were far from unimportant in early modern and, particularly, in Enlightenment discourse (and practices, although we do not know very much about it). Particularly in literary texts of the second half of the eighteenth century, passionate love between a brother and a sister was as much a theme as romantic love between unrelated men and women. While, as mentioned before, the latter was increasingly eroticized, the former was described as the example of an a-sexual, or at least platonic, form of passionate love between the sexes, based on equality rather than on (marital or gender) hierarchy.[47]

In fact, (passionate) love between siblings was not absent from earlier discourses, as David Sabean has underlined. From the seventeenth century, it became the very trope of 'incest', describing a scandalous and even criminal behaviour. Very different from our modern ideas, incest in early modern Europe did not refer to the illicit sexual relationship of a father with his daughter (even less of a mother with her son), but first and foremost a relationship between brother(-in law) and sister(-in law). With regard to sibling relations, both theologians and jurists did not recognize a difference between siblings of 'blood' and persons who were related through marriage.[48] This was due to a firmly established notion of family and kinship, based on Christian norms and teaching.[49]

However, the traditional concept of 'incest' changed dramatically during the eighteenth century – although the legal basis of marriage and of incest did not necessarily change with the exception of Prussia and revolutionary France.[50] This can only be explained, following Sabean, by a substantial change in emotionality within family and society. For him, the time between 1740 and 1840 was a period during which the relationships between brothers and sisters were shaped by the language and practices of friendship and love – for example through letter writing, such as the correspondence between Johann Wolfgang Goethe and his sister Cornelia Goethe in the 1770s.[51] It is fair to say that during this period the love between sister and brother was the prime example of love and emotion between the sexes. Social and physical similarities, as well as equality, closeness of kin and character were the ideal background for a couple's emotional life; relatedness of souls and friendship were even more important. Many authors, literary writers, philosophers and others, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, believed that all this could be found in siblings' relationships – more than in any other couple. Even contemporary encyclopaedias and lexica echoed this view.[52]

Yet not only normative and literary texts illustrate the crucial importance of siblings' emotions as exemplary for romantic love in general: an example of such a passionate siblings' love story – and by far not the only one – is the family Brentano. Around the year 1800, the later famous German poet Clemens Brentano fell in love with his teenage sister Bettine. Both were grandchildren of the famous eighteenth-century novel writer Sophie von La Roche and son and daughter of a wealthy merchant from the German imperial city of Frankfurt, Peter Anton Brentano, and his wife, Maximiliane von La Roche. Clemens was not at all ashamed of this love for his sister, confessing it freely to his bride, Sophie Mereau, in several letters. In these letters, sister and bride seem almost identical, interchangeable, even rivals for Clemens Brentano's passionate love. Moreover, Brentano asked his bride to love his sister as much as he did himself, asking thereby as it were for a 'ménage à trois'. This, however, was too much for the young bride. Mereau became jealous of this nearly 'incestuous' love affair. Brentano tried to calm her down, swearing to love her, his lawful bride and future wife, in a very different way than his sister for whom he felt not a shameful, but a wholly sanctified 'pure' love. The Brentano siblings' love affair was in fact not as scandalous as one might think. Bettine published their letters later as *Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz* (Clemens Brentano's Spring Garland).[53] By then Brentano had already become one of the most famous poets of the Romantic era, and a role model for many other people, authors and readers alike.[54]

As many literary historians have shown, in England as well as in Germany and France, the idea of a loving pair of siblings went hand in hand with the new ideal of love marriage, at the same time becoming a very important (and fairly new) symbol of the families' 'private space' of emotions.[55]

Conclusion

Following William Reddy's ground-breaking argument in his book *The Navigation of Feeling*, one can easily detect a new 'emotional regime' concerning marriage and the family at the end of the eighteenth century, at least in revolutionary France.[56] This change was not a sudden one – in fact, emotional codes and behaviour do not change quickly, as we know from one of the 'fathers' of the history of emotions, Lucien Febvre.[57] Emotions are part of the 'longue durée' phenomena, deeply rooted in cultural traditions and the materiality of body and mind.[58]

However, during the eighteenth century, we can observe an increasing emotionalization of family life and the 'private sphere', and the creation of an emotional space that had not existed before. This is not only true for the Protestant middle classes in north-western Europe but also for Catholic France, as has been shown by Maurice Daumas in his book *Le mariage amoureux*, published in 2004.[59] 'Love and affection' became the key to overcoming traditional inequalities and, at the same time, maintain authorities and hierarchies still considered crucial for social structures and interactions. In revolutionary France, this new 'emotional regime' led to the introduction of rather modern civil marriage and divorce laws concerning the choice of marriage partners and the separation for cause of 'disharmonious characters' of husband and wife.[60]

Yet even beyond revolutionary France, substantial changes can be observed, at least in emotional styles, if not even in emotional regimes. Particularly the separation of family life from an increasingly more 'public' sphere, due to changes in economic and professional life, allowed for new emotional codes or styles in, what was now, the 'private sphere'. This development occurred along with a broad range of changes such as secularization and the

improvement of schooling and education. The important increase of alphabetization and education for middle-class women formed an essential and necessary basis for a more emotional relationship between husband and wife in the second half of the eighteenth century. This was based on common reading and writing practices and lead to a more communication-based family life.[61] Moreover, it helped spread the new style of emotionality and loving that authors and philosophers like Rousseau had developed. Many members of both sexes adopted this new style and used it in their own letters, diaries or autobiographical writings of all kinds.

On the other hand, new forms of work organization increasingly separated the lives of the spouses. Instead of working together or side-by-side in the household as the early modern "married work couples" (*Ehe- und Arbeitspaar*)[62] had done, communication about various literary forms and contents, such as educational treatises, sermons and novels, now formed the core of marital relationships. These romantic-love-based couples and families increasingly spent their time doing communal reading and participating in intellectual or even spiritual debates.[63] Particularly in Pietist, non-orthodox Protestant families one can identify such a new style of communication and understanding, and there are similar examples from secularized France.[64] The same holds true for the more emotionalized relationships between parents and their children that included fathers as well as mothers, which applied to children even of very young age. And this was even more so the case for siblings and their (at times illicit, at times exemplary) passionate love.

This is not to claim that there were only happy, romantic marriages around 1800 or that this new emotionalized family life was thoroughly harmonious. As Elizabeth Foyster and James Marten put it,

> rather than the emotional content, it was the cultural context in which family life was conducted that marked the eighteenth century as different from the preceding centuries. The collection of ideas, values, and beliefs known as the Enlightenment fundamentally altered the ways in which the family was understood. [...] Although these archetypical family structures and forms of childhood perhaps never came to represent the actual experience of the majority of Western families, they nevertheless became standards against which parents, children, commentators, policy makers, and many others measured the success or failure of families.[65]

Precisely the fact that emotions formed the primary binding element of a marriage could make it fragile and susceptible to interferences of several kinds. Some contemporaries criticized it for this very reason: in 1821, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel warned against the danger of the "transient, capricious, and purely subjective aspects of love",[66] which thus could not be relied on. Indeed, a number of couples struggled their whole married life to deal with those transient, capricious and purely subjective aspects of their love. Still, neither the great thinker Hegel nor these more or less unhappy couples could put a stop to the new 'emotional style' of marriage and family life. Hence, the private sphere had definitively become a 'natural' space of emotions.

Notes

1 Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1960); an English version appeared soon after: Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

2 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* [1961] (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); on the emotionalization of the modern 'private sphere' see Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

3 In this chapter, I focus on the social and emotional history of continental Europe, i.e. Switzerland and the Old German Empire, and to a lesser extent on France and England. For Britain see Elizabeth Foyster and James Marten (eds.), *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Age of Enlightenment* (Oxford: Berg, 2010).

4 See Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas May Saflex, "Introduction", in Jarzebowski and Saflex (ed.), *Childhood and Emotion Across Cultures 1450–1800* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 2.

5 Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, passim. Ariès repeated his main arguments in the introduction to the four-volume handbook on the history of the private sphere. See Philippe Ariès, "Pour une histoire de la vie privée", in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (eds.), *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 3 (Paris: Seuil, 1985), pp. 7–19 (14–19).

6 Guillaume Gros, "Philippe Ariès: naissance et postérité d'un modèle interprétatif de l'enfance", *Histoire de l'éducation* 125 (2010), pp. 49–72 (68).

7 See Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Christopher Johnson, "Das 'Geschwister Archipel': Bruder-Schwester-Liebe und Klassenformation im Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts", *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 13, 1 (2002), pp. 50–68; David W. Sabean, Simon Teuscher, Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to the Long-Term Development (1300–1900)* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

8 See David W. Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long-Term Development", in Sabean, Teuscher and Mathieu (eds.) *Kinship in Europe*, pp. 1–32.

9 For an exhaustive presentation of the debate in the 1970s and 1980s see Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), chap. 1 and 2; and Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (New York: Longman, 2005); as well as Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh in their introduction to *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1–16.

10 Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 168.

11 Shorter, *The Making*, p. 5.

12 Élisabeth Badinter, *L'amour en plus* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980).

13 Élisabeth Badinter, *The Myth of Motherhood* (London: Souvenir Press, 1981), p. 39.

14 Badinter, *The Myth*, p. 168.

15 Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, "Pflicht-Gefühl: Zur Codierung von Mutterliebe zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung", in Ingrid Kasten, Gesa Stedman and Margarete Zimmermann (eds.), *Kulturen der Gefühle in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), pp. 154–70; see also Maurice Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux: Histoire du lien conjugal sous l'Ancien Règime* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004), pp. 163–71.

16 See for example Yvonne Kniebiehler and Catherine Fouquet, *L'histoire des mères, du moyen-âge à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), pp. 144–55; Claudia Opitz, "The Myth of Motherhood Revisited: Reflexions on Motherhood and Female (In-)Equality During the Enlightenment", in Hans Erich Bödeker and Lieselotte Steinbrügge (eds.), *Conceptualising Woman in Enlightenment Thought* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2001), pp. 75–88; for more recent research literature see Joanne Bailey, "Family Relationships", in Foyster and Marten (eds.), *A Cultural History*, pp. 16–31.

17 Johann Michael Hudtwalcker, *Elisabeth Hudtwalcker, geb. Moller, gestorben den 22 Nov. 1804: Eine Biographie* (Hamburg: Schniebes Verlag, 1804), p. 13.

18 Pollock, *Forgotten Children*, p. 269.

19 Pia Schmid, "O, wie süß lohnt das Muttergefühl! Die Bestimmung zur Mutter in Almanachen für das weibliche Publikum um 1800", in Claudia Opitz, Ulrike Weckel and Elke Kleinau (eds.), *Tugend, Vernunft und Gefühl: Geschlechterdiskurse der Aufklärung und weibliche Lebenswelten* (Münster: Wallstein, 2000), pp. 107–25; see equally Yvonne Schütze, *Die gute Mutter: Zur Geschichte des normativen Musters 'Mutterliebe'* (Bielefeld: Kleine, 1986).

20 See examples from rural Germany (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries) in Eva Labouvie, *Andere Umstände: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Geburt* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), pp. 158–97.

21 In fact, there is a shift in 'emotional styles' during the second half of the eighteenth century, along with a certain 'feminization' of 'ego documents' that helped bring about this change in the history

of family and emotionality. See Benigna von Krusenstjern, "Schreibende Frauen in der Stadt der Frühen Neuzeit", in Daniela Hacke (ed.), *Frauen in der Stadt: Selbstzeugnisse des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004), pp. 41–58; Anne-Charlott Trepp, "Gefühl oder kulturelle Konstruktion? Überlegungen zur Geschichte der Emotionen", in Ingrid Kasten, Gesa Stedman and Margarete Zimmermann (eds.), *Kulturen der Gefühle in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), pp. 86–103.

22 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, or on Education* (1762), translated by Barbara Foxley MA (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1921, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1921). See https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/rousseau-emile-or-education (369), last accessed 27 Feb. 2020.

23 See https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/rousseau-emile-or-education (444), last accessed 15 July 2019.

24 See again Daumas who thinks that paternal love came up only within the new 'family system' after the *révolution sentimentale* which includes mothers as well as fathers, siblings and other family members. See Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux*, p. 169; and, more recently, Bailey, "Family relationships", pp. 24–26; Joanne Bailey, "Paternal Power: The Pleasures and Perils of 'Indulgent' Fathering in Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century", *The History of the Family* 17, 3 (2012), pp. 326–42. Rainer Wild shows that many education manuals of the Enlightenment exclusively addressed fathers. See Rainer Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter: Zur Psychographie von Bürgerlichkeit und Aufklärung am Beispiel ihrer Literatur für Kinder* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1981).

25 [Translated by COB]; the original source is cited in Anne-Charlott Trepp, "Männerwelten privat: Vaterschaft im späten 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert", in Thomas Kühne (ed.), *Männergeschichte – Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1995), pp. 31–55 (34).

26 "Schwerlich kann die Ankündigung der Schwangerschaft einer Königin eine solche Freude verursachen, als die von meiner. Milow liebte mich nun beynahe noch inniger, hertzlicher wie vorher, wandte nun alles, was mir schädlich sein möchte, von mir ab, sorgte so sehr für mich" in Margarethe Elisabeth Milow, *Ich will aber nicht murren* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1993), p. 133.

27 See for the original German quote Martin Hieronymus Hudtwalcker, *Ein halbes Jahrhundert aus meiner Lebensgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Hamburg: Rauhes Haus, 1862–1864), pp. 70–71.

28 See Yvonne Kniebiehler, *Les pères aussi ont une histoire* (Paris: Hachette, 1987), chap. 4; Trepp, "Männerwelten privat", passim; Bailey, "Family Relationships", pp. 23–25; Bailey, "Paternal Power"; Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux*.

29 On marriage and gender inequality in eighteenth-century German civil law see Rebekka Habermas, "Master and Subject, or Inequality as Felicious Opportunity: Gender Relations of the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class", in Ulrike Gleixner and Marion W. Gray (eds.), *Gender in Transition: Discourse and Practice in German Speaking Europe 1750–1830* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 114–33; for France see Lynn Hunt, "Révolution française et vie privée", in Michelle Perrot (ed.), *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 4: *De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), pp. 20–51.

30 See for this change in the political as well as in the emotional regime Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1992); and Mukul Asthana, "Fraternity: A Political Ideal", *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 53, 1 (1992), pp. 118–24.

31 See Claudia Opitz, "Wandel der Vaterrolle in der Aufklärung?", in Opitz, *Aufklärung der Geschlechter: Revolution der Geschlechterordnung: Studien zur Politik und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Waxmann, 2002), pp. 21–38.

32 Bailey, "Family Relationships", p. 16; see for German and French (literary) discourses Judith Frömmer, *Vaterfiktionen: Empfindsamkeit und Patriarchat in der Literatur der Aufklärung* (Munich: Fink, 2008).

33 On servants and other persons in the early modern household in regard to emotions, as well as on the history of emotions in early modern times in general, see Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household 1200–1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillang, 2008); and Susan Broomhall, "Introduction", in ibid., pp. 1–37.

34 See Edith Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit: Geschlechterbeziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), esp. chap. 1, pp. 21–34; and Silvana Seidel Menchi (ed.), *Marriage in Europe 1400–1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

35 See e.g. Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, vol. 2: *The Tender Passion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*,

vol. 1: *Education of the Senses* (New York: Oxford University Publications, 1984); Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History. How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

36 See Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit*, pp. 21–63; Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

37 Johann Heinrich Campe, *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter. Ein Gegenstück zum Theophron. Der erwachsenen weiblichen Jugend gewidmet* (Braunschweig: Verlag der Schulbuchhandlung, 1791), pp. 38–68.

38 Anne-Charlott Trepp, "'Never Have I Been Able to Bear the Thought of Wishing to Give Myself Up Either Here or There!': Marital Relationships of the Bourgeoisie at the End of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", in Hans Erich Bödeker and Lieselotte Steinbrügge (eds.), *Conceptualising Women in Enlightenment Thought* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2001), pp. 89–112 (95–96). This is true even for lower-class marital matches as Arno Haldemann shows in his PhD dissertation on conflicts over marriages in the Bernese city state during the Helvetic revolution. See Arno Haldemann, "Prekäre Eheschliessungen: Eigensinnige Heiratsbegehren und Bevölkerungspolitik in Bern, 1742–1848" (PhD diss., University of Berne, 2019).

39 Franz May, *Vorbeugungsmittel wider den Kindsmord: Für Seelsorger, Eltern, Polizeiverwalter, Wundärzte und Geburtshelfer* (Mannheim, 1781), p. 34, cit. in Trepp, "'Never Have I Been Able to", p. 96. The parents' important role in this decision-making is visible in most of the sources. See e.g. the case of the family Wertmüller from Zurich (Switzerland), where the young couple had had a romantic relationship long before the parents learned about it through an "official letter" from the hopeful groom to the future bride's parents. See Elisabeth Joris, "... der Himmel hat uns dagegen mit Gütern entschädigt ...": Geschlechter- und Familienkonzeptionen in der Korrespondenz einer Schweizer Pfarrfamilie (1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts)", in Christa Hämmerle and Edith Saurer (eds.), *Briefkulturen und ihr Geschlecht: Zur Geschichte der privaten Korrespondenz vom 16. Jahrhundert bis heute* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 89–112.

40 Trepp, "Marital Relationships", pp. 96–97; see also Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Berlin: Siedler, 1989), p. 94 and pp. 136–37; and Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), part III. Parents always decided over marriage matches far into the nineteenth century; see Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit*, pp. 34–74.

41 Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, p. 399. Especially for wealthy (Swiss) merchant families, the intermarriage of their children, both sons and daughters, was vital for their economic success and for maintaining their social and political status. See Elisabeth Joris, "Kinship and Gender: Property, Enterprise and Politics", in Sabean, Teuscher and Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe*, pp. 231–57.

42 Bailey, "Family Relationships", pp. 22–23.

43 Trepp, "Never Have I Been Able to", p. 98.

44 Bailey, "Family Relationships", p. 22–23. These lifelong relationships included, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century, sexual and erotic relations. Especially the romantic marriage underlined the necessity to unite emotional and erotic connections between husband and wife although the 'union of the hearts' was kept in higher esteem. See Anne-Charlott Trepp, "Emotion und bürgerliche Sinnstiftung oder die Metaphysik des Gefühls: Liebe am Beginn des bürgerlichen Zeitalters", in Manfred Hettling and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (eds.), *Der bürgerliche Wertehimmel: Innenansichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 23–56.

45 See Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, p. 399; Trepp, "Emotion und bürgerliche Sinnstiftung", pp. 42–50.

46 They are not considered in the otherwise highly reflective and informative chapters of Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household*; for sibling relations in the German nobility of the seventeenth century see Sophie Ruppel, *Verbündete Rivalen: Geschwisterbeziehungen im Hochadel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006); the chapters concerning relationships between sisters in Eva Labouvie (ed.), *Schwestern und Freundinnen: Zur Kulturgeschichte weiblicher Kommunikation* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), exclusively focus on noble families' daughters and sisters; some exceptions are David W. Sabean, "Inzestdiskurse vom Barock bis zur Romantik", *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 13, 1 (2002), pp. 7–28; the chapters of the editors in Christopher H. Johnson and David Sabean (eds.), *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Claudia Jarzebowski, *Inzest: Verwandtschaft und Sexualität im 18. Jahrhundert*

(Vienna: Böhlau, 2006); Lenore Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

47 See Franziska Frei Gerlach, "'Eins werden und bleiben': Die Verhandlungen um Liebe, Freundschaft und Geschwisterschaft in Jacobis Woldemar", *Feministische Studien* 26, 1 (2008), pp. 19–34; see equally Franziska Frei Gerlach, *Geschwister: Ein Narrativ bei Jean Paul und um 1800* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012).

48 See Sabean, "Inzestdiskurse vom Barock", pp. 18–21; and Christopher H. Johnson and David W. Sabean, "Introduction", in Johnson and Sabean (eds.), *Sibling Relations*, pp. 1–30.

49 Sabean's clear-cut distinction between incest between siblings and incest between fathers and daughters is questionable for it was not as strictly separated as he suggests. However, both forms of incest were incriminated and severely punished in early modern Germany, thus he is perfectly right in underlining the religious origins of early modern criminal as well as marriage law. Following Jarzebowski, sexual relationships with members of a step family or between cousins were regarded (and punished) as incest in the same way as sexual relations within the nuclear family without any differentiation. See Jarzebowksi, *Inzest*, pp. 102–41.

50 See on the 'revolutionary' new Prussian marriage law of 1740, which reduced criminal incest-relations considerably, Jarzebowski, *Inzest*, pp. 63–86.

51 See Ulrike Prokop, *Die Illusion vom großen Paar*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991).

52 See e.g. the brothers Grimm's *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1854 seq.) on "Bruder, Schwester, Geschwister", quoted in Frei Gerlach, "'Eins werden und bleiben'", p. 23, footnote 26.

53 Lieselotte Kinskofer (ed.), *Clemens Brentano: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 30, 2: *'Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz' und handschriftlich überlieferte Briefe Brentanos an Bettine 1800–1803* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 112, 188 and 287–88; see for this 'love story' Sabean, "Inzestdiskurse vom Barock", pp. 24–26; similar cases of a 'ménage a trois' between a married couple and an unwed sister in the nineteenth century can be found in Leonore Davidoff, "'Eins sein zu zweit': Geschwisterinzest in der englischen Mittelschicht des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts", in *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 13, 1 (2002), pp. 29–50.

54 See Frei Gerlach, *Geschwister*, who discusses German literary debates on siblings. See also Peter L. Thorslev Jr., "Incest as Romantic Symbol", *Comparative Literary Studies* 2, 1 (1965), pp. 41–58; Julie Shaffer, "Familial Love, Incest, and Female Desire in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century British Women's Novels", *Criticism* 41, 1 (1999), pp. 67–99; and Jaqueline Chammas, *L'incest romanesque au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011). Of course it is not easy to find evidence of non-literary forms of incestual relationships, not only between sisters and brothers but also between fathers and their daughters or between other close relatives. However, Jaqueline Chammas has detected some of these relationships (*L'incest Romanesque*, pp. 17–54). She shows, for example, that the French King Louis XV took as his 'maitresses' several sisters, one after the other. Another example is Voltaire, who had an illicit but fairly open sexual relationship with his young niece. Claudia Jarzebowski uses Prussian court records to detect various incriminated relationships between family members. She shows, however, that most of the cases did not concern siblings, but rather sexual relations between cousins (of first or second degree without differentiation). Further, they concerned sexual relations between a sister and a brother-in-law as well as between (step-) fathers and -daughters, uncles and nieces, or fathers-in-law and their daughters-in-law (and, quite surprisingly, mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law). See Jarzebowski, *Inzest*, pp. 108 and 110.

55 There is evidence that this new ideal influenced the experience of many readers, and especially their way of describing their relations to their brothers and sisters. However more research is needed in this respect (see Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water*). Yet the idea of a genuine form of sibling jealousy did not exist until far into the twentieth century. See Peter Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), esp. the introduction.

56 William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

57 Lucien Febvre, "La sensibilité et l'histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie d'autrefois?", *Annales d'histoire sociale* 3 (1941), pp. 5–20.

58 See Broomhall, "Introduction", in Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household*, pp. 1–37.

59 Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux*, p. 167: "Or ce qui distingue la famille des autres cadres d'apprentissage (comme l'école), c'est que les relations y sont placés sous le signe de l'amour."

60 See Hunt, *Révolution française*.

61 Daumas even suggests that it was not the intensity of emotions and love but rather the 'role qu'il transmet et l'insuffle'. In the eighteenth century, the family system was transformed into a 'system of love' (or an emotional space), for the love between husband and wife had to (or should) be the same as the love between parents and children: "Le saut en avant qui charactérize la période où se développe la conception moderne du couple est l'idée que l'amour unissant les parents aux enfants et les enfants entre eux doit être de la même nature que celui que se portent les parents ... L'idée qu'il existe un lien affectif entre le marriage des parents et celui des enfants n'est réellement sensible qu'au XVIIIe siècle, au moment de la revolution sentimentale: l'amour conjugal est alors conçu comme un amour qui se reproduit", in Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux*, p. 168. Lynn Hunt underlines this process of emotionalization of the 'private sphere' drawing on various arguments for divorce of non-harmonious and emotion-based marriages during the French Revolution. See Hunt, *Révolution française*, pp. 39–42.

62 See Heide Wunder, *Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond: Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck 1992).

63 Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, pp. 315–70.

64 Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux*, p. 5.

65 Foyster and Marten (eds.), *A Cultural History*, pp. 1–2.

66 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* [1820] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 201, Paragraph 161.

15
SEXUALITY AND INTIMACY

Sandro Guzzi-Heeb

Introduction

How many revolutions? Love, intimacy and family

"I answer you from the bottom of my heart", Eugénie de Courten wrote to her husband Eugène in 1801,

> I would say, like in that romance of Mr de Florian: my heart abounds of sentiment, but my mind cannot express it. It is very true that I will never express what I feel for you when I will have the most perfect eloquence; the emotions of the most tender love that you inspire me and the gratitude that I owe you are too strong to be expressed but you can guess perfectly well what I cannot say and make you feel.[1]

This letter, written by a member of an influential noble family from the Swiss Canton of Valais, resumes many aspects of a new, 'romantic' conception of family, love and intimacy. The emergence of a new pathos in the correspondence between spouses at the end of the eighteenth century is no coincidence: it was inspired by a rich production of romantic novels. One such literary model was the very successful novel by Jean-Jacques Rousseau *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1764), set in Western Switzerland – in Clarens near Montreux – not far away from the borders of Valais. In fact, in this period we can find many other examples of letters written in a similar style, where allusions to a strong erotic attraction were by no means absent: "I lay already in the apartment that is destined to us, in this bed that you must share with me", wrote Charles-Emmanuel de Rivaz, a future influential politician of the region, to his wife in 1776, "my imagination is lit up and I burn with impatience at the idea of flying to you to realise the charming chimeras that sleep offers to me".[2] In this pre-romantic atmosphere, however, open allusions to sexual passion remained largely in the shadow of more sentimental emotions; attraction was expressed in terms of longing for intimacy or tenderness.[3]

Like in Julie's letters to her lover or Saint-Preux in Rousseau's novel, the longing for bodily closeness and intimacy is consistent with new ideas of marriage and family: the bond

between spouses was now nourished by both intense love and sexual attraction. Rousseau drew a picture that many historians and sociologists have interpreted as the beginning of a new, 'modern' conception of family and intimacy in the eighteenth century, strongly linked to the similar idea of intimate and emotionally charged sexuality.[4] However, this is not totally correct. The fact that strong sexual attraction was not unusual in early modern families is attested to not only by authors such as Shakespeare and other poets but also by churchmen beyond suspicion.

"The highest grace of God is when in marriage love flourishes without an end", remarked Luther in his table talks.

> The first passion is burning (*fervidus*), a heady love, of which we are blinded, and we falter as if we were drunk. When drunkenness is over, however, the believing persons retain a sincere (*sincerus*) conjugal love, while the persons without faith only feel regret [...].[5]

Long before 1700, passionate love not only existed but was seen as a possible component of marriage. What was new in the eighteenth century was the open and emphatic expression of such sentiments in novels and poems, in letters and in other private papers. This new emotional pathos highlighted the ideal of an 'affective', cultivated couple – and future family – that was bound together by strong sentiments and, mostly implicitly, erotic desire. Sexuality was now linked with a strong sense of emotional attachment, which also shaped the sentimental pathos of the warm bourgeois home deemed to protect the family's intimacy from outside influences.[6]

Bodily attraction and erotic passion were now supposed to form the basis of lasting love and personal happiness – or unhappiness.[7] However, it is important to set the scene in the right context. The intimate home, invoked by the passionate letters quoted above, was essentially a castle, a palace and a large, privileged dwelling. Peasant houses and the homes of industrial workers were usually too crowded and cold to allow for romantic moments. The link we establish today between the domestic sphere and physical closeness is partly the result of an association of sex and intimacy that was established in the eighteenth century and emphasized by a new well-off elite. However, in many folk songs, legends and other popular accounts sexual approaches or contacts occur outdoors.

In addition, the late eighteenth century was marked by a general transformation of sexuality and reproduction. In western Switzerland, pre-marital sexual intercourse had become more frequent and, from 1700, the rate of illegitimate births had grown continuously. Many studies have confirmed that this was a general trend that some scholars refer to as the first "sexual revolution".[8]

The rise of illegitimacy, as well as new medical literature, indicate an even deeper change that occurred during early modern times: a shift from various and often non-penetrative forms of sexual intercourse during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries to a new norm that increasingly defined penetration as a central and indispensable part of the sexual act. This conception of sexuality implicitly underlay romantic descriptions of love and desire: the urge to possess the loved person and the idea of fusing individualities which was emphatically described in countless novels and conceptualized by philosophers such as Hegel in the early nineteenth century implied penetrative sexuality as constitutive for a couple.[9] According to this view, erotic desire had to be elevated and legitimated by emotional intimacy. However, from the late eighteenth century onwards, even medical doctors tended to emphasize the importance of a satisfactory sexual relation for a happy marriage.[10]

Around the same time, an even deeper revolutionary change took place. In the Protestant Swiss Pays de Vaud, where Rousseau's Julie lived, young women and men became increasingly familiar with contraceptive practices to avoid unwanted pregnancies.[11] In several European regions, as well as the British colonies in America, contraception methods – especially *coitus interruptus* – spread from the cities to the countryside, initiating a fundamental shift which has since been defined as a 'quiet revolution'.[12] During the nineteenth century, contraception effectively reduced the fertility of many couples. The timeline of its spread, however, varies substantially according to different cultures, rendering general interpretations impossible. Urban elites controlled their reproduction long before 1700, and at the end of the eighteenth century, contraception was widely practised in France, in the Swiss Protestant cantons as well as in some regions and demographic groups of the Holy Roman Empire. Its spread to southern and Catholic countries, however, was delayed. Further, in England, fertility rates declined effectively only in the nineteenth century.[13]

In the past decades, several studies on the history of kinship have revealed a further important shift: while the protagonists of romantic novels fought for more freedom in their sentimental and sexual choices, more and more young people eventually married a relative. This trend became evident in the second half of the eighteenth century and remained highly influential during the entire nineteenth century.[14] As economic growth, industrialization and social mobility made European societies more fluid, a significant proportion of women and men chose a reliable partner from their close entourage. One might suppose that kin marriages were arranged by wealthy families to safeguard their economic and social interests. Domestic sources and correspondences, however, draw a different picture: the passionate letters quoted at the beginning of this chapter were addressed to spouses who were also close kin. Eugénie and Eugène de Courten, as well as Marie Catherine de Nucé and her husband, Charles-Emmanuel de Rivaz, were first cousins. This was by no means an exception. Increasingly often, relatives became objects of love and intense sexual desire. This was not only specific to the upper classes; local studies show that kin marriages increased in all strata of the population,[15] and research on mountain peasants has revealed that relatives were often involved in illicit sexual relations which certainly were not arranged by their parents.[16]

These results indicate a genuine reorientation of sexual desire, suggesting that the history of sexuality must be interpreted in connection with changes in the history of kinship and, more generally, with wider social and economic changes. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the European population was growing more rapidly than ever before. Particularly in industrial England, growth rates were unprecedented.[17] It was the beginning of a demographic transition that dramatically transformed the conditions of access to sexual life, marriage and family. In this wider perspective, the emergence of an 'affective family' among the European elites was not crucial: it can rather be seen as an aspect of a deeper and revolutionary transformation in terms of demography, sexuality, desire, gender relations and kinship.

Tolerance or repression?

The economic dynamics of the eighteenth century, the increase of commerce, the spread of proto-industrial productions and industrialization were slowly modifying the traditional equilibrium between the generations. For many younger people it was easier to make a living independently of heritage and parents. The rise of illegitimacy can be seen as

a result of this larger economic autonomy and of loosened parental control. At the same time, this increased pressure on parents to approve the sexual choices of their children. As Rousseau's Julie candidly confesses: "I hoped to derive from my fault a means of repairing it, and dared devise the plan to force my Father to unite us. Our love's first fruit was to confirm this tender bond."[18] For young people, prenuptial intercourse was a powerful means to force parents to approve a desired marriage. In fact, the rise of illegitimacy, the emerging notion of free choice of spouses as well as the economic and political revolutions of the period were huge problems for both rulers and parents. Many children appeared to be out of control and demanded more freedom. Was it possible to love them and to respect their sexual choices without losing control over them and over the dynasty's wealth and prestige? This dilemma generated high momentum in redefining norms and ideas of sexual morality, family life, hierarchies and power. New medical theories, new concepts of respectability, ideals of education and political ideologies were formulated in order to redefine sexual morality and justify a gentler control over the younger generations.

In 1760, Samuel A. Tissot, a doctor from Lausanne, published the medical bestseller, *A Treatise on the Diseases Produced by Onanism*,[19] in which he discussed the frightful consequences of masturbation for the – primarily male – body. This work defined a new sexual standard, pushing forms of non-penetrative sexuality aside, which were widely practised during the early modern period. Masturbation was now linked with dangerous pathologies, which were to be combated. 'Wasting' sperm, in general, was now seen not only as a pathological deviation but also as a sort of crime against society.

In fact, Tissot's work gives testimony to an increasing interest of scientists and of the state in the sexual sphere, as a strategic variable in reproduction and thus in the growth of population. At this time, the size of the population was increasingly considered a crucial resource for the state and a reliable indicator for the happiness of society.[20] As Michel Foucault has pointed out, the interest of authorities in sexuality transformed the very nature of the state and founded what he called 'biopower' or 'biopolitics': the state did not only decide whether its subjects would live or die but became increasingly concerned with their behaviour, even in the private sphere of women and men. "The old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life."[21]

Many influential historians considered the evolutions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries an increasingly repressive turn – articulating what Foucault critically called "the repressive hypothesis".[22] A restrictive sexual morality would eventually result in an altered social climate, characterizing what we now know as the 'Victorian' culture and society of the nineteenth century. A gendered double standard, the marginalization and increased repression of sexual minorities, of illicit relations, of concubine couples would be outcomes of these evolutions which were largely discussed by historians and social scientists.[23] Can we, during the nineteenth century, therefore observe a general repressive turn?

Current state of research

It is almost impossible to summarize the huge historiographic literature on sexuality, love and intimacy, although this field of research only goes back to the 1960s. In a brief overview I will therefore focus on the most influential contributions concerned with fundamental changes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sexuality and domestic life. In 2017, Alberto Mario Banti published a short book under the title *Eros e virtù*,[24] primarily

studying artistic and literary sources. Banti comes to the conclusion that the nineteenth century experienced an increasing control of sexuality and a reclusion of women within the domestic sphere. This book is an example of a strong tendency within the history of sexuality to formulate linear interpretations, essentially seeing long historical periods in terms of either increasing repression or emancipation.

Banti's perspective, however, is in stark contrast to the ideas of earlier influential historians such as Edward Shorter and Lawrence Stone, who saw the emergence of a 'modern' family in the eighteenth century, accompanied by increased sexual freedom.[25] From another point of view, in 2012 Faramerz Dabhoiwala assumed there was a first sexual revolution in the eighteenth century, in parallel with the decline of traditional concepts of sin and the emergence of new ideas of personal responsibility, private sphere and individual freedom.[26] In this sense, Dabhoiwalas agrees with Shorter's view on emancipation as the overall nature of the eighteenth century but not with pessimist evaluations of the later periods.

On the other hand, most studies on the nineteenth century tend to privilege what Foucault defined as 'the repressive hypothesis'.[27] In a groundbreaking study, George L. Mosse connects the new formation of restrictive ideas of sexuality with emerging nationalism and the search for bourgeois sexual respectability.[28] This tendency appears to prevail today, although in 1976 Foucault explicitly questioned the idea of increasing sexual repression.[29] It would be tempting to summarize these results speaking of a tolerant eighteenth and a repressive nineteenth century; however, this line of argument is in fact based on historiographic assumptions rather than on detailed inquiries. To give a concise overview of the very complex field of research, three different approaches or 'schools' of the history of sexuality can be distinguished: first, a social history approach, closely related with historical demography, family history and the Annales School in France after the Second World War. Seminal studies by various influential historians such as Philippe Ariès, Jean-Louis Flandrin, Lawrence Stone and Edward Shorter produced the theory of the triumph of a new affective sexuality in the context of a 'modern family' in the late seventeenth (England) and eighteenth centuries.[30] Studies by the Cambridge Group for Population History, particularly by Peter Laslett[31] which were consistent with this interpretation, had a strong impact on sociological as well as cultural historical approaches. The 'modern family' thesis has often been paired with a modernization narrative that suggests the decline of 'older' or 'traditional', that is to say collective, structures such as kinship and communities which eventually vanished from the social arena. As more recent studies have demonstrated, such assumptions were clearly wrong, since kinship solidarities were instead strongly reinforced in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[32] Nevertheless, the idea of a new, affective western family emerging in the early eighteenth century had great impact on later interpretations. In this respect Anthony Giddens' book *The Transformation of Intimacy*, which is largely based on Lawrence Stone's research and his optimistic assumption of a long-term democratization of intimate relationships, is crucial.[33]

Second, Michel Foucault's discursive approach defined the history of sexuality anew in the 1970s. He strongly emphasized the social role of scientific theories as well as of political and administrative practices in defining what sexuality was, how it had to be imagined and how it was eventually practised. Foucault was a philosopher, yet his approach was informed by cultural history. His ideas deeply influenced the so-called cultural turn and inspired a huge amount of later research. Despite Foucault's scepticism towards 'the repressive hypothesis', his followers tended to highlight the repressive aspects of new scientific and political discourses. In *Surveiller et punir* and other influential books, Foucault introduced the concept of 'biopower', focusing on regulatory, partly repressive interventions in sexuality.[34]

Foucault's suggestions inspired other prominent scholars, for example Thomas Laqueur, who highlighted how new scientific ideas of female and male bodies crucially influenced concepts of sexuality and gender roles.[35] The success of Foucault's work and later of the 'cultural turn' strengthened the cultural history approach within the history of sexuality, marginalizing the social historical take of the 1960s and 1970s. The overwhelming majority of studies in this field over the past 20 years have clearly privileged cultural-historical views, focusing on elite sources and discourses.[36]

Finally, the third tendency was related to feminist studies, highlighting the influence of sexuality and concepts of love and intimacy in shaping gender roles and power structures. Since the 1970s, feminist historians have been strongly influenced by both Foucault and French cultural studies as well as feminist philosophers and thinkers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Élisabeth Badinter and Judith Butler. The history of sexuality was, from the outset, a large part of the field of women's history.[37] A substantial renewal, however, stemmed from the work of Joan W. Scott, in particular from her theoretical contribution to the concept of 'gender'.[38] Many further studies analysed the role of sexuality in constructing and redefining gender roles and power relations. Feminist studies of the 1970s and 1980s mostly emphasized repression, highlighting the subordinate roles in sexuality attributed to women as a basis for their discrimination and exclusion. This was due to a sharp separation of male and female. The emphasis on the 'domestication' of women – within the domestic sphere – during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries followed this line of argument.[39] Since the 1980s, intensive debate on the topic of gender has encouraged new directions of research, such as groundbreaking queer studies which have highlighted questions of sexual diversity, queer and transgender identities and issues relating to different sexual orientations, focusing on sexual practices other than the heterosexual family norm. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, asexual and queer groups and subjects have come to the fore, mostly from a cultural point of view.[40]

Recently, studies of family and kinship history have offered new thought-provoking perspectives, although these often fail to explicitly consider questions of different sexual attitudes.[41] They provide strong indications of a link between the evolutions of both sexuality and kinship during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Kin marriages seem to have confirmed ties and solidarities within specific sexual networks, characterized by similar attitudes towards family and sexuality.[42] This chapter aims at comparing some of the above-mentioned suggestions, highlighting the fundamental differences we can observe between different classes, social groups and milieus, without neglecting the manifestations of different sexual cultures. Recent research on rural Switzerland indicates a long-term breaking-up of family structures and gender roles, which partly contrasts with the hypotheses of both emancipation and repression.[43] In fact, the evolution during the period under investigation reflects a fundamental diversification of sexual cultures and practices, linked with specific social, political and religious identities, as opposed to a homogeneous, positive or negative tendency.[44]

Sexuality between lineage and kinship

Samuel A. Tissot, the author of the famous treaty on onanism, considered sperm the most valuable and elaborated liquid of the human body.[45] The new focus on penetrative sex found vivid expression in a new semiology, shifting from blood being the main symbol for dynastic continuity to sperm defining a new language about sexuality and reproduction. Sperm is different to blood in nature: ideally, it is exchanged between sexual partners.

Unlike blood, sperm did not symbolize dynastic continuity but created a new, strong relation. This new emphasis was accompanied by an idealization of milk as a basic bond between mother and child and as a strong symbol for attachment within the affective family.[46] This linguistic shift can therefore be seen as a new focus on sexual and emotional relations in the domestic sphere. It is the expression of a transition of domestic ideals from the idea of a long-lasting lineage or dynasty to kinship as a wider and more flexible network of relations, not necessarily rooted in a specific place. Lineage was in fact characterized by the continuity of blood and patrimony over several generations, located mostly at landed estates and hereditary buildings. In fact, both in German and in Roman languages 'lineage' refers to the house (*Haus*, *maison*, *maisonnée*, *casato*, etc.).[47] In this sense, the decline of the dynastic organization of the kin group can be related to the demise of the 'house' as an early modern social and legal unit.[48] Traditionally, the house was defined as an institution firmly under the power of the *paterfamilias* as head of household, which included his family and servants. It was firmly rooted in a building, ideally on a landed estate, and the dynasty often held public offices over several generations. This early modern concept was in line with the classical definition of the house (*oikos*) by Aristotle,[49] which served as a model in most advisory manuals of the early modern era.

The crisis of the dynastic organization of the kin group implies the decline of a rigid sexual discipline that was aimed at ensuring the selective transmission of status and privileges to offspring. According to the dynastic logic, sexual impulses were in theory subject to the interests of the entire group. With the relative demise of agriculture and the emergence of other forms of wealth – capital, credit, wages, the circulation of money, etc. – emphasis shifted from lineage as a stable and recognizable criterion to kinship as a dynamic group, defined by changing social relationships. The group defined by these relationships did not necessarily share the same name or were structurally anchored in a specific place, be it a building or a landed estate.

Rousseau was clearly aware of the new and somewhat more fragile nature of kinship and family. In a crucial paragraph of *Émile*, first published in 1762, he warned against the danger of the dissolution of the family if parents did not monitor the relations of their children:

> Would you restore all men to their primal duties, begin with the mothers; the results will surprise you. Every evil follows in the train of this first sin; the whole moral order is disturbed, nature is quenched in every breast, the home becomes gloomy, the spectacle of a young family no longer stirs the husband's love and the stranger's reverence. The mother whose children are out of sight wins scanty esteem; there is no home life, the ties of nature are not strengthened by those of habit; fathers, mothers, children, brothers, and sisters cease to exist. They are almost strangers; how should they love one another? Each thinks of himself first. When the home is a gloomy solitude, pleasure will be sought elsewhere.[50]

This paragraph can be seen as a key programmatic text of new eighteenth-century family ideals. Its central idea posits that the home, as well as the family, did not exist per se but had to be shaped by the parents. Belonging to the same blood or dynasty was no longer enough: without a trained habit of mutual relation and love, parents and children would become strangers, and the paternal house would remain empty and cold.[51] The idea of houses and families being upheld by common blood or name, by property such as buildings or land, was replaced by emotional attachment (*attachement*) as the new concept of family life.

Most eighteenth-century authors, such as Rousseau, speak of 'family' as a relevant social group, but often refer to a larger unit, as the social habits of new elite groups suggest: "just allow me to think about the way you cultivate your kindred (*parenté*)", wrote Ami Lullin, a well-to-be citizen of Geneva, to his son-in-law in 1746,

> I know it, and I have tenderly felt it, you are never missing when needed; that is essential, but to speak openly, it is not enough. You rarely visit your aunt Favre, you do not go very often to Mrs Turrettini, your uncle Pictet rarely sees you.[52]

Not only the nuclear family but also larger kin groups had to be 'cultivated' by frequent relations.

Within the new conception of kinship and family, sexual intercourse assumed a crucial structuring function: on the one hand, sexual attraction was thought to create new relationships and renew the kin group; on the other hand, the sentimentally charged erotic exchange between husband and wife was supposed to strengthen emotional bonds between the couple. In this respect, the wife and mother was the pivotal element in the system, both because of the strong bond established by breastfeeding her children and her superior sexual power: "Women so easily stir a man's senses and fan the ashes of a dying passion", wrote Rousseau.[53] For this reason, it was essentially the woman's task to ensure the unity of the family: "she forms a bond between father and child, she alone can win the father's love for his children and convince him that they are indeed his own. What loving care is required to preserve a united family!"[54] In practice, women were ascribed a leading role in renewing kinship ties, organizing social life and controlling the contacts of the young to potential sexual partners. Thus, women ensured the unity of a larger kin group.[55]

While before the eighteenth century sexuality had to be carefully controlled in order to guarantee the continuity of dynastic interests, a strict collective discipline was, in later centuries, no longer enough. Michel Foucault interpreted this change as a shift from a *dispositif d'alliance* to a *dispositif de sexualité*, sexuality, rather than lineage and selective alliance, becoming a strong factor of individual identity. This defining idea nonetheless underestimated the dimension of a new logic of kinship organization. In fact, sexual desire and sentiments in this context became crucial means of defining and shaping new and strong relationships, which had the potential to establish alliances with other social classes.[56] The idealization of individual sentiments indicated more flexible reproductions of kinship, albeit under the parents' control. In this increasingly dynamic economic context influenced by commerce, money circulation and social mobility, younger generations were provided with greater choices and the chance to establish relations with women and men from other social and cultural backgrounds, if this proved useful to their group.

While, during a time of increasing social competition, dynasties faced growing scepticism and dynastic privileges were publicly criticized, wider kinship ties started to define new forms of continuity and solidarity. From the eighteenth century on offices were in reality less frequently passed on from father to son: the transmission of power and wealth to other kin – cousins, nephews, sons-in-law, etc. – or to allied families that were not necessarily from the same social class but from a wider network became common. In fact, kinship became a flexible network which was thought to fulfil functions which had previously been accomplished by lineage.[57] While dynastic logic had stressed filiation as the crucial criterion for passing on wealth and power, the new system highlighted the importance of matrimonial alliances as a means of establishing new kinship solidarities.[58]

However, kinship was not something that existed and was visible in nature. According to the new family concept, it consisted of multiple relations which, by their very nature, were changing and volatile: like the family, kinship had to be 'done', shaped and maintained by personal relations and sentiments. For the same reason, recurrent kin marriages renewed the cooperation between relatives and reinforced group solidarities over time. Kin were increasingly chosen as godmothers or godfathers and became more present in everyday life. These warm relations with kin were often expressed in slightly nuanced erotic terms: kin more frequently became suitable sexual partners – in marriage but also for sexual intercourse out of wedlock. The positive reinterpretation of sperm and sexuality in the late eighteenth century was an aspect of the new focus on affective marriage, and both were thought to be the foundation of attachment, emotional bonds and sociability within a wider kin network.

The reinforcement of a bourgeois sexual morality

As suggested above, the economic and political transformations during the eighteenth century tended to modify the balance of power between parents and children. "In a civilized nation, children should not be considered the instruments of their parents", wrote Franz von Zeiller, the author of the Austrian civil code, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Fathers should not act "as despots over the persons and the patrimony of their children".[59] While the French Revolution had begun to weaken paternal authority, illegitimacy rates grew in different strata of the population and young people who could hope to find jobs or earn some money on their own experienced a new relative sexual freedom. Clearly, these new liberties, as well as claims to more freedom in love, challenged existing domestic and public hierarchies, thus provoking the establishment of a renewed sexual morality which would legitimate sexual control. The attempts to limit sexual freedom, particularly of young people, were already manifest in late eighteenth-century bourgeois culture but properly reinforced after the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars. Initiatives for increased control were partly based on legal measures, however, to a much greater extent they were the result of new scientific ideas, new concepts of respectability, purposeful education and sociability, reflecting specific class or milieu standards. As suggested above, from the second half of the eighteenth century, scientists and medical writers in particular were increasingly concerned with sexuality and reproduction. Many studies, such as Michel Foucault and Thomas Laqueur's groundbreaking works, have demonstrated how medicine contributed to constructing the very concept of sexuality and redefining it by a sharper conceptual distinction between women and men.[60] A huge amount of treatises and pamphlets aimed at defining, from a biological point of view, what the right way to conduct sexual intercourse was, constructing new pathologies and describing the awful consequences of sexual deviations from the heterosexual norm. In this sense, medicine became a kind of secular religion, setting new standards for good and bad behaviour.[61]

In general, marriage was considered the only frame for a healthy and fecund sexuality; other types of behaviour were defined as being unhealthy or dangerous – albeit with some exceptions. Prostitution, which had increased and become a thoroughly visible fact in European cities, was often accepted as an inevitable evil that had to be controlled and regulated. It goes without saying that only men were allowed to have sex with prostitutes, which contributed to the establishment of a sexual double standard and to the confinement of respectable women to the domestic sphere.[62]

Ancient crimes such as sodomy and bestiality gradually vanished from legal codes, but same-sex intercourse increasingly became an object of medical experts who tended to define it as an illness. The very term 'homosexuality', as Foucault pointed out, was an outcome of this redefinition in the second half of the nineteenth century.[63] However, stricter norms were not the only result of a more rigid bourgeois sexual morality. Respectability in elite families was primarily ensured by improved education and parents' vigilance. In the emerging bourgeois strata, a higher level of self-control was expected, as well as the constant suppression of passions (such as lust, jealousy or greed) along with appropriate attitudes and manners. This implied the struggle against uncontrolled sexuality, fought, among others, by bestselling books against masturbation following Tissot's *Onanism*, which was often translated and re-edited during the nineteenth century.[64] Generally, bourgeois parents carefully observed their children in order to detect dangerous inclinations and ensure an appropriate education.[65] Passing on adequate knowledge, attitudes and manners was increasingly considered a central task of parents. Control of the body and the self, of eroticism and desire were crucial elements of a class-specific sociability and aesthetics typically learned in the family. When education failed, well-off parents, assisted by relatives and friends, carefully surveyed the lives of their sons and daughters, channelled their sociability by encouraging encounters with suitable potential partners and eventually took a leading role in marriage negotiations.[66] The construction of a bourgeois sexual morality and its development into Victorian norms, however, could not enforce an effective new sexual discipline within the whole society: in several countries, such as Switzerland, illegitimacy rates grew until 1870, in spite of legal and educational interventions.[67]

Bourgeois intimacy and popular sexualities

The idyllic picture of a bourgeois culture of the intimate home contrasts sharply with contemporary accounts of popular life in the big cities, particularly in overcrowded industrial metropolises. In fact, nineteenth-century elite ideas of love, sexual respectability and family were strong means of social distinction. They were opportunities for a new bourgeois elite to mark the difference towards the poor, the workers and the peasants, and at the same time to underline a virtuous domestic ideal far from the decadent models of eighteenth-century nobility, often depicted as 'effeminate' and immoral.

At the time, when in 1854 Coventry Patmore published his long poem *The Angel in the House* depicting the Victorian woman, pure and devoted to her family and home, many authors denounced the pauperization of large quarters in the industrial cities.[68] Friedrich Engels' well-known account of Manchester's overcrowded and pestilential working-class quarters drew an impressive – albeit not neutral – picture of life conditions, which Engels associated with social problems such as alcoholism and sexual promiscuity.[69] This text shows intellectuals' widespread concerns over worsening social conditions in the cities and countryside.[70] Several nineteenth-century authoritative testimonies believed that many people sharing the same room resulted in severe social problems such as pernicious 'promiscuity'.[71] A growing medical literature denounced the vice of 'promiscuity' in popular groups, above all in towns, emphasizing detrimental consequences in terms of hygiene as well as sexual and moral decadence. According to Sylvie Chaperon, medical publications painted a sinister picture of promiscuity, a decline of shame, loss of morality, alcoholism and prostitution emerging among the popular classes: "vice comes from below and corrupts the high society."[72] Doctors believed working-class women to be sexually wild and dangerous: masturbating female tailors or ironers, nymphomaniac servants and insatiable whores haunted their fantasies.[73]

The more domestic intimacy became a new ideal of the elites, the more popular promiscuity was seen as a social and moral threat. Just as early liberalism considered equality and liberty as universal values, which in practice were reserved to privileged white, male groups, intimacy too was an ideal only accessible to a few, thus marking a clear social distinction. The concept of intimacy presupposed that servants – now more carefully separated from the family – had to work to ensure a rich emotional domestic life for their masters. "My father did not want the servants to be witnesses of my disorder, he went himself looking for a glass of water for me", writes Rousseau's Julie to her lover, describing a well-known picture of family intimacy.[74] Servants had to stay outside the intimate family circle.

In fact, the urban proletariat was not the only social class which encountered problems associated with poverty and promiscuity. In many rural regions of Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the population was rapidly growing due to a declining mortality and changing demography. This increase forced lower and middle-class women and men in particular to adapt to precarious situations: for example, sharing their homes with relatives, friends or lodgers.[75] Thus, spatial separation in the house and the experience of domestic intimacy were not general trends of modernity but the privilege of well-off members of the elites. Referring mainly to lower-class women, Roman poet Giuseppe Gioachino Belli wrote in his sonnet "Mamas's advice" ("Li conzijji de mamma"):

> I do not want to give you bad advice, but if you find a good opportunity, go/If a rich gentleman wishes a favour/do not let him pull it with the pincer [...] And finally, who breaks must pay, it's an old story.[76]

Belli and other critical thinkers denounced the class-specific character of passionate love and intimacy described in many novels. In northern Italy, where from the late eighteenth century an Enlightened elite adopted the model of the affective family, vernacular poets such as Carlo Porta depicted the domestic realities of lower-class people that were dominated by material need, poverty, prostitution and the pressure to adapt to occasional opportunities.

The 'wild' mountain peasants and their sexuality

In Rousseau's pre-Romantic novel, Julie's sublime love is contrasted with the mores of the simple and wild people from Valais, where St-Preux encounters wild landscapes, genuine men and simple but beautiful women. Did these people know love and romance, or were they unable to experience such sublime emotions? The grand narrative of the triumph of love in modern sexual relations largely regards peasant marriages as essentially economic arrangements between families, where sentiments were not uncommon but did not play a crucial role. Although this simplistic interpretation has been criticized in recent years, sexual attraction is still not deemed influential for peasant couples.[77]

Yet micro-historical inquiries of several villages in western Switzerland show a different picture. Unfortunately, there are fewer ego documents and less source material available than for the urban elite, such as the above-mentioned passionate love letters that imitated the model of Julie and St-Preux. Thanks to an important genealogical database, however, as well as to excellent local sources, we can identify most women and men who married or who had children out of wedlock in several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century villages of western Valais and analyse how they were related to each other. These studies show that the impact of socio-economic factors on marriage, which are relatively easy to identify, has

probably been overestimated. In fact, alliances between families through matchmaking were certainly not a pure economic arrangement: on the contrary, from the eighteenth century they were increasingly influenced by new ideas of religion and politics. In the nineteenth century, the spread of anticlerical, liberal and later radical views among a significant part of the population had a visible impact on alliances: members of each faction tended to marry women or men belonging to the same political group.[78] Nineteenth-century liberal radicals, in particular, clearly preferred spouses from other radical families. Consistent evidence is provided by several examples, from mountain communities such as Bovernier and Liddes to boroughs in the lowland such as Martigny or Vouvry (western Valais). This trend was reinforced by kin marriages which took place within the same political milieu. Kin marriages within the families of male radicals were essentially established within the same political faction. From this particular point of view, non-radical families had hardly any relation with this group.[79]

However, this tendency was not new: as early as the eighteenth century, in Bagnes, the members of a strong oppositional faction against the local lord and abbot chose their partners mostly from the same political group. Religious ideas and attitudes clearly impacted alliances at this time.[80] Did sexual attraction also influence these unions? Despite restrictive measures, illegitimacy and prenuptial conceptions were, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, steadily increasing in this region. If desire and attraction did not play any role in marriages, it is fair to assume that illicit sexual relations followed a completely different pattern to marriages. Although illegitimacy should not be idealized, it is difficult to imagine an illicit sexual relation without any sexual attraction, at a time when it was regarded as a sin and was the object of severe sanctions. Once again, detailed local analyses produce an interesting picture: marriages and illegitimate relations show the same major tendencies. In the nineteenth century, the Bessard group from Villette had become a core radical family and was involved in most actions and petitions initiated by this faction. Many women and men from this group had sexual relations out of wedlock, and most of them with partners from the same political milieu. These results suggest that sexual desire, expressed by illicit relations, mostly followed the same pattern as unions officially approved by families: they often took place within a privileged milieu of families that generally shared similar political and religious ideas. Thus, marriage was not simply a question of economic interests. Although we do not know for certain whether the protagonists did in fact experience romantic love, emotional aspects were certainly at play.

Their sexual desire, often but not always resulting in marriages, privileged partners who were close in terms of their religious, ideological or personal background, as it occurred among the European elites. Just as members of the bourgeoisie, they often fell in love with their relatives: not only were kin marriages very frequent, but illicit relations occurred even more often than marriages between relatives. To sum up: in the cold Swiss mountains, roughly the same structural trends of building privileged alliance networks within one's own milieu prevailed as among the European cultivated upper classes. The concept of milieu is important in this respect because it suggests that sexual attitudes and desire are strongly influenced by network dynamics and that they are interrelated with particular values and identities.[81] In general, it is impossible to determine whether peasants, artisans and cattle breeders of this region experienced the same sublime emotions described by Rousseau or by the women and men of the local elites. There is, however, no reason to rule out that forms of passionate love were present among the Swiss mountain peasants, as in any social group of this period, even though – like among the bourgeoisie – love marriages were not the only model available. Several studies have demonstrated that love and union based on sexual

attraction were not unknown in popular groups. For instance, love and sexual desire also permeate eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century folk songs: they were not a privilege of culturally distinguished groups.[82]

Conclusion

The period between 1750 and 1870 was characterized by profound transformations of sexuality, reproduction and family life. In the long run, this shift entailed three sexual revolutions: the increase of illegitimacy, the spread of contraception and the rise of kin marriages. Yet these processes occurred according to different timelines and modalities: in the medium-term, the result was a sexual diversification or diversification of domestic cultures, coinciding with specific evolutions in different countries, classes and social milieus. The struggle to control sexual impulses, for example, was stronger in the emerging bourgeoisie than in other social groups. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Swiss Protestants revealed different sexual mores to Catholics; liberals, radicals, freethinkers and socialists developed different sexual ideas and habits to conservatives. The emergence of the romantic love complex and 'affective family' among new elites was only one aspect of this change. It was neither a completely new nor a general phenomenon but rather manifested social and cultural distinctions of specific milieus, highlighting their sexual respectability as well as their superior morality. In the meantime, industrialization and rapid economic development entailed a new balance of power between generations, tending to reinforce the independence of young people and partly emancipating them from heritage and their parents' will. Increased educational, ideological and regulative efforts were important reactions to this trend; Victorian restrictive ideas and practices, however, could not be imposed everywhere and on the whole society, but largely remained distinctive values of bourgeois milieus and those climbing the social ladder. In fact, different sexual cultures remained linked to specific identities, which often reflected material conditions but also religious sensibilities or new ideologies. The above-mentioned detailed study of mountain societies shows that religion and ideologies were not only influential among social elites but also within wider groups of society, shaping particular sexual milieus.

As Foucault pointed out, from the eighteenth century the state was increasingly concerned with the sexual conduct of its subjects.[83] However, the 'bio-power' that developed during this time is a complex phenomenon and did not only coincide with control and repression. In this sense, the revolutionary impact of contraception probably remains underestimated, despite the vast literature on this subject. Pessimistic interpretations of nineteenth-century Victorian morality often neglect the deep consequences of contraceptive practices for the sexual lives of couples as well as occasional partners.[84] Most scholars who follow Michel Foucault's assumption of bio-power have curiously overlooked the fact that the control of fertility represented a sort of revolutionary appropriation of bio-power by the common people: thanks to the interruption of intercourse, more women and men could achieve relative sexual autonomy in their domestic spheres. Although this must not be confused with global sexual emancipation, its impact, particularly on women's biographies, should not be underestimated.

Notes

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2 Archives d'Etat du Valais (AEV), Sion, Fonds de Rivaz (Rz), 45.1.4 (December 1776).

3 AEV, Rz, 46,2,1 (December 1776).
4 Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993).
5 Martin Luther, *Tischreden* (Weimarer Ausgabe WATr 3, 380, 11–14. N. 3530), quoted in Paolo Ricca (ed.), "Introduzione", in Martin Lutero, *Opere scelte, Da monaco a marito: Due scritti sul matrimonio* (Roma: Claudiana, 2017), p. 71 (Translation by SGH).
6 Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy*; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, pp. 41–47.
7 Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy*; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*; Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*; Eva Illouz, *Why Love Hurts: A Sociological Explanation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).
8 Edward Shorter, "Illegitimacy, Sexual Revolution, and Social Change in Modern Europe", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* II (1971), pp. 237–72, cf. Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and Its Comparative History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980). However, Shorter's interpretation did not remain undisputed: see W. R Lee, "Bastardy and the Socioeconomic Structure of South Germany", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7, 3 (1977), pp. 403–25; Michael Mitterauer, *Ledige Mütter: Zur Geschichte illegitimer Geburten in Europa* (Munich: Beck, 1983). Nevertheless, a deep change in sexual practices is undeniable.
9 Georg W. F Hegel, *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1907), p. 379, quoted in Diego Fusaro, *Il nuovo ordine erotico: Elogio dell'amore e della famiglia* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2018), pp. 35–38.
10 Alain Corbin, *L'harmonie des plaisirs: Les manières de jouir du siècle des Lumières à l'avènement de la sexologie*, 2nd edn (Paris: Flammarion, 2010), pp. 44–108; cf. Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy*, pp. 49–64.
11 Albert Schnyder-Burghartz, *Alltag und Lebensformen auf der Basler Landschaft um 1700: Vorindustrielle, ländliche Kultur und Gesellschaft aus mikrohistorischer Perspektive: Bretzwil und das obere Waldenburger Amt von 1690 bis 1750* (Liestal: Verlag des Kantons Basel-Landschaft, 1992), pp. 293–95; Benedikt Bietenhard, *Langnau im 18. Jahrhundert: Die Biographie einer ländlichen Kirchgemeinde im bernischen Ancien Régime* (Thun: Eigenverlag, 1988), pp. 131–53; Aline Johner, "Luttes et polarisation politiques à l'époque de la Restauration: l'influence de la famille et de la sexualité dans la création de milieux politiques à Payerne", in Olivier Meuwly (ed.), *Le Congrès de Vienne et le Canton de Vaud, 1813–1815* (Lausanne: Payot, 2017).
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83 Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, pp. 171–72; cf. Folkers and Lemke (eds.), *Biopolitik*.
84 E.g. Hera Cook, "The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex and Contraception: 1800–1975", in Anna Clark (ed.), *The History of Sexuality in Europe: A Sourcebook and Reader* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 118–29.

PART VIII

Child-rearing and education

16

PARENTAL CARE AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE

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Introduction

Today, the word "education" is on everyone's lips, it has become the general outcry of the whole of Europe. We do not hear it, we do not repeat it without some delight; one has never seen so many books, so many theories on this subject.

This contemporary observation quoted by the historian Marina Roggero, quoted in an article on education during the Enlightenment, dates from the 1780s.[1] It testifies to the importance of this topic throughout the eighteenth century and to a contemporary awareness of witnessing an educational renewal. This widespread interest resulted in a significant increase in the number of publications on education, particularly in France, Germany and England. It was not limited to philosophers, pedagogues and scholars but affected the whole of society.

The impact of this mushrooming production of educational publications on the main actors of the family, the parents, but also on noble and bourgeois children is reflected in the development of innovative writing practices, even among young people. These include keeping observational or educational journals and diaries. Writing practices, which take centre-stage in this chapter, were first observed in the Dutch environment,[2] but can also be found in Germany, France and England as well as in the French-speaking region of Switzerland. This is no coincidence. Many philosophers and pedagogues promoted these practices, which they hoped would contribute to a successful education. This emphasizes the desire to adopt a scientific approach towards educational development that marked the final third of the eighteenth century.

During this time, debates also developed about the form education should take, as shown by the public reception of Rousseau's *Emile, ou de l'Education* (1762) whose author became the champion of individual education, and of Louis-René de la Chalotais's *Essai de l'éducation nationale*, published in 1763, in which the author advocated a state education. Thus, children's education was brought to the fore by educators and philosophers – parents played an important role in their concepts of education in the sense of new concepts. Some pedagogues tended to rely on parents, seeing them as educational partners, provided, however, they followed the advice of available educational publications. Others, particularly in the wake of the Revolution, developed projects in which from an early age children

were removed from the control of their parents to be educated in state institutions. For example, during the establishment of the Unitary Regime of the Swiss Republic (1798–1803), the question of education became paramount. Swiss citizens, just as French contemporaries between 1791 and 1795,[3] were encouraged to draw up educational reforms which would serve as the basis for new government policy. Among the many projects that were presented to the Minister of Arts and Sciences, Philippe Stapfer, that of Vaudois citizen Dumaine envisaged a three-year period of education during which the child would be separated from his family and entrusted to state institutions.[4]

The writings of Philippe Abraham Louis Secretan (1756–1826) from Lausanne illustrate common conflicting feelings towards education. As a private tutor for more than 13 years and later a judge, Secretan vacillated between different educational models his whole life. These included education in the home, at a state school or a private boarding institution, and whether it should be practised within the family framework or in state education. His eldest son was sent to the Berthoud Institute, run by the Zurich pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, whose educational method was at that time very much in the public eye of Europe. During the 1810s, Secretan favoured state education, believing that it had made considerable progress. Meanwhile, in 1807, he outlined in his diary a new model of academia, mainly inspired by the internal organization of the Pestalozzi institute that he suggested should serve as a training school for all future teachers. He maintained that, although a remodelling of state education appeared desirable, it should not dissociate itself from the parents, on the contrary:

> In seeking to establish a uniform and regular system of education and thus realize Pestalozzi's dream, I would not want to hinder any particular educational process, but I would allow each paterfamilias the freedom to raise his children or have them raised according to the method which seemed the most advantageous. However, I would want all pupils, without exception, to undergo certain periodic tests to prevent negligence on the part of the parents and take action against the dissoluteness and aimlessness of the youth, as well as to profit from all the information which any particular method could provide for the benefit of the central institute; I would even confer bonuses and distinctions on those who have gained extraordinary achievements with these particular educational methods outside the national institute.[5]

Philippe Secretan's ambiguity and his views on the role of the 'paterfamilias' are symptomatic of both the perception of the importance of education and the responsibilities that weighed on parents' shoulders. They had to choose the educational route of their children, make inquiries at state and private institutions and compare their ideas, approaches and curricula. Secretan's considerations also bore the trace of multiple debates concerning different educational methods, the nature of the lessons and the manner in which schooling should be conducted. Reform projects for colleges and, in this context, the respective roles of the Church and the state in particular, the teaching of Classics, vocational or scientific lessons as well as lessons appropriate for girls and other questions were publicly debated throughout the century, illustrating commonly shared concerns about education.

These questions were based on a specific perception of the child. The English philosopher John Locke was not the first to emphasize the importance of the child's individual characteristics. However, the success of his treatise *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, published in 1693, reflects the significance of his view. In the last third of the

eighteenth century, parallel to the development of anthropology, a newly emerging disposition to understand the child through careful observations of its different stages of development became apparent. The German philosopher Dietrich Tiedemann, still considered the father of child psychology, kept a journal with notes based on his observations of the behaviour of his son Friedrich (1781–1783) during his first 31 months that was later published as a treaty under the title "Beobachtungen Über die Entwickelung der Seelenfähigkeiten bei Kindern" (1787).[6] This desire for knowledge was in line with the idea advocated by Rousseau that the consideration of a child's abilities and faculties – of its very nature – should guide any educational intervention. Late eighteenth-century philosophers stressed the difference between children's inherited nature, which had to be understood and respected, and their social nature, which had to be developed. This was depicted in the "Portrait of the Perfect Child" by the private tutor Pierre Prevost (1751–1839) from Geneva in his personal notes:

> Usually gay, sometimes a bit crazy, but always good, even when he is excited, the perfect child never hurts others, wishing not to be a burden, knowing that he must monitor his own reactions; for this he waits to indulge in his delirium of joy, for that moment when he is certain that it will not result in any inconvenience to those who are in his entourage, e.g. in the countryside.[7]

Recent studies on the correspondence between Dutch children and parents from 1770 to 1850 have highlighted the contrast between the natural characteristics of the child and his social responsibilities. In these letters, parents wanted their children to express themselves in their own, natural style, as Willemijn Ruberg discovered. However, the qualifier 'natural' can have very different meanings. It might, for example, connote being appropriate for a child or "proper or *comme il faut*",[8] depending on social and family conventions.

Both Prevost's portrait of the perfect child and Tiedemann's precise observations reveal the new role assigned to young children within the domestic sphere. The decline in the use of wet nurses outside the home brought children closer to their parents and roused a new public interest in various educational roles, which pedagogues and philosophers described in their respective publications.

The analysis of family practices based on personal writings (particularly educational journals and diaries by both parents and children) allows us to explore the self-perception of parents, the influence of educational literature on the methods applied and their way of evaluating the child as well as how children experienced this educational period.

Current state of research: childhood and parenthood

How is parental investment in children's education to be assessed? This question has been posed by Philippe Marchand in the introduction to an abundant compilation of correspondence between parents, children and boarding school directors, published in 2018. Marchand's publication makes these sources available to researchers, thus giving them a basis for their studies.[9] Personal writings such as diaries, autobiographies and correspondence make it possible to study family practices. In the 1990s, historians such as Martine Sonnet has pointed out that the vast majority of research literature was still devoted to educational institutions.[10] In the French-speaking world, the history of education has long privileged pedagogical doctrines that had their heyday in the late nineteenth century. Topics including institutional and domestic education are more recent.

Recent studies by historians of family and private life have increasingly shown interest in both home education and the role of its different actors – parents, children and other relatives – because these factors shaped the lives of children within their families. In his pioneering work published in 1960, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Philippe Ariès demonstrates the evolution of childhood. He shows a shift in views on childhood and children, ranging from indifference during the Middle Ages to special attention in the eighteenth century, based on a survey of family and educational practices.

The book, which had an impact far beyond the Francophone sphere, inspired further research on childhood and the lives of children, as well as the formation of educational methodology. Two different approaches emerged in this context; the first is represented by Edward Shorter and Randolph Trumbach who[11] largely followed Philippe Ariès, suggesting that there was an emergence of a new parental involvement during the period of Enlightenment. This assumption was shared by Lawrence Stone, who in his 1979 book *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*, documented changes in family behaviour and the attitudes of fathers and mothers towards their children. Linda Pollock belongs to a second group of historians who, based on numerous personal writings from England, argues that parent–child relationships were over time in fact rather consistent.[12] The assumption that a special feeling between parents and children emerged *ex nihilo* has since been abandoned. Instead, historians today believe that during the last decades of the eighteenth century, a new closeness developed due to certain practices as well as ways of expressing the relationship with the child.[13]

There is no doubt that the history of childhood and family education owes much to Ariès. However, researchers today suggest looking beyond his iconic publication, which obscures the importance of other studies in this field. During the 1990s and 2000s, major studies on the history of childhood,[14] mothers[15] and parenthood[16] became milestones in this research. This development has continued in recent years around topics including gender and relationships between children and adults but also, and even more innovatively, between children themselves. The publication of the historians Rudolf Dekker and Arianne Baggermann from 2009, *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary*, which analyses the exceptional diary of a young Dutch boy, Otto van Eck, from 1790 to 1797, is a prime example of this new approach.[17] Writing on the history of childhood from a child's point of view is a current trend, as can be seen from the studies on children's experiences in wartime, or at school, that are popular in present-day research.[18] These studies seek to understand children's agency, as Colin Heywood argues in his introduction of his last book *Childhood in Modern Europe*.[19] The history of emotion is also a key topic in this respect, as shown by *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*,[20] edited by Paula S. Fass in 2013, and *Childhood and Emotion: Across cultures 1450–1800* by Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley printed in 2014.[21] Children's personal writings appear to be significant for these new approaches.

The study of educational practices in the home – and the place of the various agents in it – has been revitalized over the past ten years or so. The book *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, edited by Mary Hilton in 2009,[22] proposes to reconcile the history of education in the eighteenth century with the history of school attendance and professionalization of teaching in nineteenth-century England. The latter has long been the subject of a large number of research studies. In the French-speaking world, the desire to balance these two topics can be seen in recent studies on the agents of domestic education such as private tutors and governesses[23] who were essential for domestic education and educational innovation, but whom we know little about.[24] At the same time,

historians have also provided new material for researchers. The edition of the frequent reports written by the Vaudois private tutor Frédéric-César de La Harpe on his pupils Alexander, future Alexander I, and his brother, and those of the journal of Charles Gardeur-Lebrun and Bernard de Bonnard, respectively private teacher and *sous-gouverneur* of Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, are prime examples of this trend.[25]

Parents and children in the Swiss-French region as mirrored in their writings (1750–1820)

Fashionable parental care

In his memoirs written after 1814, Charles de Talleyrand, born in 1754, recalled his early childhood and the way he was brought up. He maintained that, during his youth, "the fashion of paternal care had not yet arrived".[26] A few years earlier, in 1811, the French man of letters and future statesman, François Guizot, commented on this shift in his periodical *Les Annales de l'éducation*. He concluded that due to social and financial reasons, customs of his country had changed during the previous 50 years and that education, which had long been left to employees – often foreigners – had become the main occupation of the parents. He explained this development with the impact of the Revolution, which had diminished the fortunes of many families and cut off social ties that were considered artificial. As a result, family bonds were strengthened and fathers brought closer to their children, who, from an early age, would become the object of attention in a social milieu that they were urged to renew.[27] The study of personal writings shows that this pronounced parental investment, which both Talleyrand and François Guizot recalled, was witnessed by contemporaries themselves. In the last third of the eighteenth century, several fathers and mothers wrote about what they referred to as new feelings for their young children. Thus, when the Geneva merchant Charles de Constant (1762–1835) and his wife Anne Achard, who lived in London in the early 1800s, were expecting their first child, the future father addressed the feeling that he experienced in his diary: "Can I believe that the tenderness I feel towards this little being is a mere instinct? I already have the ambition to make him into a man and his future happiness is the object of my solicitude".[28] Even before the birth of the child, which turned out to be a girl, the father-to-be expressed an educational ideal based both on the development of the child into an adult that he intended to guide and influence and his own perception of the purpose of education. The father's feeling was closely bound to the sense of paternal educational duty. One of his fellow countrymen, the merchant François Gautier (1755–1828), also reflected on the feeling he experienced for his firstborn in a diary that was kept for his son. He commented a remark by his wife who stressed his strong interest in their 18-month-old boy:

> This emotional attachment is like no other. Feelings for other human beings are generally based on reciprocity and on various other relationships and motives, which we can easily justify; while the former, in contrast, rather depends on instinct or on powerful involuntary affections stemming from the soul such as love, etc.[29]

This description of the feeling he had for his son echoed the observations that the historian Rebekka Habermas has made for the German-speaking bourgeois world. Based on the history of the bourgeois family Roth from Nuremberg, she noted that between the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the emotional investment of parents in their children changed from the expectation of a certain form of reciprocity towards "disinterested parenting".[30]

In Geneva, the statistics teacher, Jean Picot (1777–1864), observed his young wife developing feelings for their baby of one week. Comparing these emotions to those she felt for her brother, he declared that she was "almost surprised to be such a tender mother because before she had not expected to love this child very much".[31]

The fact that these new parents were astonished about their new and unexpected feelings demonstrates that parental emotions for a child were by no means a matter of certainty. An increase in breastfeeding by birth-mothers or in hiring live-in wet nurses rather than relying on wet nurses outside the home brought parents and children physically and emotionally closer together. Charles de Constant, for example, who admitted that his second daughter Henriette, born in 1800, meant less to him than his elder one, explained this feeling by the fact that his wife had not breastfed her.[32] This view was in line with the argument Rousseau developed in *Emile*. Breastfeeding was promoted as a means of establishing a strong and unique bond between mother and child. Being a young father, Charles de Constant reflected on his own childhood and his father's attitude towards his children. Like Talleyrand, de Constant observed a change in paternal attitude from one generation to the next, stating that he did not remember seeing his father with children once; he was not even sure that his father had an interest in children.[33] Baron Louis-François Guiguer (1741–1786), a Parisian banker who was ennobled in the wake of the acquisition of the barony of Prangins located near the shore of Lake Geneva, mentioned similar observations in his diary. At the time his wife gave birth to their third boy, he wrote about the importance of his new role as a father, "I am an important man now, a family father".[34] An acquaintance saw him, as he said, "walking around the room with my little boy in my arms, she found me very happy and by no means ridiculous".[35] This is an indication of the increasingly progressive attitude and new form of intimacy between fathers and their young children in this social milieu during the last third of the eighteenth century.[36] Rosalie de Constant, Charles' sister who remained single, judged this new and close relationship in a rather negative way. In a letter to her brother written in February 1800, she stated: "The current educational methods often shock me when I observe children at the centre of the activity and the feelings of their parents, since they get accustomed to this kind of worship".[37]

Educators and philosophers have long been interested in the question of the extent of closeness between parents and children as part of their education. In his treatise, John Locke argued that it was important for fathers to be strict in the upbringing of their young children, but that strict discipline should be relaxed with increasing age.[38] Discipline was perceived as essential for maintaining respect and obedience – as envisaged by Rosalie de Constant a century later – and was by no means incompatible with the development of a strong and affective bond between parents and children. However, Locke found that corporal punishment such as beating did little good.[39] Some 20 years later, the Lausanne philosopher and professor Jean-Pierre de Crousaz, in his *Traité de l'éducation des enfants* (1722), urged parents to spend only minimal time with their children.[40] His colleague, the Geneva professor of ecclesiastical history Ami Lullin, expressed the same view in a publication intended for a female readership entitled *La femme de mérite*, distributed in Geneva in the late 1740s. After listing the attributes that mothers should possess, Lullin argued that their constant presence with their children was not desirable, which reflected the common seventeenth-century view of denouncing 'coddling'.[41] For him, "a mother who clucks incessantly (please forgive the use of the term) and who never leaves her young

ones becomes a housekeeper; her presence being too continuous loses its value and her counsel being too frequent loses its authority". He added that "children should regard the chambers of their parents as a desirable place where to be allowed access must be seen as a reward".[42] Comparing the educational views of Jean-Pierre de Cousaz and Ami Lullin with examples taken from the personal writings of fathers and mothers of the last third of the eighteenth century reveals a stark contrast. The shift in how educational practice was perceived went hand in hand with an increasing esteem for parenthood in this respect.

The call to parents

During the second half of the eighteenth century, philosophers and pedagogues hoped to convince fathers and mothers to become true partners in their projects for the good of society. In doing so, they placed education on a pedestal of which the parents would become the pillars. This movement caused a mushrooming of educational literature addressing fathers and mothers, which even increased after the appearance of *Emile*.

Numerous philosophers established educational principles which parents were expected to follow. The genre of educational advice literature, above all the works of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, aroused growing interest among fathers and mothers. However, many of them criticized Rousseau for his utopian approach, which they considered impossible or even dangerous to implement. Following on from Rousseau, several pedagogues made parents the main target audience of their books, for instance Johann Bernhard Basedow, who published a book entitled *Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker* in 1770. Strongly influenced by Rousseau and his emphasis on the important role of parents in education, Basedow highlighted the need for basic textbooks and a straightforward method to follow, both of which he intended to provide.

The role of parents was also highlighted by Félicité de Genlis in her epistolary novel *Adele and Theodore* (1782), in which father and mother dedicated themselves exclusively to the education of their two children, residing in the countryside for many years in order to offer them an ideal environment. Félicité de Genlis, herself a mother and educator, focused in her writings on the practical side of education. In the upper-class society of Lausanne, Catherine de Charrière de Sévery (1741–1796) praised de Genlis's in a letter to her 15-year-old son Wilhelm:

> We acquired a new book by Madame de Genlis, entitled *Adele and Theodore*. It gives us great pleasure. [...] I am delighted with it; heaven knows what a pity it is that it did not appear twenty years ago. There are wonderful things in it about education and on many other aspects of life.[43]

Others were more critical, for instance Baron Guiguer de Prangins, who noted the discussions he had with his wife about the book in his diary. While his wife Matilda appeared to be in favour, Prangins doubted the validity of an approach based on the implementation of pedagogical experiences that were staged.[44]

There are many examples that demonstrate the interest in pedagogical literature which was discussed between couples and more broadly within their social milieu. However, with the exception of a few well-known examples, who applied the principles of Rousseau to the letter,[45] the majority of readers instead took a selective approach. In a letter sent to his wife in 1800, Pierre-Maurice Glayre (1743–1819) from Lausanne, who was highly involved

in the education of his two young children, stressed the importance of the father in education and their prerogatives:

> I know everything we are told about education, but my conduct is determined by principles modified by circumstances. With generalized commonalities and maxims, foreigners easily appear to be doctors of philosophy; but a father who is aware of his own principles should have the right to apply them.[46]

This sentiment is shared by Adélaïde-Louise-Guyonne, Countess de Castellane (1761–1805). In a text written to her husband in 1792 she advised him on educational matters in case she would die prematurely:

> During my pregnancy I carefully read all the good books which lay out the care needed during childhood; after reading Locke's Thoughts, I added the works of Mme de Genlis and those of some other lesser known authors who appeared to me to deserve some consideration. I spoke a lot with ladies who were already mothers, and I decided not to follow anything I had read or heard in a one-sided way.[47]

For Pierre-Maurice Glayre and Adélaïde de Castellane, as for many other parents, the educational treatises served as a treasure trove of ideas from which they could choose. According to their view, their status as parents gave them the authority to do so.

'Observe your children'

The vast educational literature of the last third of the eighteenth century also called on parents to improve their general knowledge of children. From the late seventeenth century, philosophers and pedagogues recommended to observe children's development closely. Rousseau proposed a more systematic approach in this respect, suggesting that the mother should keep an observation journal. Thus, in his epistolary novel *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), Julie explained to Saint-Preux, who worked as private tutor, that she carefully observed her young children and "keeps an exact record of what they do and what they say".[48] Although he did not follow up on this idea in his educational treatise *Emile*, published a year later, Rousseau urged parents to be attentive to their offspring, affirming his intention to produce a treatise on the art of observation in order to provide them with guidance.[49] In the mid-1780s, the pedagogue Johann Heinrich Campe tried to convince fathers to record their observations of their children, which he intended to publish in the book *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens von einer Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher*.[50] His project was based on close proximity between fathers and children, as fathers were required to observe their offspring virtually every minute from birth. In the brochure Campe published, he listed various points that had to be paid attention to, namely the children's physical and moral development, indications of independent behaviour, attention span, moments of joy or distress, the development of language, emotions and the emergence of a distinct personality.[51] Following on Campe, the English pedagogues Richard Lovell and Maria Edgeworth,[52] the French educator and author of *Société des observateurs de l'homme*, Louis-François Jauffret,[53] and the French writer Pauline Guizot[54] encouraged parents to adopt this practice. Simultaneously, anthropology was gaining momentum and observation had become essential to the understanding of childhood

experiences. The Geneva notary René-Guillaume-Jean Prevost-Dassier (1749–1816), who became a father in the 1780s, had no doubt that it was his educational duty as an 'Enlightened father' to write down observations of his child. In 1789, he started to keep a journal, recording every move of his daughter Marianne, born in 1785, and his son, born a year later. In the preamble he specified the purposes of such an objective:

> I have often considered that one of the best ways of perfecting Education, of implementing this method, and the follow-up so necessary to assure its success and to take advantage of any mistakes or errors that may have been committed, would be to keep some kind of Journal of Education. This would become the record of all essential things that might occur in this domain, by which one would discover the principle and development of the character and talents of children and the circumstances which could have set them back or favourized them. [...] it is in order to follow the objective that I had devoted myself to the education of my children and to neglect nothing in order to perfect it, that I undertake to keep this kind of journal.[55]

In this journal, which he kept for more than 15 years, Prevost-Dassier demonstrated the importance of such an endeavour as a means of Enlightened education. For him, educational responsibility had to be accompanied by a desire for improvement based on the three pillars of observation, experimentation and writing: elements that constitute scientific procedures. There is evidence that this idea was widespread at the time, as it coincided with the creation of the first chairs of pedagogy at German universities. Education reached a pivotal moment with both appeals to parents and the development of scientific and professional approaches.

Fathers and mothers in their daily environment

The archives of French-speaking Switzerland hold a significant amount of papers, including the journal of the notary Prevost-Dassier, which show that the message of the pedagogues encouraging parents to keep diaries did not go unheeded. These documents that show a revaluation of parental roles can shed some light on how the different actors perceived their roles.

Fifteen diaries or journals of this kind can be found in the archives of the French-speaking Protestant region, written by bourgeois mothers and fathers. Similar documents have been found in France,[56] Germany[57] and England.[58] Observing and reflecting on the development and progress of one's offspring – whether in a journal dedicated exclusively to this purpose or in a personal diary – became a symbol of pedagogical progress, testifying to the importance that these writers attributed to their role and their willingness to implement it. Women's diaries in particular illustrate the influence of the ideal of the good mother, which was described, for instance, in Rousseau's *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*, embodied by the heroine, mainly addressing female readers. Julie, as has already been mentioned above, dedicated her life to the education of her children during their early years, strived to ensure their good health and kept an observation record that allowed her to better understand them and adopt a form of education that corresponded with their personalities.

Women's diaries and other maternal writings reveal that children's health, particularly that of very young infants, was paramount for the mothers, who carefully noticed public advice and state policies regarding this matter. Infant mortality tables that first appeared in

the 1720s alarmed doctors and moralists, who held mothers responsible for the survival of their children. The observational journals testify to the significance that was ascribed to this responsibility. For some authors, the diary was primarily a health journal, which included only a few notes on the child's moral and intellectual development. Observing the child on a daily basis, mothers recorded symptoms of illnesses and their development, chosen treatments as well as their outcomes. They catalogued changes in diet and their effect on the infant, and carefully monitored phases which were deemed dangerous in the development of the child such as teething, weaning, infant diseases and inoculation.

Being a good mother involved not only careful observation of one's child but also being loved by it. The child of a good mother, who encouraged bonding, would always demonstrate its preference for her. The link that Rousseau established between breastfeeding and loving attachment was widespread, as evidenced by the example of Adélaïde Le Fort (1793–1884) from Geneva, wife of the law professor Jean-Louis Le Fort. In the diary she kept for her firstborn, Frederic, in the early 1810s, she praised breastfeeding, which she thought was the reason for her close relationship with her child and the emotions he showed for her.[59] She believed so deeply in the connection between breastfeeding and mother–child bonding that she feared weaning would mean the end of it. When she realized that it did not, she noted with relief "I thought he would no longer love once I stopped breastfeeding him. His platonic love delights me".[60]

Whilst the actual practice of keeping a diary indicated that mothers felt the need to report on their role or to express, as Anthony Fletcher has put it, their "motherly performance",[61] they also used the performative nature of writing to frequently re-affirm their maternal skills. By claiming certain prerogatives, they defined in return the responsibilities that they considered intrinsically related to their role, such as the decision of how to feed their children, their general care, weaning as well as learning and developing certain skills.

Fathers' journals and diaries, on the other hand, show that their observations were instead based on scientific principles. They paid close attention to the potential of their children. When the German pedagogue Dietrich Tiedemann published his first children's diary recording his observations on the cognitive development of his son from birth, other fathers appear to have followed him in the same vein. From 1805, Jean Picot, for instance, also made detailed notes on the development of his two older sons, Eugène and Adrien, born in 1805 and 1807. He recorded when they started to laugh, when they recognized themselves in the mirror and other stages of their physical, linguistic and cognitive development. These observations, particularly during their first years, indicated a strong interest in the development of his two children. When his eldest son was 14 months, Picot observed "signs of future intelligence" that raised his hopes.[62] He recorded the words and little phrases that the child uttered, which indicates he also paid attention to its cognitive development. In terms of his son's linguistic development he thought he was, at the age of two years, as he put it, "superior to most of his peers".[63] When his son was three, Picot's evaluation reads as follows:

> This good little boy has done really well, he is 34 ¾ inches tall, 9 inches at the waist and weighs 25 ¾ pounds – he is perfectly healthy, pink and white, of a sweet and happy nature; but he has not continued his progress in reading, and is even less advanced than he was last autumn when he read the alphabet fluently; it is rather difficult to make him concentrate because of his great aimlessness; I do not think that one could ever complain about his sensitivity, as he is good; he often

> shows great friendliness towards his brother and even looks after him; he talks easily and is already coming to some small reasoned conclusions; sometimes he even has very funny ideas: yesterday he told me, I want to kill this hazelnut, meaning I want to crack it. He likes us to take care of him, otherwise I think he is just like other children.[64]

Picot continued his observations over the following years, recording the child's progress in learning, particularly reading, Latin and arithmetic. Jean Picot compiled annual reports on the knowledge and skills his son acquired and his improvements, for example his writing, which in December 1813 Picot considered "horrible and unreadable"; in 1816, he made a note about his untidiness.[65] Picot continued his observation journal even when Eugene went to college, recording his significant progress where he became one of the best students. He also observed his social progress. In this respect, he thought of his son as timid and a bad dancer, both imperfections that had to be corrected. These observations reveal the father's expectations concerning the development of his son.

For René-Guillaume-Jean Prevost-Dassier, the Genevan notary whom we have already mentioned, the diary was an integral part of his educational project. Following Rousseau's advice, he initially chose home education for his two children, which he intended to carry out himself based on his readings, reflections and his intimate knowledge of their development. In the case of his son Charles, however, Rousseau's principles soon revealed their limitations. Prevost-Dassier abandoned the principles of negative education that he had favoured during his son's early youth. When his son was nine, he started to consider education in the home as well as maternal supervision as inefficient, justifying his decision to try another educational method, namely college: "his extreme vivacity and carelessness need stricter rules than those provided by domestic education, particularly through the supervision by a mother, as my work only allows me to be with him from time to time".[66]

Due to his son's persistent failure to adapt and make progress at state college and various boarding schools, Prevost-Dassier decided to send him to England where, far away from the family sphere and the detailed observational programme to which his father had subjected him from birth, he was expected to acquire the knowledge necessary for employment at a prestigious company. For this father, keeping a journal was a sign of his desire for perfection, as was his strong interest in education, which hardly appeared compatible with his daily working routine. The examples of Prevost-Dassier and Jean Picot show that the greater the parent's 'investment' in education, the higher the expectations of their children.

The voice of children and of young people

The educational practices of the French-speaking elite in Switzerland have left a plethora of written material about young people, which makes this region a particularly favourable one for a case study to explore writings from a child's point of view. More than 80 journals written between 1720 and 1820 by young people aged eight to 21 who voiced their educational experiences have yet been identified. While Hugh Cunningham argues that young people's diaries shed light on adult conventions and expectations of children rather than on their own individual experiences, this view somewhat discredits the child's voice.[67] Colin Heywood, on the other hand, emphasizes that they in fact constructed their own self, which developed by gradually integrating the affective and social codes that governed their milieu.[68]

Depending on the age of the children authors (8, 10, 12, 17 or 20 years), whether they wrote with or without parental approval and under their direction or secretly, the objectives of these journals are extremely varied. Some take the form of an examination of conscience, others resemble an exercise in writing and recording daily activities. Most young people, subtly encouraged by the parents, wrote 'freely' in their diaries. The diversity of their writings mirrors the diversity of models and influences that led to the development of this practice.

Apart from religious influences, the active promotion of this practice by pedagogues during the second half of the eighteenth century and models proposed by approved literature, family influences appear to have been particularly decisive. Indeed, a genuine culture of diary keeping developed among elite families, and series of diaries from the same family have been found, for instance in the Lullin archives that belong to an influential Geneva family. One of these diaries was written by Marie-Charlotte Lullin (1725–1750), daughter of Ami Lullin, professor of ecclesiastical history at the Geneva Academy. She started keeping a diary in 1741, at the age of 16. A second one is by Albertine Amelie Boissier (1745–1817), daughter of Marie-Charlotte Lullin, who began writing in 1761, also at the age of 16 years. Finally, a third was kept by Albertine de Saussure (1766–1841), daughter of Albertine Amelie and of Horace-Benedict de Saussure, professor of philosophy, and grand-daughter of Marie-Charlotte, who started her diary at the age of ten and continued until she was 17 years old, that is to say from 1776 to 1783. Similar to this series are the diaries written by the Necker family – Susanne and her daughter Germaine, the future Mme de Stael[69] – and by the Lausanne family Charrière de Sévery.[70] This material allows us to explore not only what these young ladies thought about what was correct behaviour in society, about relationships and their own education but also how values were passed on within families. The analysis of different diary series shows great similarities in these perceptions.

In the bourgeois elite, education was geared towards forming responsible children. Between the age of 12 and 14, young people used their diaries to assert their autonomy, and their social milieu tended to move away from that of their parents. Diaries came to be a means of taking control of their lives and their education, thus becoming a tool for managing their moral development, their use of their time and their social activity. Early on, Albertine de Saussure took on the management of her daily life and her educational programme, while her parents monitored her progress. In her diary, she recorded the following scene, explaining why she wanted to decide for herself how to use her time:

> After dinner Papa found me just wandering around and said to me in a rather dry tone that I did not practice the harpsichord enough and that I had to play more often; snubbed I went to play it. Although I understood why he would say that, I was angry being ordered to do it.[71]

The father's reproach went hand-in-hand with his expectation of her to pursue and focus on an ambitious learning programme, just like numerous bourgeois children. Diary writing served as an important means of supervision in this respect. It was part of, as Foucault has put it, the "technologies of the self" which

> permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct,

> and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.[72]

However, the majority of diary-writers in the French-speaking region of Switzerland took on this task voluntarily, and it was their decision whether to continue or stop it. For example, the young Genevan Louis Odier (1748–1817), who studied medicine in Edinburgh, dropped his diary-writing in 1768, by his own admission, out of laziness and without any obvious remorse.[73]

As a means of control, learning, management and discipline, the teenage diary was a tool which gradually replaced parental supervision. Writing a diary was a sign that the child had taken on educational responsibility. In this sense, diaries became a means to affirm and create a child's independence. In the article *gouverneur* in the *Encyclopédia* of Paris, Lefebvre, lawyer and man of letters, declared: "The bonds of authority must be relaxed as education progresses. If we want a young man to use his freedom well, we must, as much as we can, make the passage from subordination to independence almost invisible for him".[74] The practice of personal writing became part of the smooth passage recommended by the philosopher, making a gradual emancipation possible, particularly for boys who eventually had to leave their families.

Conclusion

Seen through a socio-cultural lens, investigating the practices of personal writing allow us to better understand how children's education was practised by eighteenth-century elites. This is particularly interesting since this period underwent profound changes in the perception of educational issues. On the one hand, the idea of the strong influence of education and opportunity to participate in the general improvement of society through better education was widespread, with decisive consequences for the effort made by those most concerned. On the other hand, the mushrooming educational literature offered guidance and advice in the form of behaviour models, which clearly impacted the self-perception of their actions. These publications revalued parents' dedicated efforts but also exposed them to criticism of insufficient attention to education. Thus, educated circles felt encouraged to commit themselves to their children's education. It remains difficult to estimate the influence of Rousseau and his principles in this context. However, it is fair to say that his work reflected contemporary views, rather than promoting a new ideology. As Marcel Grandière has argued, Rousseau's success can be explained by the fact that society was prepared to welcome his ideas.[75] The analysis of diaries and journals has confirmed such an assumption.

Personal writings show the domestic sphere as a place where different people assumed complementary roles that seemed to be well established. Influenced by pedagogical discourses, parents shouldered the responsibility for their educational task with conviction and used their personal writings to testify to their efforts in both the educational and emotional domains. Those who did not abide by these rules were aware of deviating from what appeared to be the new norm. Diaries and journals also reveal the parents' desire to better understand their children's potential and take account of this in their education.

Children's journals, on the other hand, when written without the control of a parent, bear witness to their experience of emancipation, which took place in the controlled environment of the home. Thus, the domestic sphere constituted the framework that allowed children to assume responsibilities for their learning and general development as well as the interactions within their social milieu.

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17
LEARNING AT HOME
Class, religion, gender and family

Mary Clare Martin

Introduction

From January 2020, children in countries as diverse as China, Italy, Spain, South Korea and the United States were educated at home, as schools closed due to the risks of COVID-19. Responses by parents and children varied from enthusiasm to boredom, depending on the resources of the families, the education system of the country concerned and the nature of the professional teaching available.[1] Although the contemporary consensus was that these were 'strange times', compulsory state-funded education has been the exception rather than the rule in world history. This chapter will analyse the process of learning at home across social classes in the nineteenth century. Although the main focus will be on Britain, comparisons will be made with Continental Europe, including the Nordic countries. Unlike previous studies, it will develop themes of intersectionality,[2] thereby engaging with issues of class as well as gender. Unusually, it will bring together contrasting historiographies of the home, gender, 'history from below', working-class history, education and the history of childhood. A survey of the topic will be followed by identification of the state of research, including gender and denominational difference, consideration of the numbers attending school and the impact of the arrangement of domestic space. Subsequent sections will consider case studies of who did the teaching – the respective roles of parents, governesses, tutors and siblings – and curriculum and pedagogy.

In the British context, the topic of nineteenth-century domestic education straddles many fierce debates within social and labour history, gender history and the history of education. On the one hand, domestic teaching has been perceived as an aspect of working-class autonomy, or religiosity.[3] On the other, elite girls have been perceived as disadvantaged compared to elite boys, because their education was mainly restricted to the home.[4] The first part of the century is often characterized as one in which the ideology of domesticity – often described as 'separate spheres' – was particularly powerful for the middle classes, with increasing emphasis on the role of the mother as educator.[5] Feminists' complaints about the poor quality of domestic education have frequently been reproduced.[6]

Although the 1800s is frequently regarded as the landmark century for the establishment of schemes of nationally funded compulsory education,[7] the relationship between mass schooling and home education has rarely been explored.[8] Did schools disempower family

members by appropriating skills which they had previously taught, as the philosopher Ivan Illich argued?[9] There is certainly plentiful evidence of domestic teaching of literacy skills in the early modern period.[10] Alternatively, did the advent of compulsory education put more pressure on poorer parents to be literate, to prepare their children for school, by teaching them the alphabet and helping with homework?

Discussions about home education rarely engage with religion, yet religious teaching was one of the earliest forms of compulsory education.[11] It is frequently asserted that the imperative for all to be able to read the Bible increased literacy rates,[12] but were there differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant countries? To what extent, in Protestant Britain, did traditions of dissent – from the Church of England (established in 1534) promote free inquiry?[13] Louis Althusser has characterized the state rather than the Church as the ideological state apparatus in nineteenth-century France,[14] but might home education become more important if religion or doctrinal teaching were expelled from schools? By the late nineteenth century, numerous religious organisations and youth groups were established to promote religious education in out of school settings in France and elsewhere.[15]

Since 1987 and earlier, feminist historians have claimed that a new ideology of domesticity emerged, linked to the withdrawal of middle-class women from the workplace. Indeed, for Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, gender difference was a powerful force in the making of the English middle class.[16] Moreover, as increasing numbers of men worked outside the home, John Tosh, for example, argued that fathers felt excluded from child-rearing over the nineteenth century.[17] This paradigm has been hotly contested. Amanda Vickery argued that women had always been defined by their roles as mothers and homemakers.[18] Admittedly, there were changes in the long-term division of labour due to the Industrial Revolution, notably a move away from household production to the factory, but there were also new occupations. Indeed, Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair challenged the validity of the 'separate spheres' paradigm for nineteenth-century Glasgow.[19] Such debates are significant for the experience of learning at home. If domestic organisation was heavily gendered, how did this impact on the learners, and was this class-specific? Moreover, since many eighteenth-century mothers acted as educators,[20] is it valid to emphasize the increased importance of the mother as educator in the early nineteenth? The theme of children's home learning thus provides a new perspective through which to explore domestic ideology.

Children's perspectives on learning at home will be explored by drawing on the approaches of the history of childhood and youth, and on a wide range of personal documents, including letters and diaries. While acknowledging the difficulties of using autobiographies,[21] these are useful in illustrating recurrent themes, for example the place of domestic religious practice in life-story narration.[22] Jane Humphries has used such texts extensively for the working class and Jane Hamlett, for the middle classes.[23] Collections of working-class autobiographies, mainly published in the 1980s, contain surprisingly few insights into education at home.[24] In addition, unpublished and published memoirs and letters have been selected to illustrate different types of life-story trajectory, across a range of social classes, religious denominations and across the century. Contemporary and retrospective narratives thus illustrate the range of experiences which were available, and draw contrasts with existing orthodoxies.

State of research

In 2015, Christina de Bellaigue edited a special issue of *Oxford Review of Education*, exploring the changing meanings of "home education" and argued that individuals should

be considered as experiencing a range of educational environments, rather than setting up dichotomies between home and school, and formal and informal education.[25] The historiography of learning at home in nineteenth-century Britain is complicated. On the one hand, middle- or upper-class girls have been considered as disadvantaged compared to boys, because their education was mainly conducted in a domestic environment, and because they did not have access to prestigious institutions of learning.[26] On the other, historians of the working class have emphasized the warm and close relationships within which domestic learning could occur, in contrast with school regimes.[27] Scholars also stress the regional and gendered nature of domestic educational traditions,[28] while previous practices of domestic education might include the labouring poor catechizing their children at home.[29] The physical disruption of the Industrial Revolution has been considered to make domestic reading in working-class homes more difficult, worse in the city than the country.[30]

Recent research on the middle classes has further complicated the picture. Not only has it been acknowledged that mothers might provide a rich educational experience for their children, Michèle Cohen maintains that domestic education might be more valuable than that received at the 'public schools'. For Cohen, "familiar conversation" was a significant aspect of eighteenth-century education at home, though this declined in the nineteenth century.[31] Yet, others have argued for a rich home culture of political discussion in the 1800s.[32] Qin and Bruce have suggested that girls' domestic education in Germany and China was intended to promote middle-class power, bourgeois sociability and skills and knowledge – but within limits.[33]

While Britain is usually regarded as 'The First Industrial Nation', state-organized education systems had existed, if only briefly, since the early 1700s in Prussia (from 1715), and Poland (1773). The Napoleonic Code established a bureaucracy for schools in France to train elites for government service.[34] Indeed, some state-funded education was available in colonized countries, such as Ireland and India, in the 1830s, before the metropole, whereas, within Britain, government funds were first allocated to religious societies in 1833, initially only for school buildings.[35]

Of course, there are no simple dichotomies even allowing for differing education systems. From 1833, factory children in England and Wales were expected to attend school part time.[36] For the middle and upper classes, schooling is usually presented as heavily gendered, with boys being sent away to boarding school from the age of about seven or eight, and girls being educated at home by governesses and family members. If they did attend school, these were likely to be smaller, more familial in nature and inferior academically.[37] These generalizations ignore the multiple layers of the middle class. Boarding at the 'great' schools was more likely to be a practice of the aristocracy in the eighteenth century, yet this group was more able to afford private tutors.[38] While Henry French and Mark Rothery found that it was difficult to assess the influence of 'public', that is, privately funded schools,[39] Christina de Bellaigue has estimated that about half of all middle-class girls would have been attending private school by mid-century.[40] This contrasts with Germany and China where the majority of middle-class girls were educated at home.[41] Moreover, most middle-class boys did not attend the 'great' schools, but went to local grammar schools, proprietary schools, or small privately funded schools.[42] Boys who were destined to work in business were likely to leave school at the age of 15.[43] Indeed, within the same family, boys could follow different pathways in business and the professions.[44]

What about the labouring poor and working class? Literacy has been measured by the ability to sign the marriage register, despite the flaws in this methodology.[45] While Loftur

Guttormsen argued that few women could write letters in Europe until the end of the long nineteenth century,[46] Susan Whyman has found extensive evidence of letter writing by the poor and middling sort, females as well as males in eighteenth-century England.[47] In England and Wales, charity schools had been established in the eighteenth century, mainly in towns, and Sunday schools from mid-century.[48] Meg Gomersall has argued that it was only in the early nineteenth century that there was a commitment to schooling for all working class girls.[49] Heywood considers that historians of Europe agree rural areas lagged far behind urban ones in terms of school provision,[50] yet, in England, rural areas could be better provided for than some cities, described as "centres of educational destitution", in 1870, where population rapidly exceeded supply.[51] Despite a decline in literacy in areas such as the Black Country, between about 1780 and 1840, due to the Industrial Revolution, elsewhere, many new schools were being founded.[52]

While compulsory state-funded education was introduced across the century in different European countries, the 1870s was a crucial decade in which Britain and France introduced universal systems of state funding.[53] Thus, in England and Wales, the 1870 Forster Act enshrined the principle of a place for every child and elementary education became compulsory with the Mundella Act of 1880 and free in 1891. The Scottish Act made elementary education universal and compulsory in 1872.[54] However, most children were attending day school before 1870; in 1861, it was estimated that there was a school place for every child, though attendance was limited and school life on average about three years. In some areas, supply was already sufficient in 1870.[55]

Cohen argued that John Locke's preference for domestic education with a tutor was superseded by renewed emphasis on the value of 'public' schools by the end of the eighteenth century.[56] Valerie Sanders has explored the differential educational experiences of elite children in the nineteenth century, arguing that most boys went to school aged about eight or nine.[57] As Jones notes, it has become an historiographical commonplace that middle-class manliness was formed by the contrast between domestic environment and the rough and tumble of public schools. But not all elite boys went to school: indeed, early in the nineteenth century, it was quite common for the sons of country clergymen to be educated at home.[58] Charles Marriott (1811–1858) hated Rugby, even as a day-boy, and, with his brother, was sent to live with a clergyman.[59] Boarding school might only be for a short period, preceded by attendance at a day or boarding preparatory school.[60] Although the trend to send boys away accelerated over the nineteenth century, some were educated at home if school was unsuitable, one example being the future artist Richard Nevinson.[61] This could be the case with non-bookish boys; Hugh Lowther (born in 1857), "the Yellow Earl", was expelled from school and his father provided an instructor in boxing.[62] Religious affiliation might play a part, since Nonconformists and Roman Catholics were more likely to attend denomination-specific schools.[63] The Quaker banker Joseph Gurney Barclay (1816–1898) allegedly avoided persecution by being privately tutored at home, but later regretted missing out on the opportunities of public school and university.[64] Girls might also be catered for: in the 1840s, the Unitarian William Gaskell gave lessons to the Paterson and Winkworth sisters in his Manchester home.[65] Yet, this essay will take issue with the frequent characterization of Nonconformist education for girls as of a higher standard than that for Anglicans.[66]

Over the nineteenth century, institutional educational opportunities for girls in England and Wales improved, with the founding of Queen's College in 1848, academic girls' schools from the 1850s and the Girls' Public Day School Trust in 1872.[67] Scotland already had a system of academies.[68] While acknowledging the problems of definition and accuracy,

Gordon and Nair have mapped the decline in numbers of "scholars at home" listed in nineteenth-century Glasgow censuses, and consequent increase in girls attending school.[69]

Bellaigue has suggested that few of the elite argued for a home education (for boys) by mid-century.[70] Yet in this period, when increasing numbers of families went to live in the British Empire, boys as well as girls might need to depend on the resources of parents and tutors,[71] which accounts for the founding of the National Home Education Union in 1886.[72] While education systems are usually presented as class-specific, more in-depth research shows a complex picture of similar experience across social classes. Thus, about 1816, the family of Sarah Richardson, children of a judge/barrister, and some friends' children in prominent High Church families were educated on the monitorial system pioneered by Andrew Bell and developed by the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church from 1808 onwards.[73] Religious teaching was regarded as necessary for all children, and fault lines might be between denominations rather than across social classes, for example, teaching the Church catechism (Anglicans) and the Shorter Catechism (Nonconformists).[74]

A very different perspective was David Vincent's definition in 1991 of the "domestic curriculum" in working-class families. This consisted, firstly, of mastering the essential skills for living and working. Secondly, "an elaborate body of information concerning the identity of the child and its community had to be acquired. Thirdly, the child had to discover and develop its imaginative faculties. Finally, a set of moral values had to be absorbed".[75] While much of Vincent's work was based on the autobiographies of autodidacts, Rosalind Crone has recently critiqued the representativeness of such work. Drawing on registers from Ipswich County Gaol in Suffolk, she argues that very few attributed their literacy skills exclusively to home education.

> Barely 1% of 'literate' offenders or a total of 90 men and women, were entirely 'home schooled', meaning that these prisoners explicitly stated they had been taught to read, or to read and write, by family members (66) or friends (23) [...]. Proportionately, more 'literate' females were home schooled than 'literate' males, but the margin separating the genders was slight.[76]

Yet Siân Pooley notes the importance of writing for pleasure at home. Through research into children's letters to the provincial popular press from 1870 to 1930, she argued that "[a]lthough basic signature literacy was learnt at school, it was through practising collaborative writing at home that writing became both a marker of growing up and a mundane enjoyable activity that children shared".[77]

The spaces for learning were also significant.[78] When commenting on the aristocratic Fox family at Holland House, London, England, Anthony Fletcher wrote: "There was nothing surprising about visitors to great houses seeing children everywhere in the 1750s. The Victorian seclusion of them in the nursery and schoolroom – under the eye of the governess – was in the future".[79] Jane Hamlett concluded that separation of children and adults became increasingly common by the 1850s. By the late nineteenth century, upper- or middle-class children might be excluded from the kitchen and secluded in nursery or schoolroom.[80] However, this was contingent on family resources, with Leonore Davidoff arguing for the essentially crowded nature of the middle-class home.[81]

Homes varied enormously in size. Aristocrats might have two or three different houses.[82] According to Hamlett and Davidoff, the average middle-class home from about 1850

onwards consisted of about two reception rooms, three or four bedrooms and a kitchen. Rooms might be adapted during the family life-cycle, with nurseries becoming schoolrooms as children grew up.[83] Working-class families had much less space, with the poorest being confined to one room.[84] Herbert Morrison, son of a policeman had more comfort and described learning taking place in the cosy environment of the kitchen.[85] Paradoxically, the only child in this study who left a lengthy description of his own room was John Kitto, the journeyman mason's son, who enjoyed a tiny attic with his treasures and his library.[86]

The sections below examine who did the teaching, and curriculum and pedagogy. They provide insights into the nature of teaching, illustrate different case studies and aspects of individual experiences and facilitate comparisons with previous studies.

Who did the teaching?

A focus on the prescriptions of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau would indicate there was a shift from the role of father as educator, at least from the age of seven, to that of the mother, across the eighteenth century.[87] Moreover, John Gillis argued for a rise in instruction by the nuclear family rather than grandparents.[88] Much has been written about the middle-class mother as increasingly in charge of her children's education in the early nineteenth century, sometimes to the exclusion of the father.[89] For some mothers, such as the Unitarian Hannah Greg, who had had a good education, but was unable to use it as a married woman, teaching her children provided an outlet and a way to use her talents. Greg's main influence was the writer Maria Edgeworth.[90] In some families, mothers devised detailed timetables and personalized workplans for their children, an example being the Anglican Mary Young, wife of a merchant, then MP, in Limehouse in 1825.[91] Louise von Glehn, born 7 July 1850, was the tenth child of a large middle-class family in Sydenham, in suburban London, whose father was a businessman from Estonia, her mother Scottish. She had a very structured education at home, conducted by mother, elder siblings and governess.[92] Gordon and Nair found that Glasgow elite mothers were more involved earlier in the century before there were so many schools for the middle classes.[93] Some mothers continued to educate young children across the century, for example, Louise von Glehn married Mandell Creighton, a clergyman and schoolmaster, and had seven children.[94]

Although Sutherland argued that, "[t]he ideal of home education was and is essentially middle class", especially after the 1870s,[95] relatives of working-class family members frequently acted as teachers. Colin Heywood characterized "mothers as teachers" – from all social classes – in nineteenth-century France. They were expected to teach children at home, using books of instruction, but not all were able to.[96] Yet, even a mother who could not read or write, such as that of Will Crooks, the future MP (1852–1921), tried to expand his horizons by borrowing magazines for him to read to himself and others.[97] Joseph Mayett was taught to read at a very early age by his mother.[98] Joseph Arch (1826–1919), farm labourer, was hugely appreciative of his mother's educational instruction and influence. The daughter of a coachman, she had been in service at Warwick castle, and was a "first rate laundress and an excellent nurse [...]. Mother set me copies, give me writing tasks and sums to work out. She was always ready to help me".[99]

Fathers might also play an important role in preliminary education. William Money wrote to his wife in 1817:

> I will give you a sketch of our day. At seven in the morning Ernle & Jimmy come into the Study. The former receives his Lesson & generally goes to the Stairs to

> learn in. The Latter reads to me for an hour from the Psalms. After breakfast, Jummy spells. & writes. Ernle then performs with his pen, learns a second Latin lesson, goes thro'a sum & sometimes a little Geography. Jummy also answers questions in the Multiplication Tables. 6 October 1817.[100]

Valerie Sanders has identified a model of "Educational Fatherhood", often fathers who were permanently based in the home, such as clergy or schoolmasters, like Charles Kingsley (1819–1875).[101] Indeed, some prominent nineteenth-century intellectuals were educated solely by their fathers: Mark Pattison (born in 1813), son of an Anglican curate in Hauxwell, Oxfordshire, the Scot William Robertson Smith (1846–1894), by his Presbyterian minister father;[102] and Edmund Gosse (1849–1928), of the Plymouth Brethren.[103] F. D. Maurice, son of a Unitarian minister, was educated by his father Michael until his late teens.[104] Quaker fathers have been identified as having an important role in stimulating discussion.[105] Moreover, some upper- and upper middle-class fathers with private incomes might have a very active educational role. William Nightingale, 'W.E.N.', undertook the full education of his daughters, Parthe and Florence, apart from art and music, although Parthe rebelled and different arrangements were made.[106] The actor William Macready 'multi-tasked', helping his children with their lessons at home, in between learning his lines for the theatre.[107] A girl in Ipswich gaol had been taught to read by her father, though otherwise Crone noted the absence of working-class fathers, as did Humphries.[108]

Rather than the "nuclear family shrinking to its core", as John Gillis argued,[109] instruction could be carried out by grandparents and siblings as well as parents, tutors or servants. William Lovett (born in 1800), who grew up in Newlyn, Cornwall, failed to learn to read at two schools, but was then taught by his great grandmother, who was aged 80. His mother sent him a present of Watts' *Songs*, promising to give him a Bible when he had learnt them all.[110] John Kitto, son of a journeyman mason, was brought up and taught by his grandmother from the age of four, in the country,[111] while Robert Roberts (born in 1834), author of *The Classic Slum*, was taught his letters by his grandfather.[112]

The number of siblings clearly influenced the nature of family life. The Industrial Revolution coincided with a big increase in illegitimacy. Family size dropped in England, from big 'sprawling' families earlier in the nineteenth century to about six later in the nineteenth century, with three being the average in 1900.[113] Some children were brought up by elder siblings, with daughters acting as full-time mothers, examples including the Anglican/Unitarian Catherine Sharpe, the Quaker Jane Barclay[114] and Anglican Alethea Adeane.[115]

Harriet Martineau (born in 1802) has been described as having an "extraordinary home education as a girl within an educated Unitarian family".[116] Her autobiography illustrates how using siblings as teachers might be more a matter of expediency and economy rather than of lasting value for the recipients:

> For nearly two years [...] Rachel and I were taught at home. Our eldest brother taught us Latin, and the next brother Henry, writing and arithmetic: and our sister French, reading and exercises. We did not get on well, except with the Latin. Our sister expected too much from us, both morally and intellectually, and she had not been herself carried on so far as to have much resource as a teacher. We owed to her however a thorough grounding in our French grammar (especially the verbs) which was of excellent service to us afterwards at school, as was a similar grounding in the Latine (sic) grammar, obtained from our brother. As for Henry, he made our lessons in arithmetic &c his funny time of day.[117]

More positive evidence exists of siblings as teachers. A number helped each other learn the catechism to 1870 at least.[118] Mary Anne Leslie, a Congregationalist in London in the 1830s, heard her three younger sisters say their afternoon lessons on the Sabbath, and would then kneel down and pray with them. She also read the Bible with sisters, morning and evening, to supply "the want of family prayer".[119] Instructions were given to an 11-year-old Glasgow daughter about the children's education in their mother's absence.[120] Edward King (born in 1829), learnt Italian that he might share his sister Anne's love of Dante, while he derived his interest in botany from her.[121] Frederic Kenyon, future Director of the British Museum, was taught Latin and Greek by his elder sisters when they moved from London to Shropshire.[122] Younger children might take the initiative in informal education. Lucia Creighton (born in 1874), aged four, loved telling stories to her elder sister (born in 1872) usually about a "naughty girl who was *dead*".[123]

Nurses and nursery maids might initiate the process of becoming literate. It was claimed of Hugh James Rose, (born in 1795), son of a clergyman, that "his young nurse, who had never before had the care of an infant, is remembered [...] to have taught him the alphabet before he could speak".[124] The governess has been presented in fiction as a figure of pity or ostracism rather than of affection or respect, yet they might be family friends.[125] In many households, teachers or tutors were hired to teach specific subjects. In 1842, Elizabeth Fry, aged 16, one of four sisters living in Essex, recorded "A pleasant settled morning with Mr Williams [...] astronomy, arithmetic".[126] Harriet Martineau claimed she was intrinsically musical, and never sang out of tune, but that her music master, the organist at Norwich Cathedral, ruined music for her because of his bad temper.[127] Gwen Darwin, who later went to the Slade Art School, recalled the Wednesday Drawing class, taught by Miss Mary Greene, which started when she was nine, and was shared with her cousins, as the "centre of my youthful existence".[128]

Many families employed foreign governesses or servants, some explicitly to teach their own language.[129] The Hunts, a clergy family in Bedfordshire, had a much loved Swiss governess, an excellent teacher, for three years in the 1880s and they learned to speak French early, while Gwen Darwin's family had a French maid for the same reason.[130] In 1877, Louise Creighton wrote "I don't fancy Lucy will be long in picking up French" – from their Swiss nursemaid.[131] Katharine Chorley, daughter of a Manchester businessman, had Mademoiselle Dupuy for six years. "She taught me everything except mathematics and English poetry which my father supervised and scripture which I learned from mother." Chorley very much valued the "absence of primness", and the less Anglo-centric focus of her education.[132] In some families, children were almost entirely taught by governesses or servants. Phyllis Gotch (born in 1882), daughter of two artists, grew up in Cornwall. Her father was often away painting on location, and her mother took a studio in France.[133] Thus, parents with 'progressive' views were not necessarily more 'hands-on' as educators.

Home education might involve attending classes at others' houses. Sarah Richardson, later Selwyn, (born in 1810) went to a dancing class at the same house taught by Princess Charlotte's instructor.[134] In the 1840s, the Unitarian minister William Gaskell taught the Winkworth sisters several subjects at his house.[135] Attitudes towards home education clearly varied, even in similar social *milieux*, such as academic families. Sarah Angelina Acland (1859–1930), who pioneered colour photography, was the daughter of an Oxford professor of medicine, who shared scientific knowledge with her. She was sent away to stay with her aunt for education, and then to a small boarding school, as she had no sisters, and frequently wrote home how she missed them all.[136] By contrast, Gwen Raverat (nee Darwin, b. 1885), longed to go to school, but not only did she have to have a governess, all her cousins had separate governesses in three different schoolrooms.[137]

Curriculum and pedagogy: "a perfect treadmill of learning"?[138]

Following the variety of contexts and teachers for domestic education, this section will now focus more explicitly on curriculum and pedagogy, particularly on oral traditions and community, basic literacy, religion, the classics and other subjects.

Anthony Fletcher characterized the home education of the aristocracy and upper middle class as heavily gender-segregated, even writing gender-specific book chapters. His argument that elite girls' education focused on accomplishments, to the exclusion of intellectual or academic learning contrasts with the more positive views of Jeanne Peterson, of Victorian gentlewomen, that the conventional skills which women learnt at home, including 'accomplishments', were highly skilled occupations which could be put to professional use.[139] Yet, Fletcher also described the curriculum, for example, of the aristocrat Georgina Sitwell as "a perfect treadmill of learning".[140] In practice, however, when girls and boys were educated at home, the curriculum might be gender-neutral.[141]

Many histories of home education in this period focus on the influence and ideas of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, to the exclusion of other approaches to pedagogy.[142] Undeniably, these had some effect, yet it is comparatively rare for home educators to mention these explicitly. Indeed, the ideas of the Utilitarians, or more explicitly religious thinkers may have been more influential.[143]

Oral traditions, solitary reading and community

This section will illustrate the interweaving of both oral and written traditions in children's education across social classes. Storytelling was perceived as an initial step in the acquisition of literacy by John Kitto (born in 1802), the journeyman mason's son. He recalled how his grandmother "had a host of stories at her command, of ghosts, witches, wizards and hobgoblins", which he loved. These were told when they sat together at needlework. He would also sit with a cordwainer, who would recite stories of Blue Beard and Cinderella, and he then discovered that he could buy copies from a local shop.[144] Joseph Arch's mother

> was a great admirer of Shakespeare. She used to talk about him very often, and she was well versed in his works. She would read bits aloud to me of an evening, and tell me tales from the plays. On Sundays she used to read the Bible to me in the same way, and tell me stories from it.[145]

By contrast, for Edmund Gosse, of the Plymouth Brethren: "Not a single fiction was read or told". "Jack the Giant-Killer, Rumpelstiltskin and Robin Hood were not of my acquaintance."[146]

Cohen has argued that "familiar conversation" was a valued form of social intercourse in the eighteenth century, which fell out of favour later in the nineteenth.[147] While this decline may have coincided with the increased separation of children from adults by mid-century,[148] some authors have noted the importance of domestic political education in cultures as diverse as the Chartists, Radicals, liberals and conservatives, and especially Quakers and Dissenters.[149] Moreover, training to make conversation was an ongoing part of children's social education, as for the aristocratic Campbell children.[150]

One complaint about elite girls' education, which was repeated by feminists, has been the lack of method or system.[151] Thus, Sarah Selwyn, nee Richardson, future wife of the first bishop of New Zealand, recorded, "But nothing could supply the want of regular habits – it was all desultory and desultoriness has, I alas, coloured my life".[152] Yet, this was not an

inevitable aspect of home education. Louise Creighton (born in 1850), never attended school, which she always regretted, but had a strict regime of daily supervised studies, and was proud of being one of the eight who passed the first London University exam for women.[153]

Moreover, many working-class autodidacts recalled the process of self-education, however haphazard, and often determined by the availability of books, with great enjoyment. Many working-class autobiographies emphasize the significance of autonomy, and the heroic struggles to become literate and obtain books. The biographer of John Kitto wrote, "In these literary feats of his childhood, Kitto had derived little aid from direct instruction", having only spent time at school between his eighth and eleventh year.[154] After being in the workhouse, Will Crooks read the journal *British Workman* and "penny dreadfuls". His mother and the neighbours used to get the new papers *The Leisure Hour* and *The Sunday at Home* and "ask us boys to read the stories to them". He got some of Dickens' novels from an itinerant bookseller, a 2d copy of the *Iliad* from a bookstall, and the radical priest Robert Dolling gave him his own publication and Joe the Giant Killer.[155] Joseph Burgess's reading (1853–1934), followed a similar pattern. His father's two stodgy schoolbooks were followed by "penny dreadfuls" and the *British Workman*, as well as adventure stories.[156] Working-class autodidacts claimed to have imposed their own self-discipline, due to their love of learning. Joseph Arch, born at Barford in Oxfordshire, started work crow-scaring aged nine. He was a ploughboy age 16, then a stable boy. "I would stick like a limpet to my books in the evenings".[157] As he got older, "I stayed indoors and stuck to my self-set lessons". "I bought books, studied hard and educated myself. I did not want to play in the street with other boys."[158] Solitary reading was also practised by some middle-class boys. Charles Marriott, who preferred reading to the out of doors activities of other boys, was "never happier than when ensconced behind the window-curtain (where he could sit unobserved and unmolested) he was devouring the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*".[159]

Sutherland argued:

> For these lower middle class and upper working class families it is more appropriate to think of self-education, rather than home education, of processes whereby individuals both sought out instruction and educational opportunities for themselves, often through these seeking also some kind of self-actualisation.[160]

A female example was the Congregationalist Mary Anne Leslie, a future missionary's wife: "she could read, and was ever extremely fond of books". "Her memory was early stored with hymns, chapters of the Bible and religious facts", but she never cared for needlework.[161] Widely disseminated texts such as memoirs of missionary wives publicized the view that women could be serious readers, one hundred years before the mining of working-class autobiography in the mid-twentieth century.

Reading was a communal activity across social classes. Both Kitto and Crooks described members of their local working-class communities in London helping to lend or find them books, and, conversely, asking to be read to. Ellen Buxton, from a Quaker-Anglican dynasty of bankers and philanthropists, on a family visit in 1861/2 to her cousins the Johnstons, recorded that "we all read Macaulay's *History of England* in the drawing room in the morning".[162]

Basic learning

Poverty did not prevent parents teaching children basic skills. Karen Thuborg, from a fisherman's family in Denmark, was taught to read while her mother was knitting and her

father was repairing his fishing gear.[163] A girl at Ipswich gaol was taught to read by her father.[164] While numerous guides were produced to help parents teach children at home,[165] some parents drew up their own schemes. That of Mary Young of Limehouse in 1825 included three levels of reading, and separate schedules for each of the six children (see Table 17.1).

Edmund Gosse (1849–1928), of the Plymouth Brethren, wrote retrospectively that "it must have been my father who taught me my letters".[167] Louise Creighton's letters provide insights into the details of the process. In the 1870s, she wrote of her young daughters, aged five and three: "Bice is getting on with her reading and Lucia shows great desire to learn her letters: she has picked up some of them very quickly".[168] "Accomplishments" might help children with their earliest steps to learning. She described Lucy singing hymns before she could do anything else. Bice learned the notes for the piano aged six, and they both loved sewing with woolwork.[169]

Table 17.1 List of books used by Mrs Young, 1825[166]

First Class	*Second Class*	*Third Class*
Watts' First Catechism	Trimmer's Abridged Bible with Questions	Bible
Trimmer's and Lindley Murray's First Spelling Books	Crossman's Questions	Crossman's Questions
Taylor's Nursery Rhymes	Taylor's Hymns	Church catechism
Watts's Hymns	Church catechism	Barbauld's Hymns
Barbauld's early Lessons	Trimmer's Histories of England, Ancient Roman and Grecian with the Questions	Geography by a Lady
	Mother's and Child's Grammar	Magnalls Geography
	Geography by a Lady and Geographical Cards	Magnalls Questions
	Trimmer's geographical accompaniment	Morell's Histories of Greece, Rome and England
	Aloysius' French grammar and Phrase and word books	Guthrie's Grammar
	Eton Latin grammar	Hollins' Ancient History
	Dyche's vocabulary	Enfield's Speaker
	Butler's arithmetical tables	Butler's Arithmetic
	Taylor's Original Poems	(Mother's catechism)
	Trimmer's Footsteps to Natural History and Knowledge of Nature	(Crossman's catechism)
	Edgeworth's Frank and Rosamund	Murray's Grammar
	Murray's Second Spelling Book, and his Small Grammar	Boysius' Grammar and French exercise book
	Rules for Needle Work	Perrin's Fables
		Telemaque
		all Berquin's Tales
		Eton Grammar

Numeracy might present challenges for women especially. Mrs Temple, wife of a Consul in the Ionian islands, did not understand arithmetic or Latin herself, yet devised an effective system for teaching her children, as her daughter recalled of the 1820s:

> She taught us to read and write: she taught us arithmetic, with very little knowledge of arithmetic herself, by steady repetition. She had a key to the sums in the arithmetic book, giving the answers. If a sum was brought to her and the answer was wrong, she drew her pencil through it and made no further remark. It had to be done again until it was done right. When it was time for my brothers to begin Latin, the same system was adopted. She could not pronounce it, but Frederick had to learn a few lines each day, always repeating the old until seven or ten lines had been learnt. Then the first four or five pages would be left and a further advance made. That went on day by day and year by year until he was twelve years old, and he went to school knowing his grammar perfectly, as no other boy knew it.[170]

Louise Creighton did teach numeracy: "Beatrice does not seem to have a mathematical mind, arithmetic does not come at all easily to her. I fancy in these things Lucy will be much sharper, the difficulty at present is to get Lucy to attend to anything".[171]

Religion

While Fletcher's accounts suggest that religious teaching was dull and "predictable",[172] religious education could provide an opportunity for 'quality time' between adults and children, and was not necessarily taught in a gendered or class-specific manner.[173] The father of Edmund Gosse tried to teach him psalms and hymns by heart without a great deal of success.[174] Amongst the Quaker-Anglican network, "reading" with children was an established practice. Priscilla Johnston recorded: "A nursery reading is a duty which, though somewhat of an effort does, I do believe, bring a present payment more than most".[175] The Anglican Mildred Buxton, newly married and a stepmother to 13-year-old twins, wrote in 1896, "I read the Bible with Charlie and Phyllis after breakfast, and with Charlie just before he goes to sleep".[176]

Some children recorded their enjoyment of religion, and initiated it in games or worship. When Edward King was at home in Lent, "he suggested to his sisters that they join him in a daily service, in the school-room at 8.oclock in the morning; he playing the Gregorian Chant to which they sang the psalms of the day".[177] The Unitarian Harriet Martineau recalled people talking about the sermon she had written, aged eight.[178]

John Marriott (1859–1945), a scholar and MP, recalled "I can still in imagination hear" his mother's "sweet voice as she sang to us the hymns appropriate to children",[179] while Margaret Nevinson, a clergyman's daughter, recalled that "Religion was the strongest power in my early life".[180] Indeed, retrospectively, she contrasted her experience with the stereotype of Victorian gloom.[181] Doris Lester (born in 1880) recalled how their father told Bible stories to them, and taught them games such as "Scripture characters" and "Bible Arithmetic".[182] Alfred Ireson (born in 1856), son of a mason, recorded poignant memories of how his mother taught them "the simple truths of the Bible" and hymns.[183] Although Alisa Clapp-Itnyre has argued that children's experiences of singing hymns were class specific,[184] religious play was not restricted to elites. John Kitto (born in 1802), made a pulpit of a chair and preached to his grandmother, though she did not entirely approve.[185] Playing at funerals was common across social classes.[186]

Classics and other subjects

Cohen has argued that girls might have had a more rounded education at home than boys who were taught the grind of the classics.[187] Yet, ancient history could be integrated into children's play: it was written of Thomas Arnold that

> the sports in which he took the most pleasure, [...] were acting the battles of the Homeric heroes with whatever implements he could use as spear and shield, and reciting their several speeches from Pope's translation of the Iliad.[188]

Some boys did enjoy the classics in the original languages. Hugh James Rose was given a Latin grammar by his father when his mother was ill, and "Before he was four years old he had mastered it. I have often heard him say he could not remember the time when he did *not* know the Latin grammar".[189] His father also gave him books to read to keep him quiet, such as Knox's *Elegant Extracts*, and *Le Cid* (in French) when he was four years old, and how he read and understood them.[190]

Elite home education is often presented as gendered, with boys learning Latin in preparation for boarding school. Linda Pollock argued that Latin was not only unnecessary but hindered girls from learning the important gender-specific attributes they would need for their futures. She also speculated that girls' education worsened during the nineteenth century.[191] Yet many elite girls received an intensive academic, even classical education at home. In 1811, Elizabeth Lister, daughter of an Essex doctor, liked studying the 36th proposition of Euclid.[192] Emma Young learnt Latin in the 1820s.[193] Sarah Cotton, mother of Sarah Angelina Acland, "knew some Greek",[194] and the two daughters of John Robert (a barrister) and Mary Eliza Kenyon learnt Latin and Greek at home, while their brothers attended Charterhouse or Winchester.[195] Margaret Wynne Jones (later Nevinson) (1858–1932), a clergyman's daughter, recalled

> My Father found time [...] to teach us Latin and Greek thoroughly. We learnt the old Eton Grammar through: accidence, syntax, and prosody, without understanding a word, that came later, by degrees when we were promoted to Caesar, and Virgil. The method was hard but it was at least a Spartan training in memory, making all subsequent tasks mere child's play.[196]

Gwen Darwin learnt Latin with her brother Charles, to the surprise of their friends, children of a French aristocrat.[197] Indeed, girls' teaching might be rigorous. William Nightingale, ('W.E.N.') taught Florence and her sister Parthe Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, history, grammar, composition and philosophy.[198] In the 1840s, the Unitarian William Gaskell taught the Winkworth sisters history, composition and chemistry, German and music "over all which we were in the highest state of delight and excitement".[199] Louise von Glehn also had a rigorous curriculum. Early in the morning, she had a writing lesson of 20 minutes, then subjects such as French, German, English composition, literature and music. She also attended enrichment classes at Crystal Palace.[200]

Conversely, since many boys went into business, the academic curriculum might be limited. Hannah Greg, the wife of a factory owner in Styal in Lancashire, felt guilty about her boys (born from 1793 to 1809) learning poetry, and her husband thought reading was a "dangerous distraction". Yet, the younger sons later had poems published.[201] Boys from the upper and middle classes might have extra tuition at home in extra-curricular subjects, such as music and French.[202]

Imaginative teaching methods might be used to teach history and geography.

> One of the few recollections that he [Thomas Arnold] retained of his father was that he received from him, at three years old, a copy of Smollett's *History of England*, as a reward for the accuracy with which he had gone through the stories connected with the portraits and pictures of the successive reigns.[203]

Brought up by an aunt after his mother's death, he recalled learning geography from picture cards.[204] In 1877 Louise Creighton reported that "Max [her husband Mandell] has completely won their [the children's] hearts by going into the schoolroom and giving them history lessons".[205]

In geography, Edmund Gosse drew charts with his father, which he later regarded as an inspired way of teaching: "Simple rules of arithmetic, a little natural history and the elements of drawing". His greatest pleasure was in books. Although he was not allowed any fiction, he did have books of travels – for example in the South Seas – and the print of a skeleton.[206] Many other families encouraged scientific experimentation.[207]

Conclusion

These case studies have indicated how children across different social classes could find teaching at home inspiring and interesting, which contrasts with recent accounts of tedium.[208] Perhaps it is no coincidence that many leading scholars and original thinkers of the period were educated at home. Different family members were involved as educators, including grandparents and siblings, in ways which challenge the idea of the isolated nuclear family as described by Gillis. For different social classes, and especially sections of the poor, there was an emphasis in self-education and a narrative of self-directed learning and solitary pleasure.

While the significance of middle-class mothers as educators, especially for daughters, has been well established, this essay indicates how mothers of different social classes might push themselves to the limit of their capacity and ability: in the case of the labouring classes, Joseph Arch or Will Crooks, or Mrs Temple, wife of a Consul in the Ionian islands. Mothers and sisters might teach the classics, not only fathers.

This chapter indicates a rather different perspective on elite girls' education at home than was apparent in the narratives of feminist historians, or as argued by Anthony Fletcher. A high proportion of the sample analysed here learned Latin and some Greek. The evidence does little to support the argument for 'separate spheres'. Many girls described having an academic education at home, which was shared with their brothers, despite not having the same career opportunities.

The evidence indicates that teaching at home was expected of parents of all social classes, and was a task which even the poorest did their utmost to perform. Disputes about lifting lockdown in Britain in 2020, between government, teachers and parents, and claims that children are disadvantaged if they are not educated in classrooms, are perhaps indicative of the de-skilling of parents, despite years of education, in the twenty-first century.[209]

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PART IX

Privacy and the emergence of separate spheres?

18

FROM OPEN HOUSE TO PRIVACY?

Domestic life from the perspective of diaries

Joachim Eibach

Introduction

When understood as a changeable social space, the history of the modern family forms interconnections with the history of the domestic sphere. For a long time, it has been an uncontested assumption that the emergence of a genuinely new family type resulted from the privatization of family life. According to this view, we can observe a fundamental shift from an early modern open and socially heterogeneous 'household family' to a modern closed and homogeneous 'nuclear family'.[1] With the closure of private family life towards its social environments, the co-presence of other actors disappeared. At the same time, distinctive separate spheres of men and women emerged. While men acted in public and fulfilled their roles as breadwinners outside the household, the daily life of female housekeepers within newly erected and embellished homes was domesticated. In this process, which from the mid-eighteenth century onwards successively affected all European countries, the bourgeois – or rather the middle-class – family was attributed a pioneering role.

What on initial inspection could be regarded as a rather simple change in the sense and the practice of family life, at a second glance turns out to be a transformation, intertwined with the manifold economic, socio-cultural and political shifts of the transitional period around 1800. It should be mentioned here that not only the rise of the bourgeoisie but also a new definition of 'work' in the emerging age of capitalism and new legal statutes had an impact on family and gender roles. Furthermore, a new emphasis on both emotions and refined education (*Bildung*) emerged at the core of spousal and parent–child relations. While privacy is a multi-semantic concept, the new bourgeoisie with its hegemonic cultural aspirations, combined with a desire for social distinction, celebrated and propagated domesticity. In this sense, domesticity "denotes not just a pattern of residence or a web of obligations, but a profound attachment: a state of mind as well as a physical orientation".[2] It encompasses a specifically arranged family space, pleasant comfort and, moreover, a hideaway from the daily hassle of work and

society at large. The new and at first genuinely bourgeois concept of domesticity was based on closure and the demarcation between the home (*Daheim, Zuhause*) and its social environments.

The construct of the private/public-dichotomy has been criticized as being all too simplistic. Regarding social interaction, not only the early modern household but, to some extent, also the nineteenth-century bourgeois home was open. Still, many issues need to be researched in more depth. Did everyday life in the domestic sphere mirror the underlying idea of privatization of the home, and if so, in what ways? To what extent did husband and wife act in separate spheres? How was this spelled out in different milieus? In order to gain insight into domestic life, self-narratives provide excellent source material. This chapter will rely on three diaries from Switzerland and Germany. The first source is the diary of Henriette Stettler-Herport (1738–1805), a woman from the patrician elite of the city republic of Bern.[3] At the age of 17 she married the future councilman Rudolf Stettler. They had eight children, five of which survived the first year of life. Her *Journal de mes actions*, written from 1771 to 1789, partly in French, partly in German bears witness to a complex personality. We can distinguish between two major influences: her family, kin and social relations were patrician, but her mind was Pietist. Other from this, she uses well-known concepts of the Enlightenment in her diary: 'morality', 'virtue', 'thriftiness' and 'bettering'. Although Henriette Stettler-Herport never visited Pietist meetings, her diary is clearly based on Pietistic self-reflection and confessions, and is primarily directed by the wish to spiritualize her unsatisfactory domestic life as the wife of the bailiff Rudolf Stettler in the Bernese bailiwick Frienisberg.[4] In 1777, she and her family moved to the city of Bern, where Stettler pursued his career in the city republic's administration. Overall, she wished to give her days a pious discipline by keeping record of deviance and disturbances. Peculiarly, beside her written entries she also used checklists to record the state of her emotional life, her vices and mistakes, and the number of visitors the family received.

The diary of Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger (1797–1876) serves as our second source. She was the wife of a Reformed pastor in the village of Binningen, located just outside Basel and kept the diary from 1816 to 1833.[5] Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger was born into a family of pastors that belonged to the 'Brethren's Congregation from Hermhut'. The *Hermhuter* were not a marginal protestant sect, and her family was accordingly related to the affluent Basel bourgeoisie. The affinity between the city's *Bürgertum* and Pietism gave the city the reputation of 'the pious Basel'![6] In 1819, Ursula Eglinger married Abraham Bruckner, a pastor from *Basel Landschaft*, of whom, when he proposed marriage to her, she hardly knew. She subsequently gave birth to four children. Like the wife of the bailiff, she was supported in keeping the household of the parsonage (*Pfarrhaus*) by several female servants, and sometimes by additional day labourers from the village. An important aspect in Ursula's life, before and during marriage, were her numerous social contacts. She spent much of her time with her siblings, cousins and close female friends from Basel. In her diary she recorded her visits and encounters, events of family life, and also her changing state of mind. Like Henriette, in the given framework of Pietist beliefs, Ursula perceived her domestic life as becoming increasingly unsatisfactory.

The third source is the voluminous diary of the Hamburg lawyer Ferdinand Beneke (1774–1848). Making entries almost every day, Beneke kept his journal over several decades. Although not particularly well off and in spite of coming from another town, he, in 1807, managed to marry Caroline von Axen, the granddaughter of a Hamburg senator from the social and political elite of the Hanseatic city republic. Together they had six children. Beneke's diary served several purposes. Meticulously he kept track of his daily life,

noting all events of family life, recording his immensely numerous social contacts, of which many took place in the home of the Benekes, and reflecting on his sense of self. In many respects, the diary of the jurist, with strong links to the Hamburg merchant elite, may also be read as a typical testimony of bourgeois subjectivity. Beneke was deeply engaged with his *Beruf* (profession) and held several honorary posts, seeking self-affirmation through *Bildung* (refined education) and self-reflection, and pursuing happiness through emotionalized relations with his wife and children. The examination of his diary will focus on the years from 1811 to 1816, which encompassed several years of routine family life and a year of separation of the spouses due to the French occupation of Hamburg and Beneke's subsequent flight out of town from May 1813 until May 1814.[7] During this time Beneke's wife Caroline was in charge of the family affairs.

The selection of these three diaries is the result of comparative research in archives and libraries. In German-speaking countries, during the transition from the *Ancien régime* to bourgeois society, the old elites of affluent cities, the protestant *Pfarrhaus* and the new learned free professions were pivotal milieus for the formation of the new *Bürgertum*.[8] Remarkably, women wrote numerous diaries during this period from a Pietist background.[9] Diverging from Beneke's daily notes, their chief purpose was the wish to lead a truly pious life and keep a journal of their dialogue with God. However, perhaps unnoticed, other purposes could emerge. Explicit entries or reading between the lines of the diaries allow the researcher to observe social practices in the domestic sphere. So far, the diaries of Stettler-Herport and Bruckner-Eglinger have never been analysed as a source of family history. Beneke's journal has been highlighted in terms of a gender history of the bourgeoisie.[10]

State of research: diaries, demarcation and the question of privatization

Diaries as source

For the author, the diary can fulfil different functions. It may serve as a confession, with the aim of bettering one's sinful life, or merely as a family chronicle. The implicit recipient can be God or the alter ego of the author. Clearly, writing a diary in the nineteenth century had other ideological and symbolic implications than in the early modern period. Diaries were written within certain frameworks and with underlying narrative conventions. During the course of modern history, these contexts and conventions changed. Michel Foucault counted diaries amongst the "technologies of the self" with roots which he traced back to ancient times.[11] From a different perspective, the increasing number of diaries in the age of Enlightenment, of Pietism and of rising bourgeois values proves the unfolding of modern subjectivity.[12] It is unlikely to be a mere coincidence that the same period of time counts as the age of the awakening modern family, which fostered individuality, self-reflection and demarcation from the outside world.[13] Leaving that discussion aside, diaries provide rich source material with regard to daily practice in the domestic sphere.[14] They are not confined to a protocol of interaction within the nuclear family, but also cover other types of encounters in the domestic sphere. Frequently mentioned in the examples under observation are close relatives and servants, living with the 'nuclear family', clients and colleagues, friends and guests who enter the household (whether invited or not).

Diaries certainly offer more information to the reader than the authors may realize themselves. The fact that these texts often lack coherence may be seen as another advantage: even if the author follows a consistent narrative – she or he might as well not – entries made after a long day of work and activity may still deviate from it. Diaries include surprise

and paraphernalia. The fact that the pastor's wife from Basel wrote her diary to improve her deficient Christian life clearly corresponds with Foucault's 'technologies of the self'. Yet, Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger's diary documents, among other things, how much she cherished sociability with her family and friends. According to an entry on 2 September 1824, she "enjoyed [...] a glass of magnificent beer" without any sign of repentance.[15]

While during the age of social history researchers hardly made use of such self-narratives, diaries and letters have, with the advent of cultural and family history, become preferred sources. Ground-breaking studies in the United Kingdom and in the German-speaking countries were based on – or at least included evidence from – diaries. Meanwhile, the classic study of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall on *Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*, first published in 1987, not only included quantitative sources but also drew on diaries, letters and family records.[16] Amanda Vickery's inquiries into the homes of Georgian England relied on diaries and correspondence to shed light on *Women's Lives* and supplement the bare notes and numbers recorded in inventories and account books.[17] Diaries proved valuable when reassessing the role and place of men in the context of bourgeois domesticity both in the German *Sattelzeit* and in Victorian England, as analysed by Anne-Charlott Trepp and John Tosh.[18] Following this approach, the microhistory of a bourgeois family in South Germany by Rebekka Habermas scrutinized diaries and other ego documents with regard to bourgeois family culture.[19] As for the history of the domestic sphere in Swiss bourgeois society, the comprehensive studies of Albert Tanner and Elisabeth Joris must be mentioned.[20] In short, a systematic reading of diaries, among other self-narratives, has led to a new understanding of social interaction in the domestic sphere at the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century, particularly challenging the public/private dichotomy.

Grand theory and macro-sociology

Several influential philosophers and sociologists – with otherwise diverse approaches – appraise demarcation in the sense of privacy, or rather intimacy, as the crucial aspect of the emerging modern family. According to Jürgen Habermas's theory of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, the emergence of the 'public sphere' was inextricably linked to the formation of a 'private sphere'. For Habermas, critical reasoning first started in the age of Enlightenment with the advent of subjectivity in the homes of the bourgeois "conjugal family", whose "private sphere" and "permanent intimacy" he sees existing in a genuinely different manner from both the habitus of prestigious representation of the nobility and the openness of the "extended family" of the lower strata.[21] Of particular interest here are two aspects: in contrast to family sociologists, Habermas delineates the family home not as a *Refugium*, entirely opposed to the constraints of capitalist society but rather as "an agency of society", responsible for the observance and the seemingly voluntary introduction of the family members into overall social rules.[22] The public/private demarcation does not always separate the family home from its social environment but may run through the fabric of the domestic sphere. While the living room belonged to the sphere of family intimacy, the *salon* served as a site for invitations and public, quasi-political conversation.[23]

While emotions and gender in Jürgen Habermas's model bear no importance, in other theories the transformation of emotions, ascribed to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is linked not only to the history of the home but also to changing gender roles. For

Anthony Giddens, the rise of intimate "romantic love" corresponded with "the creation of the home" and the introduction of separate spheres for men and women.[24] Accordingly, women's daily lives were secluded from public life and romantic love appears to have been feminized love. Conversely, men had limited access to the new sphere of intimacy in the home, which was dominated by emotionalized motherhood.

For Niklas Luhmann, the emergence of love as a specifically modern code of intimized communication was preconditioned by processes of functional differentiation of society and therefore by demarcation of the loving couple from strict social control in the elites. This happened from the late seventeenth century onwards. Emotionalized love of individual actors became the chief reason for marriage. According to Luhmann, the loving couple's intimate communication is situated in a bubble of seclusion ("circular closedness", "self-referential closedness").[25] At this point, he introduces demarcation of the domestic sphere to his argument. Only through the loss of its productive and political functions is the formerly all-responsible household transformed into a home with a private sphere, which allows the family members enclosed intimacy. "Any intimacy one could hope for was related to the household."[26]

The history of the modern family in overviews and cultural studies

With regard to privacy, or rather social demarcation as the crucial aspect in the initial phase of the modern family, overviews and classical texts of the history of the European family correspond, to a large degree, with the above-mentioned sociological narratives. At an imagined starting point, functional differentiation or even the loss of functions of the early modern household in terms of production, education and political rights, etc. allowed for the demarcation of a private sphere, now open to emotionalized family relations.[27] Of decisive importance was "the separation of home from work".[28] The contemporary construct of 'the domestic realm', proclaimed with the aspiration of moral superiority, must be seen against the backdrop of an emerging capitalist and industrialized society. According to Mary Jo Maynes,

> the creation of a corresponding 'private' mirrored and opposed the 'public'. It was apolitical and anti-competitive, centred on homes that were increasingly segregated from workplaces, scrutiny, and traffic of all sorts. It was a world of particularity, accessible by invitation only. It was a world dominated by women and children.[29]

Initially, the bourgeoisie, in particular the English middle class, played a leading role in advocating the new model of domesticity. Following this both the nobility and the working class more or less copied the bourgeois role model.[30] According to volume IV of the *Histoire de la vie privée*, edited by Michelle Perrot, the nineteenth century was "the golden age of private life".[31] Select sociability, intimate emotions and separate spheres of men and women were interwoven aspects of a specific lifestyle. In other words, privatization came along with a tightening of distinct gender roles of the male breadwinner and the female housewife.[32] Separate gender spheres and strict gender roles were observed in otherwise rather diverse European societies, not only in England and Germany but also in the urban contexts of a society without a landed aristocracy and a comparatively late industrialization such as Switzerland.[33]

Yet, from the late 1980s onwards, when new knowledge on clear-cut private spheres and gender roles had just reached the heights of handbook chapters, it was challenged by

a number of monographs based on the analysis of diaries and private correspondence. As mentioned above, the cultural historical turn towards actors and social practice in history proved very productive. Inspired by ongoing gender debates, the fresh perspective yielded several surprising results. In particular, the concept of 'private life' turned out to be questionable and only partly useful. As for the English middle class Davidoff and Hall had already argued: "Public was not really public and private not really private despite the potent imagery of 'separate spheres'".[34] As for the mushrooming populace, Arlette Farge's study *La vie fragile* shed light on everyday life in the neighbourhoods of the metropolis of Paris. Relying mainly on criminal court records, Farge highlights the fact that for the urban poor, open living spaces and intense social control hardly allowed for any private sphere.[35] Without a doubt, the study of domestic spheres throughout the nineteenth century must distinguish carefully between different milieus and social contexts.

In short, the following arguments have been raised against the twofold aspect of intensified privacy and new separate spheres as key issue of the age of transition. The first argument addresses continuity. In terms of patriarchal structure and cooperation in daily practice, continuity as opposed to change prevailed from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.[36] "In some respects, there was an accentuation of differences as men withdrew from some household tasks, motherhood became more highly valued"; but overall, "the continuities in gender roles across this long period remain striking".[37] The second argument points to an obvious discrepancy between theory and practice. Despite the gendered cult of domesticity, men spent considerable time in the home while women left their home to participate in sociability outside. "The domesticates of the morning were the polite adventurers of the afternoon."[38] In line with Jürgen Habermas's theory, the third argument highlights the public – or quasi-public – functions of the allegedly purely private domestic sphere. On a number of occasions the home was turned into a stage of representation and beyond: ritualized family reunions, coffee parties including female neighbours, domestic devotion taking place in religious circles, repeated conversation over newly published novels, meetings of political allies and business friends. Such occasions included men as well as women. As hostesses, genteel women of Georgian England, women from the Swiss urban aristocracy and the wives of entrepreneurs in nineteenth-century Germany played a highly visible role in society.[39] Moreover, women often fulfilled the task of ensuring social ties and family solidarity to the extent that we can speak of a "feminization of private sociability".[40] Yet, the culture of visit was not confined to women and men of society. The social scope, professional routines, regional characteristics and historical trajectory of the actors remain open, as does the question of innovation and polarization in gender roles.[41]

Work in the domestic sphere

Was work in the process of transforming early modern households into modern private spheres abandoned in the domestic realm? Here, it makes a difference to define work either solely as paid work or rather as different undertakings, not necessarily paid, with which the actors tried to "secure a living for themselves and those close to them".[42] If sustenance activities in a broader sense, managerial tasks and representational efforts are included, the picture changes drastically. Following this vein, the three diaries from Bern, Basel and Hamburg prove that the domestic was the place of intense work activity. At the same time, work in the observed middle-class milieus cannot simply be confined to activities inside or outside the home.

For example, the local bailiff Rudolf Stettler spent most of his time at his mansion-like domicile in the rural bailiwick of Frienisberg, a former monastery which encompassed office rooms, rooms for the family and for guests. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, in principle the rooms for administration and the domestic space were separated, however the father could still use the room set aside for official hearings to read to his family.[43] While Stettler held audiences, made ordinances and visitations, acted as judge and met other officials of the district, Henriette Stettler-Herport coordinated the household, which comprised her and her husband, the growing number of children, about seven servants and an ever-changing number of guests. In 1772, after a long pause, she took up her diary again and explicitly listed her obligations: "I have to keep my household in order, educate my children, save them from bad examples, watch my servants, live economically and modestly, do good to my next, work with my hands".[44] The wife of the bailiff did not cook herself, but instructed her servants, shopped frequently in the nearby city of Bern and took care of all invoices. She also educated their children through home schooling and played the role of hostess, serving and entertaining the often high-ranking visitors. The revenues of the bailiff encompassed the fields and pasture of the bailiwick. During harvest, as Henriette Stettler-Herport noted with some pride, the household employed up to 70 harvesters.[45] Other taxing jobs were the big wash, which in spite of the help of several washing and ironing women could – in the case of bad weather – take up to two weeks, and the slaughtering of pork at the beginning of the year.[46] Overall, the sustenance activities of the bailiff's wife are more reminiscent of those of the manager of a medium-sized enterprise than of a typical bourgeois housewife.

Fifty years later, the requirement profile of the Reformed pastor's wife from Basel included both similar and different tasks. While Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger hardly mentioned details of her husband's working life – Abraham Bruckner appeared primarily as a *Berufsmensch*, deeply engaged and focused on his pastoral obligations – she repeatedly provided insight into her own daily activities. As the pastor's wife Ursula was expected to fulfil certain duties: she went to service and Communion, to Bible class and sang in church. She also undertook pastoral visits in the homes of the parish. On Sundays, when the weather was bad, she would act as a substitute for the housefather and read a sermon to all members of the household: *der sämtlichen Hausgenossenschaft*.[47] Aside from such participatory and pastoral duties, a large garden with potatoes and vegetables was attached to the parsonage, and chickens were kept in an adjoined building. With the help of the servants, Ursula looked after the garden and the agricultural produce.[48] She also involved herself in tasks that required manual labour, again, washing duties were described as extremely taxing, despite the help of the three servants and additional washer women from the village. To get things done, the washing day would start at half past two in the morning.[49] As in the bailiwick, the preparation of meals and the serving of visitors were very time-consuming. Meetings of the pastors, *Herren* and friends in the home could take on a rather formal character. On 6 September 1832, Ursula noted, "Tonight, we had the association of friends at our place, so I had to prepare things all day long".[50] The following day she remarked: "The whole morning, I was very busy with clearing and cleaning up".[51] Other than this, she worried that although the evening in general seemed to have gone well, the starter of the course had been insufficient, while, as her husband mentioned, the dessert was too heavy.[52]

In contrast to the *Ancien régime* Frienisberg, the children of Ursula and Abraham went to school in Basel. Nonetheless, the upbringing and education of the four children was a heavy burden on the mother's shoulders. Not confining herself to reading passages from the Bible

or singing songs with her children, Ursula was very concerned with teaching her children literacy, and she noted in her diary their successes and failures in school.[53] In tears, she bemoaned the fact it was only up to her and the nanny to look after the children while her husband was always busy with his theological studies.[54] Clearly, it is difficult to draw a direct line between work in a strict sense and other activities, indeed, Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger definitively described her daily activities as 'work'. Increasingly, she felt stressed due to her heavy workload, causing her to miss her daily prayers: "This week, nothing came about except work. Sometimes, I got up and lay down again without praying, I can only sigh, always with work on my mind. I felt like a beast of burden".[55] Despite the introduction of public schooling it is hard to discern a loss of functions of the household, which allowed for more private time and intimate relations in the domestic sphere.

Prima facie, the multi-volume diary of the Hamburg lawyer differs considerably from the first two examples. It is written from the perspective of a male housefather. Though a religious person, Ferdinand Beneke was not a Pietist, but a member of the educated bourgeoisie, an outright *Bildungsbürger*. While in terms of profession and social standing, patrician office-bearers and Protestant pastors bridged the gap between the early modern and nineteenth-century bourgeois society, learned jurists clearly belonged to the new elite. Beneke's normal working day involved getting up at 7 a.m., spending a "coffee and family hour" with his wife Caroline until 9 a.m., receiving clients in his home study, going to court or to the stock exchange, sometimes taking a walk, having lunch with his family around 4 p.m., continuing to work alone at home, receiving more clients or going out, doing more work in his study until 9 or 10 p.m., then spending time with his wife (*bey Karoline*) and often with friends, and finally going to bed at 11 p.m.[56] It was not unusual to have 20 or 30 visits of clients in his home per day. The fact that Beneke worked and received clients on Christmas Day in 1811, instead of spending time with his children was remarked on with sorrow. The amount of clients made him think of fixed consultation hours, which he actually did not have or observe.[57] Beneke's diaries hardly mention the daily household chores such as going shopping, preparing the meals or doing the washing. Moreover, it is much harder to reconstruct the agenda of Caroline Beneke. Although the Benekes were in debt, they kept two female servants and one male servant.[58] Even during the time of Ferdinand's exile, a result of his position as a leader of the Hamburg burgher militia, and the French occupation – which exacerbated the financial situation of the family enormously – Caroline employed a female cook named Marie.[59] After her husband's return to Hamburg and their joint return to their home at the end of May 1814, it was her task to reinstate the household.[60] However, it was also Caroline who took care of their finances during his long absence and repeatedly urged him to make his clients pay their outstanding bills. When in 1816 Ferdinand finally managed to reach the lucrative position of a syndic of Hamburg, he owed this advancement not least to his wife Caroline. Firstly thanks to her family background, in particular the influence of her well-known and well-connected father, and secondly as a good wife, household manager and eloquent hostess, she contributed to his standing as *Bürger* and *Patriot*.

Evidently, these three examples shed light on the domestic sphere as a location of hard work, the largest part of the occupational activities of Rudolf Stettler, Abraham Bruckner and Ferdinand Beneke being accomplished at home. The activities of their wives contributed immensely to the sustenance of the household and family and to their advancement.

Private family life or all-penetrating co-presence?

These three sources highlight the fact that, in the milieus under observation, the domestic sphere was still 'open house' to an amazing degree.[61] At the same time, the diaries demonstrate

a wish for more privacy, in the general sense of spending 'quality time' with one's spouse and children, without the company of others. The latter is primarily evident for Henriette Stettler-Herport, and to a lesser degree for Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger and Ferdinand Beneke.

As briefly mentioned above, Henriette kept checklists of her vices and mistakes against God, her husband, her children and servants with the aim of perfecting her life. However, she also kept a record of the numerous visitors and visits that she and her husband received and made. Somewhat surprisingly, in her diary she juxtaposed lists of her mistakes on one page with lists of visits and sociability on the other page. But why did she keep records of both and in the same way? The answer is that every guest and visitor, both in the Frienisberg domicile and after the family's move to nearby Bern in 1777, took time away from her which she rather would have spent reading on her own, teaching her children and keeping her household in good order. This increased when visitors and guests came unannounced, which happened frequently. At times it is not fully clear what she counted: days, events or visitors. But with her lists at hand we can distinguish between visitors who stayed for one night or for several days, guests coming for dinner or tea, short and long visits, etc. She also listed her own sociable activities and the days or nights when she and her family were on their own. The outcome is quite clear: the lists prove an enormous number of visits and visitors. In 1776, still in the bailiwick, the Stettler-Herports welcomed 90 visitors who stayed overnight and 362 visitors without overnight accommodation. In 1780, now living in the city, they had only 47 guests who stayed overnight, however, throughout the year they had to cope with 812 daytime visitors. During the same time period, the number of visits with meals increased from 371 to 595.[62]

Above that, patterns of domestic sociability changed with the move from the countryside to the city. While the hitherto large number of visitors with overnight stays decreased, the burden due to more short visits increased. Aside from this, the number of days that Henriette spent entirely on her own, or with her family, decreased, the quantified results matching the daily statements in her diary. Time and again, Henriette Stettler-Herport complained about too many visitors and lack of time for herself and her family. Her entries shed light on the practice of sociability in the Bernese *haute société*. A few months after the family's return to Bern she remarked:

> Very rarely I go out during the morning – very rarely too I eat out of home – once in months at my mum's – the children once a week, in the afternoon at times there are dealings and little visits to be received, I myself do as few visits as possible and if possible rather work until 4 o'clock, then I get dressed to go into company at evening, since I have about 70 homes and good relatives and friends at whose places I spend the evening and vice versa they at mine, so for me few evenings remain to stay at home on my own, could I live according to my likings, I went out in big company very rarely.[63]

One year later, she noted again:

> I withdraw from everything as much as I can, but because I have to do almost 80 visits – I rarely can stay home alone – if I went to every place only once [...] and on top of that the days at which I receive visits at home, the winter would be almost over, [...] rarely can I read, I can hardly dedicate time to my children, all that makes me reluctant – then I am discouraged, sad – crabby.[64]

Henriette Stettler-Herport was not unsociable. She particularly appreciated time spent with her husband, with her oldest daughter and with a few female friends among her cousins. So, why did she participate in the culture of visit and sociability at all? Here, her ambitious husband and the prevailing social environment come into play. In the preface of her diary, she already mentions a constant conflict between her and her husband: "a real chagrin for my husband, who in contrast likes to have people over often".[65] For Rudolf, who wanted to climb the ladder of administrative aristocracy, the distinct culture of hospitality of the Bernese society was indispensable. In sharp contrast, Henriette preferred and asked for more privacy. Shortly after their move to the remote bailiwick, the 34-year-old mother of two children expressed her idea of family life:

> I am awaiting with impatience the return of my husband, I would like to always have my husband and my children at home, hence live quiet *en famille*, have only visits of my next relatives or the most intimate friends, and that only once a week, the other time I would like to spend in my household, for the education of my children, for the promenade, reading, work, that would be the greatest happiness.[66]

For the pious Henriette Stettler-Herport, more privacy meant more time for contemplation, the study of sermons and the education of her children. Aside from this, the above statement can be read as an agenda on the path towards bourgeois family life.

The contrast between the time-consuming co-presence of different actors due to the necessity of sociability, and an eminent wish for more privacy appears less sharp in the other two journals. Above that, the diary of Bruckner-Eglinger suggests we should not consider the transition from the early modern open house to the modern family home a one-way road with a clear-cut end. Other than her heavy workload managing the household of the parsonage, Ursula enjoyed most of her social life. Her core social network encompassed strong and deeply emotional ties with her parents, her brothers and sister and long-time female friends. Apparently, most of them were members of the *Hernhut* congregation and many were akin to the bourgeois elite of Basel. Semantics of friendship, explicitly the need for an "intimate friend",[67] is much more evident than in the first diary, 50 years earlier. As mentioned above, the get-togethers could have a rather formal character. Yet, more typical were informal visits after shopping in Basel city centre and the frequent *Familientage*, which mostly fell on Sundays. Though the "family day", which started at noon after service, could as well bring about a "labyrinth" of stress in preparing the roast and other dishes for all relatives, Ursula never questioned the event and her role as part of it.[68] On one of the rather rare Sundays, spent alone with her husband and children, she even remarked: "We then were together on our own. It is always depressing to think that no one wants to be with us".[69]

In terms of co-presence in the domestic sphere, one must not forget the nearly constantly present servants and other ancillary staff such as washer women, day labourers, artisans, medical practitioners and quartered soldiers, who came and went, or who stayed for several days. The relationship between the housemother and her three female servants was tense. Further to the obligation of sociability within the parish, with kin and friends, Ursula felt recurrent problems with both the servants and her children were a severe burden. Evidently, she regarded the often dismissed and substituted nannies as rivals in winning her children's affections,[70] and she appreciated family time with her husband and their children. Both the Stettlers and the Bruckners loved to read and go for family walks, which allowed the women to leave chores and servants behind for a while. In addition to mentions in

Henriette's diary, numerous entries of Ursula's journal shed light on a *Bildungspaar*, which constructs family identity through education and culture. They read aloud to each other and their children, not only sermons and religious novels but also the works of Friedrich Schiller. She played the piano, they chanted songs together at home or went to an art exhibition in Basel.[71] Yet, it is evident that for Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger her family encompassed more than the nuclear family. Even on precious Sundays, as on any other day, the nearest relatives and dearest friends were not regarded as intruders of family privacy.

In the case of the Benekes, the distinction between the public and the private is clearer in theory than in practice. However, the practice of domesticity looks different. Living under the same roof with the immediate family were Ferdinand's mother and his sister, and at least one servant. Most notably, the Hamburg lawyer not only received numerous clients in his home office every day but he and his wife maintained an enormous social network. Like the domicile of the bailiff, their home functioned as a quasi-permanent turntable, albeit more informally. The 37-year-old Ferdinand Beneke put it this way: "It goes like this every day. Our home without invitation like a guesthouse".[72] Closer and more distant friends came in and out, in addition to so-called *Hausfreunde*, numerous relatives and colleagues from the rising Hamburg bourgeoisie. Thus, with a focus on Beneke's diary one can "examine the development of social milieus in which social distinctions, representations, and styles were worked out in everyday exchanges".[73] Evidently, a relevant location for these exchanges were socially open domestic spheres. What is special about Beneke is not the frequency and the amount of visitors – like in Bern and Basel, sociability in Hamburg worked reciprocally. As a matter of fact, the Benekes not only received visitors in their own home but also attended get-togethers elsewhere. However, the unique thing about Beneke is that he kept a record of his daily contacts with others. Among these were festivities and formal invitations, however, the great majority of meetings were of a rather informal nature, without the exchange of cards in advance. Clearly, sociability was not confined to special days or visiting timeslots. Being both in debt and of a rather melancholic and hypochondriac nature, Beneke strongly disliked sumptuous festivities. With four of his closest friends he instead founded the *Sparklubb* (in literal translation the Saving Club), which was devoted to refined private and intellectual sociability and met mostly on Sunday afternoons.[74]

Ferdinand Beneke's relation to private family life was ambivalent. Without a doubt, he loved his precious coffee and reading hours with Caroline. He closely observed the development of his children, and when he felt bored by his guests, he would leave the table to play blindman's buff (*Blindekuh*) with the kids.[75] During the time of separation throughout his exile from Hamburg he missed "that quiet, homely LoveLife" with his family.[76] But that was part of the propaganda and only one aspect of his personality. On the other hand, when Caroline celebrated her birthday with friends and family, Ferdinand sat in his study writing.[77] Likewise, on Sunday mornings he often spent time in his study; clearly he needed time for himself to keep up with his diary. The enormous significance of sociability in the domestic also placed considerable demands on the time available for private family life. Surprisingly, Beneke did not complain so much about the enormous amount of time spent with friends and like-minded people, so long as the conversation at these get-togethers met his expectations. What could easily be overlooked in examining the diaries, but is rather noteworthy in terms of privacy and the concept of the family is a short phrase, in many entries: *unter uns* or rather *unter uns mit* or *unter uns incl.* (entre nous, in private with) denotes co-presence of the family members living in Benekes' home with dear relatives and best friends.[78]

Separate spheres?

Domestic life as seen through the lens of these three diaries had many facets. Overall, the interrelated constructs of the public/private dichotomy and of separate spheres must be rejected as far too simplistic. Women were neither immured in the house, nor were men excluded from the domestic realm. Men not only spent a great amount of their time in the home but women also ventured out every day or so. As a household manager of the rural bailiwick, Henriette Stettler-Herport regularly travelled to Bern to go shopping. After the family's move to Bern, she left the home every afternoon and most evenings, making visits and accepting invitations. Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger frequently used shopping trips to Basel as an opportunity to meet relatives and friends. In contrast to her husband, who sometimes preferred to stay at home in his study, Caroline Beneke loved to dance, occasionally with other men, at the great balls of Hamburg.[79] The social life of all three women was anything but confined to the domestic sphere. Notably – and here agency comes into play – one of them, Henriette Stettler-Herport, detested the somewhat compulsory sociability both in her own and in other homes, instead longing for more privacy with her family. In contrast, Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger enjoyed her social life in the parsonage and in the city of Basel. Her family-oriented sociability appears to be less determined by quasi-aristocratic necessities.

Examining gendered spaces both within the home and outside, and in terms of the corresponding time management of the spouses is a more fruitful approach than one which advocates separate spheres.[80] All three diary authors regarded their privately shared hours without visitors as precious: having tea or coffee together, joint reading and reading aloud or going for a walk. However, Ferdinand Beneke's silence about the preparation of meals, shopping and the washing is telling. While the men had their own office or study,[81] for the women a room of their own was far from self-evident. Although the mansion-like domicile of Frienisberg encompassed numerous separate rooms, Henriette only shared a room with Rudolf and one of their children.[82] In contrast, Ursula appreciated "my dear little parlour", which she regretfully left for some time while they accommodated a surveyor.[83] In all three cases, the culture of visit offered manifold occasions for either mixed gender or gender-separate sociability. In Hamburg, the *Damen* met in the garden, for tea or at childbed.[84] The *Sparklubb* of Beneke's most intimate friends met sometimes with and sometimes without their wives, Beneke remarking that conservation at their meetings gave him "real pleasure".[85] However, on 5 May 1811 he lamented to his imaginary readers that over the summer they would meet without their *Damen* "partly because no interesting conversation develops between them and the men, partly because they feel bored among themselves".[86] Overall, the practice of domestic sociability was much more flexible and open to interpretation than the premise of separate spheres suggests.

Conclusion

Three major aspects defined domestic life: first, home-based work; second, the co-presence of family members with close relatives and servants, and, third, domestic sociability. Work in the sense of undertakings to secure a living remained a central pillar of domestic life even after 1800. To put it somewhat anachronistically, the bailiff, the pastor and the lawyer accomplished most of their work in their home offices, a space that could be more or less separate from the rooms of the family. Given that sociability was not accidental but in many respects intertwined with career plans and opportunities to increase one's social capital, the domestic sphere was certainly not a refuge from the world of business, and even whilst the men undertook paid work at home, their wives and children were next door.[87]

To separate the idea and the actual practice of family life, diaries proved a valuable source. In practice, the domestic sphere allowed much less space for intimate communication than expected. Diverging from macro-sociological expectations, in comparison with the all-encompassing early modern household, the process of functional differentiation of society due to state building and industrialization did not automatically yield relief through a reduction of tasks for the spouses. More typical was daily hassle and taxing work. Manifold aspects of openness counterbalanced the cult of domesticity that emerged with the appreciation of privacy. The domestic sphere offered a refuge for intimate togetherness only at certain times and on few occasions. This precious time was used for reading, studying, writing and educating the children. Not to mention quarrelling: couples needed time to themselves to 'debate' family matters, questions of faith, the controversial matter of invitations or inappropriate behaviour of their children.[88]

Yet, the willingness to accept other actors into one's domestic realm, either quasi-permanently, as with servants or close relatives who lived with the family, or temporarily, as relatives, friends and guests, is striking. At this point, the question of historical change must be raised. A high degree of accessibility and visibility of the domestic was already a relevant feature of the early modern open house. With regard to social control, a great deal of scrutiny was placed on the households of the bailiff and the pastor. The household of a lawyer in debt may have enjoyed a little more latitude. Two aspects are important, but need researching in more depth: first, co-presence in the new bourgeois milieu became socially more select. With only a few exceptions, in the diaries under study neighbours are missing. When, for instance, the *Herren* of the *Freundeverein* arrived for dinner in the parsonage, a neighbour, present only by chance, had to leave at once.[89] Moreover, the pastor's wife never mentioned that she let her children play with the village children. Instead, the children were invited to play with middle-class families from their social network in Basel.[90] The one neighbour of importance for the Benekes was William Alexander Burrowes, a Hamburg merchant, explicitly called *Freund Burrowes*, who in 1814 offered Beneke's brother Fritz a position in his business.[91] In terms of co-presence in the domestic, the diaries from the decades 1770–1830 bear witness that both kinship and friendship, often inter-related, gained importance.

Second, the question of whether during the course of the nineteenth century the culture of visit became not only socially more distinct but also more formalized is raised. Overall, the discussed diaries shed light on different kinds of social activities with a whole range from very informal get-togethers to more formal events, of which the former were certainly more numerous. Yet, frequently the reader comes across terms such as 'association of friends' (*Freundverein*), 'club' (*Klubb*) or 'members' (*Mitglieder*), even when describing gatherings of a few close friends on Sundays.[92] It was the nineteenth-century liberals, inheriting the ideas of the Enlightenment, who wanted to reconstruct society from scratch, with the idea of free associations as their key principle. In terms of co-presence and conversation, the domestic sphere was not really private but public, and above that *in nuce* political. The manifold purposes of domestic practice and the openness of the domestic sphere in the age of transition give substantial evidence to rethink not only the history of the modern family but also possibly the chronology of bourgeois society.

Notes

1 Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); the term 'nuclear family' was coined by anthropologists: George Peter Murdock, "Anthropology and Human Relations", *Sociometry* 4, 2 (1941), pp. 140–49 (146); for recent different approaches see the contributions in Joachim Eibach and

Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015).

2 John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 4.

3 Henriette Stettler-Herport, *Journal de mes actions*, Burgerbibliothek Bern (BBB), FA Stettler 12 (1–5); cf. Brigitte Schnegg, "Tagebuchschreiben als Technik des Selbst: Das 'Journal de mes actions' der Bernerin Henriette Stettler-Herport (1738–1805)", in Daniela Hacke (ed.), *Frauen in der Stadt: Selbstzeugnisse des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2004), pp. 103–30.

4 Anne-Marie Dubler, "Landesherrschaft und Landesverwaltung", in André Holenstein et al. (eds.), *Berns goldene Zeit: Das 18. Jahrhundert neu entdeckt* (Bern: Stämpfli, 2008), pp. 446–52.

5 Bernadette Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich bey Lisette in der Visite': Die Tagebücher der Basler Pfarrersfrau Ursula Bruckner-Eglinger 1816–1833* (Basel: Schwabe, 2014).

6 Gisela Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich: Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als globale Gemeinschaft 1727–1857* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009); Thomas K. Kuhn, "Basel – ein 'Liebling Gottes': Die Stadt am Rhein als Ort der Erweckungsbewegung", *Theologische Zeitschrift* 56 (2000), pp. 165–85; Erika Hebeisen, *Leidenschaftlich fromm: Die pietistische Bewegung in Basel 1750–1830* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005).

7 Frank Hatje and Ariane Smith (eds.), *Ferdinand Beneke (1774–1848). Die Tagebücher* III/1–6 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016); for an introduction into Beneke's life see ibid., *Begleitband I* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), pp. 58–100; see also Frank Hatje's chapter in this volume.

8 Lothar Gall, *Vom alten zum neuen Bürgertum: Die mitteleuropäische Stadt im Umbruch 1780–1820* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1991); Jürgen Kocka, "Das europäische Muster und der deutsche Fall", in Kocka (ed.), *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 9–76; Albert Tanner, *Arbeitsame Patrioten – Wohlanständige Damen: Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit in der Schweiz 1830–1914* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1995).

9 Ulrike Gleixner, "Familie, Traditionsstiftung und Geschichte im Schreiben von pietistischen Frauen", in Hacke (ed.), *Frauen*, pp. 131–63.

10 Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbstständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Frank Hatje, "Ferdinand Beneke und seine Zeit: Der Kosmos eines Tagebuchs und die Geschichte des Bürgertums zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik", in Vorstand der Patriotischen Gesellschaft von 1765 (ed.), *Doppeljahrbuch 2011–13 der Patriotischen Gesellschaft von 1765: Von der Bürgerlichkeit zur Zivilität* (Hamburg, 2014), pp. 19–29.

11 Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self", in Luther H. Martin et al. (eds.), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1988), pp. 16–49.

12 For an overview see Kaspar von Greyerz, "Observations on the Historiographical Status of Research on Self-Writing", in Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz and Lorenz Heiligensetzer (eds.), *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 34–57; for a critical perspective see Gabriele Jancke and Claudia Ulbrich, "Vom Individuum zur Person: Neue Konzepte im Spannungsfeld von Autobiographietheorie und Selbstzeugnisforschung", *Querelles: Jahrbuch für Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung* 10 (2005), pp. 7–27.

13 Richard van Dülmen, *Die Entdeckung des Individuums 1500–1800* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1997), pp. 118–21.

14 Mareike Böth, "'Ich handele, also bin ich': Selbstzeugnisse praxeologisch lesen", *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 69, 5–6 (2018), pp. 253–70.

15 Hagenbuch (ed.), *"Heute war ich"*, 2 Sept. 1824 (204): "ich erlabte mich dort (…) an einem Glase herrlichem Bier."

16 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

17 Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale Nota bene, 1998); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

18 Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*; Tosh, *A Man's Place*.

19 Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte 1750–1850* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

20 Both use diaries among other sources: Tanner, *Arbeitsame Patrioten*; Elisabeth Joris, *Liberal und eigensinnig: Die Pädagogin Josephine Stadlin – die Homöopathin Emilie Paravicini-Blumer: Handlungsspielräume von Bildungsbürgerinnen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Chronos, 2010).

21 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* [1962] (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), pp. 43–44.

22 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p. 47.

23 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p. 45; cf. Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), pp. 247–57.

24 Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), pp. 38–47 (38, 42).

25 Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy* (Cambridge: Polity, 1986), pp. 140–41.

26 Luhmann, *Love as Passion*, p. 100.

27 Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, *The European Family: Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), pp. 71–92; Heidi Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie: Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang von Familienverhältnissen, Sozialstruktur und sozialem Wandel in der deutschen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), pp. 275–76; Andreas Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 10; Andreas Gestrich, Jens-Uwe Krause and Michael Mitterauer, *Geschichte der Familie* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2003), pp. 387–91.

28 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 364; see also Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 13.

29 Mary Jo Maynes, "Class Cultures and Images of Proper Family Life", in David Kertzer and Mario Barbagli (eds.), *The History of the European Family*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 195–226 (201).

30 Michelle Perrot, "Introduction", in Perrot (ed.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 9–11; Lynn Hunt and Catherine Hall, "The Curtain Rises", in ibid., pp. 87–91; Maynes, "Class Cultures", pp. 196, 225–26; Gestrich, Krause and Mitterauer, *Geschichte*, pp. 469, 472.

31 Perrot, "Introduction", p. 2; cf. for a different perspective Eibach and Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus*.

32 Gestrich, *Geschichte*, pp. 5–6; often cited in German research: Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der Geschlechtscharaktere – Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben", in Werner Conze (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1976), pp. 363–93.

33 Tanner, *Arbeitsame Patrioten*, pp. 167–68.

34 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 33.

35 Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile: Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1986).

36 Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 292; cf. often cited: Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 383–414.

37 Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650–1850* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 144, 318.

38 Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 9; cf. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 2–5; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, pp. 238–41, 391; Habermas, *Frauen*, p. 316; for a different argument see Tanner, *Arbeitsame Patrioten*, p. 269.

39 Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 292–301; Gisela Mettele, "Der private Raum als öffentlicher Ort: Geselligkeit im bürgerlichen Haus", in Dieter Hein and Andreas Schulz (eds.), *Bürgerkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: Bildung, Kunst und Lebenswelt* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), pp. 155–69; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, pp. 174–80; Habermas, *Frauen*, pp. 182–84.

40 Elisabeth Joris, "Kinship and Gender: Property, Enterprise, and Politics", in David W. Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to the Long-Term Development (1300–1900)* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 231–57 (242).

41 Maynes, "Class Cultures", p. 202.

42 Maria Ågren, "Introduction: Making a Living, Making a Difference", in Ågren (ed.), *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 1–23 (3); cf. now Raffaella Sarti, Anna Bellavitis and Manuela Martini (eds.), *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018).

43 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (4), 25 Dec 1774.
44 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (3), prologue, 1772, point 14: "je dois tenir mon Ménage en ordre, élevér mes Enfants, les préservér des mauvais Exemples, veillér sur mes domestiques, vivre avec économie et sobrieté, faire du bien a mon prochain, travaillér de mes mains".
45 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (4), 13 Aug. 1775.
46 Home washing: BBB, FA Stettler 12 (3), 17 April – 1 May 1772; home slaughterings: BBB, FA Stettler 12 (3), 13 Feb. 1772; BBB, FA Stettler 12 (4), 30 Jan. 1774, 14 Jan. 1776.
47 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 17 June 1831 (470); 10 Jan. 1830 (396).
48 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 5 Oct. 1829 (384); 16 April 1831 (463); 22 April 1831 (464); 3.1.1832 (494); agriculture in a bourgeois household was no exception, cf. Habermas, *Frauen*, p. 43.
49 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 3 March 1830 (403).
50 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 6 Sept. 1832 (520): "Diesen Abend war Freundeverein bey uns, weshalb ich den ganzen Tag genug darauf hin vorzubereiten hatte."
51 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 7 Sept. 1832 (520): "Ich hatte diesen ganzen Morgen genug mit Auf u. wegräumen zu thun."
52 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 6 Sept. 1832 (520): "es lief eigentl[ich] alles gut u. vergnüg[lich] ab, als dass m[ein] Gefühl sagte dass unser Voressen etwas schmal war u. der Nachtisch zu chargiert wie AB. bemerkte."
53 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 20 May 1826 (277–78); 12 May 1827 (314).
54 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 6 Jan. 1827 (302).
55 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 13 Feb. 1830 (401): "Diese Woche kam ausser der Arbeit nichts zu wegen. Ich stuhnd bisweilen auf u. legte mich wieder ohne zu beten, wohl seufzend, aber stets die Arbeit vor dem Gemüth. Ich kam mir vor wie ein Lastthier".
56 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/2, 27 June 1814: "Die vorläufige TagesOrdnung"; the actual practice often differed from this ideal agenda.
57 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 25 Dec 1811; 24 Feb 1812.
58 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 6 June 1811.
59 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 3 July 1813; Beilagen 1813, p. 285.
60 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/2, 1 June 1814: "Wiedereinsetzung" of the house; 2 June 1814: "Karoline wirtschaftet unterdeß ruhig auf dem Holl. Brok".
61 For the approach see Joachim Eibach, "Das offene Haus: Kommunikative Praxis im sozialen Nahraum der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38 (2011), pp. 621–64; Joachim Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", in Eibach and Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus*, pp. 19–37.
62 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (4), liste de péchés, mauvaises façons, Jan. – June 1776; liste de mes fautes, July – Dec. 1776; BBB, FA Stettler 12 (5), fautes que je commets, Jan. – June 1780; fautes que je fais, July – Dec. 1780.
63 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (5), 18 Jan.1778: "sehr selten gehe ich am morgen aus – sehr selten auch eße ich außerst dem Hause – alle monat einmahl bei meiner Mama – die Kinder ein mahl in der Woche, nachmitag gibt es hin und wieder geschäffte auch einst und andere kleine visiten zu empfangen, ich mache derselben so wenig als möglich, arbeite lieber wann es sein kann bis um 4 Uhr, da ich mich dann ankleide um den abend in Gesellschaft zu gehen, da ich gegen 70 Häuser u wohl Verwandte und Bekante habe bei denen ich im Kehr den Abend zubringe und sie bei mir, so bleiben mir wenig Abende um allein bei Hause zu bleiben, könnte ich nach meinem geschmak leben, so gienge ich sehr wenig in große gesellschafften". Cf. Brigitte Schnegg, "Soireen, Salons, Sozietäten: Geschlechterspezifische Aspekte des Wandels städtischer Öffentlichkeit im Ancien Régime am Beispiel Berns", in Anne-Lise Head-König and Albert Tanner (eds.), *Frauen in der Stadt* (Zurich: Chronos, 1993), pp. 163–83.
64 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (5), 10 Jan. 1779: "ich entziehe mich so viel möglich von allem, doch da ich nahe bei 80. visiten zu machen habe – kann ich wenig bei Hause alein sein – gienge ich an jedes ort nur ein mahl (...) und dann die tage da ich bei hause visiten habe so ist der winter fast gar vorbei, (...) selten kan ich lesen, meinen kinderen kan ich fast keine Zeit geben, dieses alles macht mich unwillig – da bin ich muth-loos, traurig – mürrisch".
65 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (3), 1772, prologue, point 14: "un chagrin réel a mon Mari, dont le gout tout oposé est portés a avoir souvent du Monde".
66 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (3), 11 Oct. 1772: "j'atends avec impatiance le retour de mon Mari, je voudrois avoir toujours mon Mari et mes Enfants a la maison, vivre ainsi tranquilement en fammille,

n'avoir des visites que de mes proches parants, ou amis, les plus intimmes, et cela une fois par semaine seulement, le réste du tems je voudrois le donér a mon mènage, a l'education de mes Enfants, a la promenade, la lecture, l'ouvrage, ce seroit lá mon plus grand Bonheur".
67 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 26 May 1826 (278): "intime Freundinn".
68 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 19 Oct. 1828 (362); cf. Joris, "Kinship and Gender", pp. 242–46.
69 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 30 Sept. 1827 (327): "wir waren dann allein beysammen. Es ist mir immer ein drückendes Gefühl zu denken, dass Niemand gerne bey uns seyn sollte."
70 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 26 Dec 1826 (300); 17 May 1827 (315); 26 Dec 1827 (335).
71 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 23 July 1825 (243); 14 Feb 1824 (174); 19 June 1826 (281–82); 24.3.1827 (310); cf. for the "Bildungspaar" Habermas, *Frauen*, p. 400.
72 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 7 May 1811: "So geht das nun alle Tage. Unser Haus ohne eig. Einlad. wie ein GastHof." With regard to sociability in the home of the Benekes cf. Frank Hatje's chapter in this volume.
73 David W. Sabean, "Kinship and Class Dynamics in Nineteenth-Century Europe", in Sabean, Teuscher and Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe*, pp. 301–13 (304).
74 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 18 Jan. 1811; 1 Dec 1812; 18 June 1813.
75 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 21 Feb. 1813.
76 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/2, 11 June 1814: "jenes stille, häusliche LiebeLeben".
77 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 1 Nov. 1812.
78 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 25 Feb. 1812; 2 March 1812; 6 March 1812; 20 March 1812.
79 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 6 April 1813.
80 Amanda Flather, "Space, Place, and Gender: The Sexual and Spatial Division of Labor in the Early Modern Household", *History and Theory* 52 (2013), pp. 344–60.
81 Cf. the chapter of Maria Ågren in this volume.
82 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (4), 14 Aug. 1774.
83 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 19 April 1830 (410): "mein liebes Stübchen".
84 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 22 May 1811; 28 Oct. 1811; 16 Oct. 1812.
85 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 5 May 1811: "wirkliche Erheiterung".
86 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 5 May 1811: "theils weil kein interessanter Verkehr zwischen ihnen, u. den Männern aufkommen kann, theils, weil sie untereinander LangeWeile haben".
87 Cf. Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, pp. 19, 238–41; Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 9–10; Shoemaker, *Gender*, pp. 305–14; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, passim; Habermas, *Frauen*, p. 316.
88 BBB, FA Stettler 12 (4), 30 Jan. 1774; FA Stettler 12 (5), 10 Jan. 1779; Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 18 March 1830 (405); 16 Feb. 1831 (453–54).
89 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 6 Sept. 1832 (520).
90 Hagenbuch (ed.), *'Heute war ich'*, 18 Nov. 1832 (525–26).
91 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/2, 20 June 1814.
92 Beneke, *Tagebücher* III/1, 9 Feb. 1812; according to Frank Hatje, Beneke even set up written statutes for a 'Winterklubb' he founded with a handful of near friends; cf. Hatje's chapter in this volume.

19

GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE SEPARATE SPHERES

Elisabeth Joris

Introduction

The concept of separate public and private spheres has been fraught with a lack of clarity since it first surfaced around the turn of the nineteenth century. Glaring contradictions and obvious gaps in the theory have been among the central concerns of gender historians for several decades now. In particular, the thinking that linked the emergence of separate spheres to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution has been questioned. That aside, the delineation of the specific boundaries between private and public is also unclear.[1] Despite these reservations, it is evident that the gender-based separate spheres framework, mediated through the binary 'public/private' opposition, has become and still is a compelling organizational concept.[2]

Although antagonistic binaries such as 'outside/inside' or 'public/private' have gender-based connotations, they cannot simply be equated with 'male/female'; this is an important result of gender history. Men had unlimited access to the private sphere and were granted positions of power and rights of disposal within this sphere.[3] By contrast, women, having been assigned qua gender to the domestic sphere, were denied access to key areas of the public sphere. In the context of political efforts to secure the right to communicate and participate in public life, the public sphere had been regulated in most European states during the first half of the nineteenth century. The same urgency did not apply to the codification of relations between private persons, despite the fact that freedom to dispose of private property was considered a cornerstone of modern law. Over the course of the hundred years that it took to formulate modern civil law, repeated efforts were made to limit the scope of women's economic activity, on the grounds that they were responsible for the domestic sphere. In this process, the idea of separate spheres was constantly being indirectly redefined and reinforced.

This chapter deals with important areas of research in their thematic contexts. In terms of gender-based organizational models, the French *Code civil* impacted the lengthy process of codifying private law in its entirety. However, to paraphrase Maria Ågren, its relevance to everyday life and making a living was limited.[4] There were, in fact, continuities throughout the nineteenth century, whether with regard to spouses who co-worked in the domestic sphere or to the connections between work conducted outside and within it. Even women

of the new bourgeoisie carried out paid work in their homes. While the construction of stately homes during the era of expanding family businesses reinforced the external manifestation of separate private and public spheres, it could not completely obscure women's significance in terms of the economic resources they may have brought into the business and their roles in cultivating networks of friends, acquaintances and relatives.[5] The position of household servants in an increasingly urbanized society is also paradoxical when viewed through the separate-spheres lens. Domestic servants were seen as both insiders assigned to the family and outsiders who threatened the intimacy of the family. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this ambivalence was reflected materially in urban architecture while it also became a topos in narrative texts.

Written rules and everyday practices

The Code civil and the constitution of the separate spheres

While practice differed in various countries, nations and states of Europe, and while England was an exception in itself, it is clear that the French Revolution had an enduring effect on how gender-specific roles, and the separate spheres, were defined in European law.[6] For the emerging bourgeoisie, the basic principle of all men being free and equal and having the natural right to acquire property, made the French *Code civil* (1804) the model for future collections of civil law in other parts of Europe.[7] Shortly afterwards (1811), the Austrian *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (ABGB) – preceded by the first centralized Austrian state law code, the Josephine code of 1786 – came into effect across the Habsburg monarchy. While the ABGB assigned parental authority to both husband and wife, it was the man, as 'head of the family', who had the final say in all decision-making and acted as the family's representative to the outside world. There were similar provisos in the Prussian *Allgemeines Landrecht* (ALR) of 1794, particularly with regard to the position of power granted to the head of the household over servants and hired hands. Remnants of class-based elements of this nature were to be found, even a century later, in the new German *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (BGB), which came into effect in 1900.[8]

During the nineteenth century, the creation of a common economic area was implicit to the concept of nation building. As industrialization increased and trade expanded, the *Code civil* of 1804, which confirmed the freedom to trade and to contract, came to be regarded a model. However, while this freedom applied to all men in France, it did not apply to married women, only to those who were single. Marital and family law, as part of the *Code civil*, laid down the laws that governed both marriage and family (the 'nuclear family' comprising two generations) as well as relations between husband and wife. While the legislation was based on the principle of mutual consent and husband and wife standing by each other, the husband's authority, the so-called *puissance maritale*, was almost unlimited. The laws governing family and matrimonial property thereby denied women some key Enlightenment demands in terms of a codification of private law: autonomy and legal majority in relation to capacity to act independently; and, in relation to property, freedom to dispose of the earnings from one's own labour, to enjoy one's own wealth, and to enter into contracts.[9]

Civil law throughout Europe was characterized by discrimination against women, albeit to a lesser extent in those areas where the Austrian ABGB and the Prussian ALR applied – and there only in relation to the disposal of assets and authority of the husband.[10] Switzerland was no exception, as the codification of its civil law was influenced not only by

regional legal tradition but also by German, Austrian and French legislation.[11] The discrimination against women embedded in both European civil law and the British legal system of common law was legitimized via the husband's duty to provide for and protect the family.[12] Since the woman was relegated, by law, to the domestic sphere, she needed the explicit and implicit permission of her husband to engage in any paid work outside the home. Not only did men dominate in public life, but business was conducted solely between them. The codification of family and matrimonial property law within civil law thus shaped and legitimized the gendered concept of separate spheres. Despite their general applicability, the legal provisions concerning property, the disposal of assets and the responsibility of providing for the family applied primarily to the upper and middle classes and was of very little relevance to the working classes. Nevertheless, control over his wife's assets and labour could be important for a husband even in a trade or farming milieu.

Continuities in women's and men's co-work

Written rules are very powerful but, as Maria Ågren has recently pointed out, they do not necessarily tell us what women and men actually do or indeed did. The concept of the separate spheres, underpinned by legal and philosophical discourse, points to a male-breadwinner model. And yet well into the nineteenth century, even in highly industrialized regions, the family was regarded as an economic unit to which both women and men were expected to contribute paid and unpaid labour, as had largely been the practice since the early modern period.[13] In the lower social strata, where the male-breadwinner model was not practicable in either urban or rural households, husbands and wives continued to share their responsibilities. The 'two-supporter model' has been highlighted by Maria Ågren's analyses, but also by earlier research conducted by German historian Heide Wunder.[14] According to these studies, the household was run jointly by the man and the woman, as a married and a working couple – despite the system of patriarchal control and the at least symbolic superiority of the 'head of the household'. Besides, during the nineteenth century people outside the family home also contributed to securing the family's living. This was the case in trade and farming households as well as in industrial wage labourers' households.[15] Networks of neighbours and friends supported each other; for example, a neighbour might give the children of a female factory worker their lunch, or a friend might help out by child minding.[16]

Pluriactivity, meaning multiple areas of overlap between women's and men's work, was a defining characteristic of the family economy, and it was common practice for individual members of a household to have multiple employments.[17] However, this diversity was masked to some extent by the fact that statistics, tax legislation and tax ordinances all reflected the position of the husband under civil law.[18] The co-working of husbands and wives common to most households usually only became visible in records if the husband died; the widow would then appear as the owner of the business in guardianship appointments or tax registers. Even in the case of independent women merchants in the urban economy, such as the '*pubblica mercantessa*' in Italy, the '*marchandes publiques*' in Paris and Lyon or the independent saleswomen in Leipzig and in Copenhagen – there is a considerable need for further research regarding the nineteenth century in particular – women were usually not allowed to trade under their own name until after their husbands' deaths, whether they continued to run their own business or that of their husband.[19] Co-working, even in the context of the home, did not simply mean husband and wife working together. On the contrary, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, married

women used their homes as a base from which to earn money independently of their husbands. Seamstresses sewed and received clients at home; other women took in laundry or ironing. In the cities it was very common to take in lodgers, who on the whole were men.[20] Farmer's wives were able to generate income independently of their husbands through direct sale of eggs and vegetables; the hens and garden were considered part of the domestic sphere and so were largely beyond the husband's scrutiny.

The continuation of some premodern co-working patterns in the nineteenth century applied not only to trade and agriculture but even to the rectory, where the role of a pastor's wife might include duties otherwise considered male-assigned, yet recognized by all involved as a contribution to the household economy. While the wife would not be involved in the theological aspects of the job, the couple shared the administrative and consultative aspects, where there was much overlap between public and private. This is evident primarily in ego documents such as letters, diaries or housekeeping books. Similarly, other sources reveal that forms of co-work persisted in the households of doctors, jurists or professors. A doctor's wife might dispense medicine on his behalf and help look after his patients; a professor's wife might assist him at home with the evaluation of research results; the jurist's wife might act as his secretary or proof-read his scholarly papers.[21] In the bourgeois milieu of professors, doctors, lawyers and theologians, which was not very financially secure, it was not unusual for women to supplement the family income by giving lessons in their own homes, using their own class- and gender-specific knowledge to educate young women. On top of that, unmarried middle-class women often worked as nannies and governesses in other homes.[22]

Obvious and obscured interlinking of separate spheres

In manufacturing and banking milieus, the division between the domestic sphere and that of production and employment became more pronounced in the course of the nineteenth century, yet the two spheres remained interlinked.[23] As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have shown for the period between 1780 and 1850 in England, women's wealth was to become a significant factor in raising sufficient capital to establish or expand a business, though this did not give the woman any executive role or the right to influence decisions.[24] In contrast, by acquiring control over his wife's assets through marriage a man could advance his business more rapidly and, furthermore, increase his credit worthiness.[25] Everything a woman brought into a marriage became explicitly or implicitly, depending on the prevailing law, part of the husband's property or of the business controlled by him. Thus, the structures of private law in continental Europe, as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon world, meant that in terms of increasing capital most women literally remained 'silent partners'.[26]

While women's 'silent partnership' in a business only became obvious through inheritance or divorce, the physical separation of the domestic sphere from the sphere of production became increasingly visible in interior design.[27] However, even this spatially accentuated dissociation of entrepreneurial activity from the domestic sphere was an illusion. In effect, the two spheres remained connected. Because the villas and city apartments of entrepreneurs had a representative function for their firms, women were assigned the role of cultivating the social network, widows acted as firm directors or daughters as main heiresses of family businesses.[28] This role was indispensable in terms of exerting indirect influence and facilitating the smooth flow, not just of private information but also of useful intelligence for political and business purposes. The social role was also indispensable in

terms of preparing the ground for suitable marriages between people of the same class – a major source of capital for family-owned business in the nineteenth century. In this respect, it was important to reconcile the idea of marriage for love with the concept of marriage based on financial and economic interests.[29]

In the context of the separate spheres paradigm, the position of domestic servants was equally paradoxical. For female servants, crossing the border between public and private – symbolically represented by the threshold – implied reconciling waged labour, i.e. a labour market mechanism, with living in the private sphere, i.e. a family home.[30] As the nineteenth century wore on and industrialization continued apace, these contradictory constellations affected more and more young women, as demand for live-in servants grew in the expanding middle classes. This continued right up to the 1880s, particularly in urban environments. Accordingly, domestic service became the single most important source of employment for women in the cities of Europe.[31] The results of the long-standing European 'servant project', coordinated by Suzy Pasleau and Isabelle Schopp, and the studies of Raffaella Sarti present a complex picture of this evolution.[32]

Up to the First World War, domestic servants were not acknowledged as waged workers but, for statistical purposes, were counted as belonging to the family. The Swiss census of 1888, for example, recorded 1,063 men and 552,840 women under the heading "Servants and family members running a household".[33] Because of this particular situation, it is often difficult to gauge the number of women employed in a household with any accuracy. Nevertheless, in Europe servants increasingly began to view themselves less as part of the employer's family and more as wage earners who, like others in the labour market, could quit a job if they wanted and go looking for another.[34] Despite this development, in continental Europe domestic service was not fully recognized as contractual employment. Only in Britain were domestic servants given the same status as other workers, male and female alike; a result of the fierce debate on the Employers and Workmen Act of 1875.[35] In contrast, in most European countries the legally defined assignation of women to the domestic sphere, and the dependence that went with it, also applied to servants employed in the house. As in the case of the development of family law, some elements of the pre-revolutionary class system were transferred over into the nineteenth century.[36] The *Deutsches Privatrecht* (German Private Law), published in 1854, classified master–servant relations as belonging under family law, entitling the head of the house to control his servants' behaviour "outside the house", "for example to forbid them to take part in certain kinds of merrymaking".[37]

Shifts regarding the boundary between inside and outside, as far as domestic staff were concerned, became visible in architecture,[38] the paradigmatic example being the urban renewal, or 'Hausmannization', of Paris. In the new apartment buildings lining the city's boulevards, on the sixth floor under the mansard roof were the rooms of the *domestiques* who worked for the families below; the odd male employee of a business on the ground floor also lived here.[39] Around the turn of the century, in the minds of bourgeois families on the lower floors *le sixième étage* became the locus of fantasies of depravity, slander and immorality. This topic was reflected in various novels. A fictitious Breton housemaid whose name endured in the collective imagination is Célestine R., the protagonist of Octave Mirbeau's novel *Le journal d'une femme de chambre* (*A Chambermaid's Diary*), which, after its publication in 1900, was immediately translated into many languages. The figure of Célestine allowed the reader to spy through the keyhole into the most intimate aspects of life in the French bourgeoisie, exposing its hypocrisy, decadence and vice.[40]

Research debates and perspectives since the 1960s

The question of the emergence of separate spheres in Europe harks back to the early days of feminist historiography, which took a predominantly socio-historical approach and varied thematically depending on the country or language in which it was embedded. The scope of this article does not permit more than a brief summary of some of the key contributions to the debate over several decades.

In 1974, American anthropologist Michelle Z. Rosaldo, co-founder of the feminist studies programme at Stanford University, wrote that the "opposition between domestic and public domains of activity" influenced the formation of male and female roles. In 1976, German historian Karin Hausen highlighted the construction of *Geschlechtscharaktere* (the characters of the sexes), and the associated allocation of male and female roles to different spaces.[41] Feminist historiography in France initially focused on the position of women workers in industry and the family, but also on the resistance of bourgeois women to being relegated to the domestic sphere.[42]

In the introduction to the fourth volume of *A History of Private Life*, its editor, Michelle Perrot, defines the nineteenth century as "the golden age of private life, a time when the vocabulary and reality of private life took shape". While she acknowledges the debt to microhistory, Perrot stresses the importance of feminist reflections on the formation of the separate spheres.[43] This work draws primarily on historical records and literature pertaining to England and France. In the fourth volume of *History of Women in the West*, edited by Perrot and philosopher Geneviève Fraisse, the latter points at the influence of Fichte, Hegel and Kant's view of woman's dependency and sacrifice for marriage and family. However, she claims that the law was actually more effective in establishing separate spheres and in giving men access to the inside and the outside. In the same volume, Joan W. Scott discusses the failed attempts of legislators to spatially segregate men and women in the workplace.[44]

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's book *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* is of critical importance to the concept of the separate spheres. Re-issued several times since its first publication over 30 years ago, it also appeared in French in 2014, with a new introduction by the author – a German edition is forthcoming.[45] As representatives of a left-wing, feminist school of social history, Davidoff and Hall, referencing E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), describe the emergence of the middle class in the context of industrialization, and the related development of modern capitalism, from a gender-history perspective. Their central thesis is that "class was always gendered and gender always classed".[46] They argue that the class-based model of society resulted in the division on the one hand of the master and head of the household into enterprising employer, and on the other of husband and father in the home and family. Femininity, in contrast, was defined exclusively by home and family: "It was the family which mediated between public and private and connected the market with the domestic".[47] Even if the middle class encompassed a wide range of social groups with different financial capabilities, what united them, according to Davidoff and Hall, was a sense of moral authority strongly influenced by Protestant values.

In her 1993 article *Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History*, Amanda Vickery challenges the theory of the emergence of separate spheres in the context of industrialization.[48] Against the background of the 'linguistic turn', she criticizes social historians' unquestioning acceptance of the left-wing narrative handed down since Engels, which linked the separate spheres with the

emergence of capitalism, class formation and female marginalization. She argues that the concept of separate spheres lacked analytical power and failed to illuminate all complexities, and that scholars failed to differentiate sufficiently between printed documents and their reception. She supports her assumptions with historical facts: texts referring to the separate realms of men and women were in circulation long before 1780; workplaces outside the home had been in existence for centuries and the majority of people in the nineteenth century did not work in industrial jobs.[49]

Following this, other historians – Robert Shoemaker for example – put Davidoff and Hall's theories into a critical perspective: "The spheres were never truly separate, certainly not physically."[50] Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, in her 2010 overview of gender history, raises doubts about the public/private dichotomy, arguing that it was questionable whether this concept had ever adequately described any society.[51] Mary Jo Maynes also relativizes the binary opposition, arguing that the polarization of private and public was in fact a by-product of the creation of the middle-class family and gender roles: "The boundaries around the family were far more porous than the rhetoric implied".[52] Scholars in the field of men's studies, going back to the 1990s, also focused primarily on the complexity of gender relations.[53]

In the German-speaking world, the emergence of the separate spheres has also been discussed in the context of extensive research on *Bürgertum*. Ego documents analysed by Anne-Charlott Trepp (1996) and Rebekka Habermas (2000) reveal that the separate spheres were not nearly as distinct in everyday life as the advice literature of the time suggested.[54] Research by Elisabeth Joris and Heidi Witzig on industrialization and the family, influenced by the *Alltagsgeschichte* (everyday history) approach of German historians, has highlighted the interconnection, rather than the separation, of the private and the public.[55] Andreas Gestrich, on the other hand, argues in the *Geschichte der Familie* (2003) that the blurring of economic links between women's work in the home and men's work outside the home was, in the context of industrialization, part of a strategy to reduce the woman's role to the gender-specific one of motherhood.[56]

Legal history studies, always an important aspect of feminist historiography, have shown that the gender-based assignment of male and female roles in law have, despite the flaws in the separate spheres framework, had enduring effects.[57] Ute Gerhard's seminal work, *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts*, a collection of essays from all over Europe on women and the history of law, deserves a special mention here.[58] Edith Saurer's nuanced socio-historical study of the relationship between love and work, which revealed the complex implications of civil law in different European countries, is also noteworthy.[59] While the legal authorities restricted the right of middle-class women to education and a career, this did not stop all women from exploring alternative avenues, particularly in the field of teaching, as has been demonstrated by Davidoff and Hall in England and, more extensively, by Gudrun Wedel in Germany.[60] The paradoxical situation of female domestic servants, who were assigned to the domestic sphere but were not part of the family, has been the subject of studies from many different countries of which there are too many to detail here.[61] Similarly, research on the role of kinship, led to large extent by David Sabean, has analysed how house and family were woven into extensive relationship structures;[62] this is also referenced in Joachim Eibach's concept of the 'open house'.[63]

Although Davidoff and Hall's narrative of the emergence of separate spheres has also been subject to some harsh criticism, their seminal work, *Family Fortunes*, has gained increasing recognition. In the introduction to the French translation, published in 2014, the authors concede that at the initial time of writing – before the influence of the 'linguistic

turn' – they were too uncritical in their reception of the moral values conveyed in historic texts, presenting domestic life as too harmonious and not paying sufficient attention to continuities. However, given the crucial link between property and the concept of separate private and public spheres, relationships to property remain a central concern in *Family Fortunes*. For this reason, they argue, the question of access to resources, and what that means in terms of making a living, also continues to be of critical importance.[64] It is against this backdrop that after 25 years of debate on the separate spheres the Swedish historian Maria Ågren, in the introduction to her 2017 book on gender and work, pleads – in accordance with the central concerns of New Cultural History – for an approach that focuses less on normative statements and more on practices, that is on what people actually did. This approach reveals more continuities than disruptions, with enduring effect to the present day.[65]

The dynamic of separate spheres with special regard to nineteenth-century Switzerland

Invisible female work

After the Swiss federal state was founded in 1848, the increasingly influential mercantile middle class was among the main forces that pushed for harmonization of private law. With each canton having its own legislation, business partners based in different cantons had to assume, in some cases, that they would be working from different sets of statutes. The *Zivilgesetzbuch* (ZGB) was adopted by parliament in 1907 and came into force in 1912.[66] It granted the husband, as 'head of the family', extensive privileges in disposing of the family's assets and representing the family to the public. The wife was assigned the role of looking after the needs of the household and rearing the children. She was thus implicitly consigned to the domestic sphere.[67]

Even prior to this codification, the husband usually appeared as the breadwinner in official documents and tax registers; any co-work with his wife or other members of the household remained invisible. However, many occupations listed under a husband's name were actually carried out by the wife. A good example of this is the Biffiger family store in Naters at the northern entrance to the Simplon Tunnel, a small community which expanded significantly during construction of the railway. In the 1896 tax records, the owner of this business is given as "Joseph Biffiger, merchant". Yet it was in fact his wife, Kreszentia Biffiger-Wyssen, who had started the business. Before she was married, she had worked as a cook in Paris for some years, and when she returned to Switzerland in 1886 she used her savings to open a small shop. When construction of the tunnel began, the shop expanded its range, stocking everything from groceries to all sorts of goods in everyday use.[68]

Letters exchanged between husbands and wives are an important source, revealing evidence of gender-connoted interferences between the private and the public spheres. The correspondence between Magdalena Werdmüller-Esslinger and her husband is one example. From 1829 to 1862, he was pastor of Uster, a small industrial parish in the Canton of Zurich. Whenever he was away, his wife took charge of all parish affairs excluding spiritual duties. She also represented her husband in dealing with the authorities and with the parish's poor community. Her position as pastor's wife in the Canton of Zurich also meant that she was head of the *Weibergemeinde*, the association of married women in the parish who appointed the midwife.[69]

Half a century later, Lina Hubert-Weissert, wife of Eugen Huber, jurist, professor and creator of the Swiss *Zivilgesetzbuch*, read and corrected, prior to publication, his extensive studies on the development of private law, and indeed the many paragraphs of the civil code he drafted.[70] In so doing, she was complying with the principle he had written into marital law, that of husband and wife assisting and standing by each other; but her quiet work also cemented the image of the male sole-provider enshrined in the new code, for her share of the work has never been mentioned anywhere except in the couple's correspondence. Lina Huber-Weissert was the ideal professor's wife in a further way; she looked after her husband's colleagues and friends when they met in their apartment for social gatherings and academic exchange. The subject of how she had come to be – or rather, was made to be – the ideal professor's wife was never discussed. For, in the *Bildungsbürgertum*, the educated bourgeoisie, it was considered inappropriate for a woman, married or otherwise, to earn any income from manual work, such as needlework or laundry, even if the family was not well off.[71] Eugen Huber had fallen in love with 20-year-old Lina Weissert in a Zurich restaurant frequented by students where Lina worked as a waitress. In order for their marriage to meet class expectations, Huber, who had progressed to the position of university lecturer two years after meeting Lina, arranged for her extended stay in a bourgeois family in Geneva, where she would acquire social manners befitting the wife of a jurist and professor. There was to be no more mention of work outside the home, and certainly not in a restaurant frequented mostly by men. After they were married, she ran the house; her husband listened to her piano practice and helped her with her spelling, which would later prove very useful for him.[72] In the seclusion of the private sphere, she worked on texts that were to bring Eugen Huber academic and public recognition far beyond the borders of Switzerland.

Legitimizing self-empowered action

Gainful employment of bourgeois women was deemed acceptable only if it could be argued that it was linked to the domestic sphere. This minimal amount of latitude empowered some women from the educated bourgeoisie to take action. An academic qualification was a prerequisite for holding a 'profession', but in many parts of Europe, women were banned from universities until the late nineteenth century.[73] Indeed, right into the twentieth century, some prestigious universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, did not allow women to graduate.[74] However, both before and parallel to the fight against this exclusion, women from the educated middle class were claiming the right to professionalization, linking it to specifically female skills associated with the domestic sphere. They justified their demands for employment outside the home with the seemingly contradictory argument that their expertise in teaching and care-giving, acquired through their assignment to the domestic sphere, meant that they were predestined to teach young women outside the home and to care for others beyond the family circle.[75] However, since the relevant academic institutions did not exist, women of the educated middle classes empowered themselves into professional activity, acquiring knowledge through practical experience and systematic learning.

In Switzerland, educationalist Josephine Stadlin can serve as an example of this development. She was born in the town of Zug in 1806. The family home was full of books, but her father, a physician and scholar, was under financial pressure. Stadlin described in 1843 how she got into teaching. After training to be a dressmaker, she returned to the family home at 17 prepared to work from home. "I sought, and found,

sewing pupils. [...] I felt compelled to instruct these children not just in needlework but also in reading and writing."[76] After her father's premature death, Stadlin decided, with her mother's consent, to continue her training to be a teacher at an institute for girls founded by Pestalozzi. In 1834 she became director of the municipal girls' secondary school in Aarau while simultaneously conducting teacher training from her own apartment. From the late 1830s until the 1850s, she acted as the independent director of a teaching and training institute, which she ran as a family business. Over those years, her mother, two sisters and brother worked in Stadlin's school in different capacities.[77]

During the same period, in contrast to Stadlin's liberal institutes, the above-mentioned Magdalena Werdmüller-Esslinger and her unmarried daughters set up a school in their private home to educate girls from Pietist backgrounds. Indeed, teaching as a means of securing a Protestant family's living when the pastor's appointment came to an end was widely practised throughout Europe. In England, for example, Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë, whose father was a parson, intended to set up a girls' school, though these plans failed. Nonetheless, their reading and lively discussions in their father's parsonage were a rich source from which they drew linguistic and narrative inspiration. The education they acquired in the parsonage also laid the foundation for their later roles as teachers and governesses in institutes and private homes.[78]

Silent partners in stately homes

Simone Derix's study of the Thyssen family and its fortune, published in 2016, illustrates the mechanisms of wealth transfer in industrialist families. In 1875, after her husband died, Balbina Bicheroux-Thyssen put considerable sums of money at her brother August's disposal so that he could expand his steel works in the Ruhr district; she also put her own shares of the business at his disposal when their father died.[79] To prevent the business being split up after their divorce, August's wife, Hedwig Thyssen-Pelzer, renounced her shares – to which she was entitled under Westphalian property law – in exchange for an annuity of 6,000 marks for the rest of her life.[80] Hedwig Pelzer had known her future husband since their youth. August Thyssen and his siblings grew up in Eschweiler, near Aachen. The family home was on the same grounds as the wire-rolling mill managed by their father, Friedrich, who also ran a bank business from the house. There were various other industrial works in the vicinity; it was here that August's future wife Hedwig grew up. Thus, family and business affairs were closely related in daily life.[81]

Alfred Krupp, too, had grown up in a house on the same grounds as the factory in Essen. After becoming a highly successful steel magnate in 1873, he took up residence in Villa Hügel, far from the Krupp industrial complex. The palatial building, consisting of a main residential house (*Wohnhaus*) connected to a guest house (*Logierhaus*), served a representative purpose for big industry. With its staff of 600 it was almost an industry in itself.[82] Despite this physical distance from the site of production, the close interweaving of the public and the private is revealed in Alfred Krupp's decidedly understated instructions. The house was to have "all the little domestic comforts", but it also had to be able to host "a large party with very high standards"; the aspiration to cosy domestic comforts seems all the more paradoxical in view of the layout and scale of *Villa Hügel*.[83] To the south of the Krupp mansion, in the city of Barmen-Elbersfeld, birthplace of Friedrich Engels and once known as 'the German Manchester', the rich textile manufacturers retreated to the slopes of the Brill district. To this day, this leafy neighbourhood (now part of Wuppertal) contains

the highest number of villas and stately homes built by nineteenth-century industrial entrepreneurs in Germany.[84]

In Switzerland, industrial and banking families also started to put more distance between home life and work life.[85] Many industrialists in the Zurich Oberland (the hilly south-east of the canton) also operated agricultural businesses, and women from the industrialists' families were often in charge of running the farm.[86] But the next generation of industrialist families preferred to move into brand new mansions. In Winterthur, commodity traders such as Volkart and Reinhart and mechanical engineering entrepreneur Sulzer, built villas mostly in the English country-house style along both sides of the Römerstrasse, in what was then a park-like area. Zurich banker and founder of Crédit Suisse, Alfred Escher, lived outside the city in a large stately home with views of the lake. English-born Sidney Brown, technical director and board member of mechanical engineering company Brown and Boveri (now ABB), lived in an equally magnificent villa, built in art nouveau style, in Baden in the Canton of Aargau. Brown, incidentally, was married to Jenny Sulzer, daughter of the eponymous Winterthur industrialist. Several women and men of these families became prominent art collectors and patrons of the arts, but it was still the wives who were responsible for entertaining the guests of their entrepreneur husbands from Switzerland and further afield.[87]

Domestic work as a career

Throughout Switzerland's less prosperous middle class, the connection between work carried out at home and in the public sphere usually took the form of women's voluntary work. The women who founded the *Schweizerischer Gemeinnütziger Frauenverein* (the umbrella body of women's associations for the public benefit) in 1888 were mostly married and belonged to the social class of liberal politicians who were setting the tone at the time and would have had a small number of domestic servants to help run the house.

These women did not question the concept of the separate spheres, nor did they approve of married women or mothers working outside the home unless – as in the working classes – it was necessary to secure a living for the family. That did not mean, however, that they considered their work in the home or the rearing of children as purely private chores; rather, they considered them duties with economic value. In this they were less radical than the first feminist organization in Europe half a century earlier: the seamstresses and dressmakers around the newspaper *La Femme libre* (1832–1834), who regarded all of their labour as productive, including work in their own or other people's homes and including childbearing and motherhood, for which they demanded state subsidies.[88] The Swiss women's association was of the view that women ought to be educated in order to carry out the specifically female job of running a household, just as men were educated for their jobs outside the house. However, they did not link this to any fundamental demand for remuneration – a key aspect of a professional career – except in the case of servants, though they did advocate professionalism rather than amateurism with regard to domestic staff in private homes. Thus, they set about founding the schools they felt were required, which were to serve as training institutes for future housemaids, wives and ladies. In these projects, the domestic and public spheres intersected. This overlap also justified the women's' demand to participate in shaping the state and the nation through their influence in the specifically female fields of work: the house, the kitchen, child-rearing and caregiving.[89] Their claim that women's' responsibility for the domestic economy crossed all class divides did not, in fact, obscure class-specific differences, as evidenced by the establishment of

separate schools of home economics for, respectively, servants and daughters of bourgeois families.[90] Also, like the *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine* (BDF), an umbrella association of German women's organizations, they refused to recognize domestic staff as equal to other waged labourers in terms of their rights to be regulated by law.

Conclusion

In spite of the normative definition of the separate spheres and its inherent discrimination against wives, the 'open house', as conceived by Joachim Eibach, served as a communicative space with different purposes, depending on the context. This ambiguity and versatility opened the house not just to the pluriactivity inherent in the traditional household economy but also to professional work for middle-class women. By justifying gainful employment of educated middle-class women – the *Bildungsbürgertum*, as opposed to the propertied bourgeoisie or *Besitzbürgertum* – the 'open house' contradicted the bourgeois gender hierarchy and, by association, the clear division between outside and inside, a core element of that gender hierarchy. The following quotation from Robert Shoemaker seems fitting with regard to the importance of the emerging separate spheres in the nineteenth century: "The continuities in gender roles across this long period remain striking: basic divisions of responsibilities persisted, without ever, even at the end of our period, becoming watertight."[91]

The after-effects of how work in the domestic sphere has been interpreted can still be felt today. Although the ILO Convention No. 189 (2011) demanded equal rights for all domestic workers, including undocumented housemaids and migrant care workers, the ordinary labour law in many countries does not apply to them – not even in Switzerland, despite ratification of the Convention. The after-effects also persist in attempts to uphold the framework of the separate spheres and obscure the connections between the domestic sphere and work outside of the home. This obfuscation is still a key element of the division of labour along gender-hierarchical lines that persists throughout society today. The growing number of working women in Western Europe who also have care responsibilities at home is paralleled by the growing number of women, mostly migrants, who are hired by professional women and mothers to do care work in the home.[92]

Translated from German by Rachel McNicholl

Notes

1 Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, *Geschlechter-Geschichte* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2010), pp. 97–121.
2 Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longham, 1998), p. 318.
3 Geneviève Fraisse, "A Philosophical History of Sexual Difference", in Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (eds.), *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 4: *Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 48–78 (52).
4 Maria Ågren, "Introduction: Making a Living, Making a Difference", in Maria Ågren (ed.), *Making a Living, Making a Difference: Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society* (Oxford: University Press, 2017), pp. 1–23.
5 Elisabeth Joris, "Kinship and Gender: Property, Enterprise, and Politics", in David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 231–57.
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concept de code", in ibid., pp. 3–43; and Bruno Schmidlin, "Le mouvement des codifications en Europe: La formation du system du code civil français", in ibid., pp. 45–63.

7 Jean Bart, "Le code Napoléon, un code à vocation européenne?", in Dunand and Winiger (eds.), *Le code civil*, pp. 65–77; see Diemut Majer, *Frauen – Revolution – Recht: Die grossen Europäischen Revolutionen in Frankreich, Deutschland und Österreich 1789 bis 1918 und die Rechtsstellung der Frauen: Unter Einbezug* von *England, Russland, der USA und der Schweiz* (St. Gallen: Dike and Nomos, 2008).

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9 For an overview of the research and debate on the legal implications of marriage see Ellinor Forster and Margareth Lanzinger, "Stationen einer Ehe: Forschungsüberblick", *L'Homme: European Journal of Feminist History* 14, 1 (2003), pp. 141–55.

10 See Bonfield, "European Family Law"; Majer, *Frauen – Revolution – Recht*, pp. 224–35, 278–86.

11 Paul Oberhammer, "ABGB und schweizerisches Privatrecht: Eine Spurensuche", in Constanze Fischer-Czermak et al. (eds.), *Festschrift 200 Jahre ABGB*, Bd. 1 (Vienna: Manzsche Verlags- und Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2011), pp. 219–32 (221–25).

12 Edith Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit: Geschlechterbeziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 84–97; Bonfield, "European Family Law"; Nicole Arnaud-Duc, "The Law's Contradictions", in Fraisse and Perrot (eds.), *A History of Women*, pp. 80–120 (96–109).

13 Ågren (ed.), *Making a Living*; Sofia Ling et al., "Marriage and Work: Intertwined Sources of Agency and Authority", in ibid., pp. 80–102; see Colin Heywood, "Children's Work in Country Side and City", in Paula S. Fass (ed.), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 125–41; Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit*, pp. 80–83.

14 Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); see Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit*, pp. 88–90; Regina Wecker, *Zwischen Ökonomie und Ideologie: Arbeit im Lebenszusammenhang von Frauen im Kanton Basel-Stadt 1870–1910* (Zurich: Chronos, 1997); Elisabeth Joris and Heidi Witzig, *Brave Frauen – aufmüpfige Weiber: Wie sich die Industrialisierung auf Alltag und Lebenszusammenhänge von Frauen auswirkte (1820–1940)* (Zurich: Chronos, 1992), pp. 194–204.

15 See Dag Lindström et al., "Working Together", in Ågren (ed.), *Making a Living*, pp. 57–79 (60).

16 Joris and Witzig, *Brave Frauen*, pp. 255–57, 262–64; see Maria Ågren, "Conclusion", in Ågren (ed.), *Making a Living*, pp. 204–20; see Inken Schmidt-Voges, "Das Haus und seine Nachbarschaft: Integration und Konflikt", in Joachim Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 411–16; Bärbel Kuhn, "Mitwohnen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert", in ibid., pp. 373–88.

17 See Luigi Lorenzetti, "Ruralité, industrie et formes de pluriactivité: une approche comparative: Valais (Suisse) et Valteline (Italie), 1860–1930", *Histoire, Économie et Société* 31, 3 (2012), pp. 67–85; Heidi Witzig, *Polenta und Paradeplatz: Regionales Alltagsleben auf dem Weg zur modernen Schweiz 1880–1940* (Zurich: Chronos, 2000), pp. 132–36, 196–200.

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Modewarengeschäft auf eine Rechnung betreiben': Zur Geschichte weiblicher Handelstätigkeit im neuzeitlichen Leipzig", in Schötz (ed.), *Frauenalltag in Leipzig: Weibliche Lebenszusammenhänge im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1997), pp. 101–141; Nina Preißler, "Witwen in Leipzig in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts", in ibid., pp. 17–45 (19–22; 35–42).

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23 Mary Jo Maynes, "Class Cultures and Images of Proper Family Life", in Kertzer and Barbagli (eds.), *Family Life*, pp. 195–226.

24 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 272–80.

25 Tim Stretton, "Married Women and the Law in England since the Eighteenth Century", *L'Homme: European Journal of Feminist History* 14, 1 (2003), pp. 124–30 (129).

26 On "hidden investment" see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 279.

27 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 375–88; Martine Segalen, "Material Conditions of Family Life", in Kertzer and Barbagli (eds.), *Family Life*, pp. 3–39 (30–31); Andreas Gestrich, Jens-Uwe Kraus and Michael Mitterauer, *Geschichte der Familie* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2003), pp. 13, 390–92; Maynes, "Class Cultures", pp. 206–07.

28 Werkstetter, *Frauen im Augsburger Zunfthandwerk*, pp. 328–72; Christine Werkstetter, "... vorzüglich meiner Cotton-Fabrique und nur secundario meiner Persohn geheurathet worden: Die gescheiterte Ehe der Augsburger Unternehmerin Anna Barbara Gignoux (1725–1796) im Spiegel der Scheidungsakten", in Wolfgang E. J. Weber and Regina Dauser (eds.), *Faszinierende Frühneuzeit: Reich, Frieden, Kultur und Kommunikation 1500–1800* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), pp. 185–217.

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30 Leonore Davidoff et al., "Das Paradox der Familie im historischen Kontext", *Historische Anthropologie* 8, 3 (2000), pp. 358–82 (373).

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34 On conditions in the premodern era, see Ågren, "Introduction", p. 2.

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38 See Kuhn, "Mitwohnen", pp. 382–83.

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42 See Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work and Family*.

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PART X

Semi-public spaces

20

THE DOMESTIC FLOWER GARDEN AS A GIRL'S OWN PLACE

Kristina Popova

Introduction

In the various domestic urban cultures of the nineteenth-century, Ottoman Empire processes of differentiation between representative and more intimate spaces of the household, and collective and individual spaces, depended on religion, ethnicity and class characteristics as well as on gender, age and position in the family hierarchy. Traditionally, having a 'personal space' was very uncommon, particularly for young people. In most families, children shared rooms with their parents or the domestic servants. In urban middle-class Christian families in the Balkans, among others the families of merchants and craftsmen, young people did not have a space of their own in the family house. However, the aspiration to solitude, which Philippe Ariès regards as one of the indicators of the appearance of privacy, became stronger during the nineteenth century.[1]

Personal letters and diaries are also testament to this process of privatization and to the division between public and private.[2] In some of them, young male intellectuals described their search for a 'personal place', a convenience that young girls were not eligible for. But in nineteenth-century literature, images of such places started to appear, in particular the small domestic flower garden as a 'personal place' for girls of small-town families. According to autobiographical texts, married women were permitted to sit outside their houses together with neighbours in their spare time, whereas young girls had to stay inside. The flower garden, described as small but beautiful, was their alternative to a space of their own, a place for dreams and emotions. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, the flower garden lost its importance for girls as a place for solitude due to the rise of female mobility and higher education opportunities, which made it possible for girls to leave their homes for a longer time. Additionally, a young girl's private room in the family home emerged under western influence. The following chapter investigates this aspect of domestic urban life, analysing nineteenth-century Bulgarian memoirs and novels.

Research perspectives: the vernacular house in the Ottoman Empire

House types in the Balkan regions are part of the typology of the so-called 'Ottoman house'. According to Maurice Cerasi, different types of the 'Ottoman house' were established between

the seventeenth and nineteenth century. Most towns of the Ottoman Empire at that time were polyethnic, however, ethnicity or religion did not have a significant impact on the shaping of different house types. Thus, various types of the 'Ottoman house' widely common in the Balkans and the Middle East, were inhabited by families of different ethnic and religious groups.[3] Bulgarian researchers support this claim, pointing to the history of home architecture in the nineteenth century, although they stress national differences.[4]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, significant political and social changes took place in the Ottoman Empire: the first were modernizational reforms of the so-called Tanzimat Era. The Christian population in the Balkan parts of the empire – Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians and others – gained more political rights. National emancipation efforts resulted in the proclamation of the Greek and Serbian states and the rise of the Bulgarian national movement. In Bulgarian historiography, this development is often referred to as the 'Bulgarian Revival' or 'Bulgarian Renaissance', being the general historiographical background for the research in house architecture.

Tchavdar Marinov criticizes the national approach in terms of the historical appearance of the 'Ottoman house', also using the term 'vernacular house', stressing the lack of professional planning of these buildings.[5] He focuses on nationally charged interpretations of the vernacular residential architecture, that is, symbolically ascribing it a common cultural heritage which harks back to the Ottoman era.[6] He suggests a "critical rethinking of the national approaches in the broader field of traditional culture and material heritage that still seem so authoritative in the Balkan countries".[7]

The aim of this chapter is to reveal, based on Bulgarian sources, gendered aspects of domestic gardens in the Balkan area of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Studying the 'Ottoman house', Cerasi, Marinov and other authors mainly focus on the buildings' architecture, failing to pay close attention to the inner places, home yards and gardens as they primarily analyse buildings in larger cities where yards were untypical. Concentrating on architectural aspects, they overlook the function of houses as and within the domestic sphere as well as their gendered aspects.

Alice Ginio provides new insights into gender aspects of the home in her study on Jewish homes in the Ottoman Empire' cities. The garden – a kind of patio – is considered a typical feature of the home of Sefarad Jews as a place that was mostly used by the women of the household to meet other married women. They sat in those gardens, drinking coffee, doing embroideries and controlling servants. However, these gardens were not used by young women or as private spaces. There is source material on those gardens that were called *kortio*: a Jewish woman, for instance, recalled her childhood in her home in Bursa in the early 1920s.[8] In her article about *Haus und Herrschaft* (house and power) in the Ottoman world, Suraiya Faroqhi investigates the home gardens of wealthy families. She describes the homes of Sultans and other families of the Ottoman elite until the nineteenth century.[9]

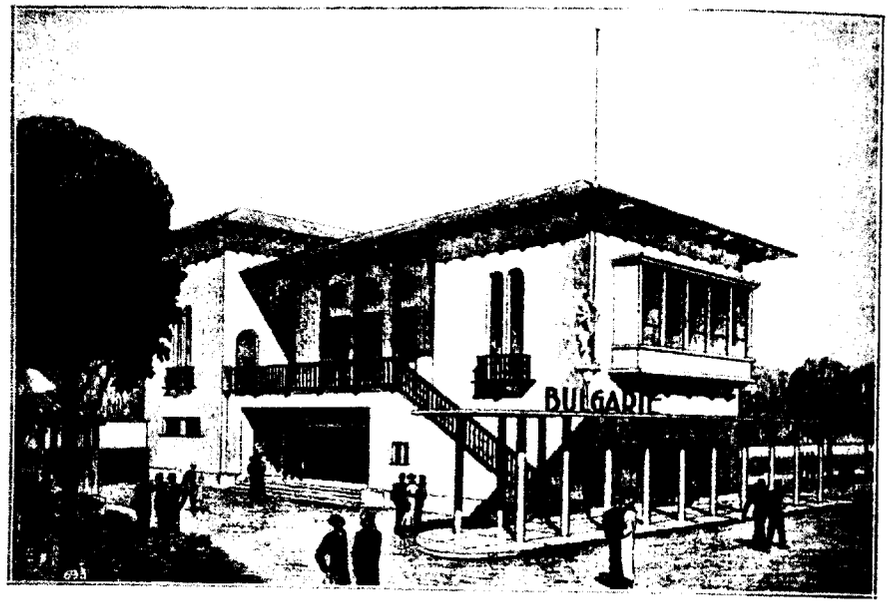
Historical research on urban topographies in the Ottoman Empire pays more attention to the emergence of public gardens in the process of modernization of large cities such as Cairo, Thessaloniki and others that were modelled on western concepts of the late nineteenth century.[10] The home gardens of elite families were planned according to the traditions of oriental gardens; the idea of paradise is of central importance here. In the eighteenth century, the garden culture of the Istanbul elite flourished: water fountains, flowers and trees made their home gardens important places for the families and their guests.[11] In contrast, the small flower gardens of 'common' houses, their appearance, function and gendered aspects have long remained on the periphery of research interest.

The vernacular garden

The term 'vernacular garden' appeared in the late twentieth century and, as John Dixon Hunt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn have pointed out, was borrowed from architecture.[12] Occasionally, the term 'domestic garden' was also used. Vernacular gardens were not planned by specialists but by people who did practical work such as planting vegetables, flowers and other plants. Research interest in the vernacular garden is relatively new. Reasons for the shift from elite gardens to vernacular gardens are twofold: first, it reflects democratization processes in social history as an academic discipline and a growing interest in everyday life history. In her article *Gardens and Dwelling: People in Vernacular Gardens*, Clarissa T. Kimber gives a detailed overview on aspects of research on vernacular gardens.[13] Second, a change of research interests has taken place: scholarship often no longer explores the design of gardens, instead paying more attention to their cultural meanings. In comparison to elite gardens, vernacular gardens were always more connected to the local climate and thus hosted local flowers and trees, some of which were cultivated in a creative way. In this sense, vernacular gardens had hybrid features as domesticated landscapes.[14] Furthermore, vernacular gardens were connected to local cultures, plants therefore becoming social, cultural and ethnic markers of elements of the living worlds of people.[15] In his study on *The Past and Present of the Vernacular Garden*, John Jackson analyses gendered aspects of domestic garden cultures. He points out that women played an important role in the process of the domestication of plants, since it was them who planted seeds and kept the growing plants at home during the winter to look after them.[16] Gardens were seen as an extended kitchen space and thus as a place for women.[17]

Bulgarian historiography on vernacular gardens can build on theoretical considerations developed in the 1990s. In the context of research on the 'Bulgarian Revival', Bulgarian architecture historians increasingly showed interest in urban culture, houses and domestic gardens during the first half of the twentieth century. Vernacular houses of the nineteenth century appeared as a topic in the 1920s, while interest in historical forms of yards and gardens started in the 1940s and continued in the 1950s and beyond. The home space of the 'Bulgarian Revival' has been historically explored since the 1920s – in connection with the so-called 'Native Art Movement' and the search for images of 'the native'. This movement adopted ideas from *Art Nouveau*, and as a result 'Bulgarian Art Nouveau' emerged as a synthesis between both, shaping art, architecture, fashion and the layout of books. As Tchavdar Marinov has pointed out, in architecture, 'Bulgarian Modern Art' used elements of the vernacular home or 'Ottoman house' types of the nineteenth century. The interest in the vernacular home during the nineteenth century continued in the following decades, alongside the newly emerging interest in the vernacular garden. The first research on vernacular gardens in the nineteenth century was done by the architect Delcho Sugarev and other young Bulgarian architects who had studied abroad and were influenced by the ideas of the 'garden city movement' as well as by 'Bulgarian Modern Art' of that time. In the middle of the 1930s, Delcho Sugarev lived and worked in Paris while preparations for the 1937 World Exhibition were beginning. He and another Bulgarian architect organized the Bulgarian Pavilion for architecture for the Paris Exhibition (see Figure 20.1). It was designed as a modern building in the 'Bulgarian Modern' style based on vernacular house elements and became representative for 'Bulgarian architecture' at the exhibition.[18]

In the 1940s, Sugarev prepared the introduction for *Park and Garden Planning*, a handbook for students, of which an abridged version was published in 1947 and a full version appeared in the second edition in 1953 and again in 1960. In this book, he



Bulgarie.
(J. Jordanoff et Sougarev, architectes ; collaborateur français : R. Rotter, architecte)

Figure 20.1 A Draft Design of Bulgaria's Pavilion at the International Exhibition in Paris, 1937, in a promotional brochure published by the French–Bulgarian committee[19]

presented the domestic gardens of the nineteenth century that he had studied, using descriptions, photographs and fieldwork,[20] also visiting several home yards in Karlovo, Koprivshtitsa and Zheravna.[21] Some years later, he wrote the first monograph on vernacular home gardens in Bulgaria. His earliest publications of home yards were about the town of Karlovo,[22] followed by those in Kotel[23] and the villages in the vicinity, the small town Koprivshtitsa and others.[24]

In his presentation of houses and courtyards in the city of Karlovo, Sugarev gave a general description of the city and its development during the nineteenth century. He described many single houses of local traders, craftsmen and teachers of that time. Although he emphasized that there were no significant differences between the houses in the Turkish and Bulgarian parts of the town, they were still regarded as 'Bulgarian'. According to him, yards played an important role in family life during the second half of the nineteenth century. They were used as places to eat with the family, host guests during summer, read the newspapers and do different kinds of housework. Such a house with an old pear tree in the middle of the yard was that of the teacher Anna Kuzmanova, who kept house and garden in their original form until she was an old woman in the twentieth century.[25]

In subsequent years, some regional studies were carried out on the topic of the 'The Bulgarian Revival's yard' in several towns and villages, using observations, memories, descriptions and photographs. According to the authors, this interest was encouraged by the state in the context of garden planning projects for new modern socialist cities. The political

context in the early 1950s promoted such publications. In 1950, the so-called 'Pavlovian session' of both the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Medical Sciences took place in Moscow. It called for the implementation of Pavlovian physiology, stressing the importance of the environment for the human organism. Sugarev used this political trend to underline in his introduction the positive impact of a green environment on the human physiology according to Pavlov.[26] Traditional yards and gardens from in the nineteenth century began to be considered as places of creativeness, competences and skills as well as the sophistication of taste of common people.[27]

Contemporary studies carried out during the 1950s and 1960s mapped the surviving gardens and courtyards in several towns and villages in detail, and described how domestic gardens used to be integrated into family life. The authors explored the topography of the house and yard space: the front and back yard, the flower garden and the orchard as well as typical elements of the nineteenth century yard – summer kitchen, vineyard, fountain, large trees, flower beds, stone floors and stone fences. The authors gave a detailed description of the vernacular gardens and tried to identify their cultural meanings. The flower garden was seen mainly as a place with representative purposes. The authors payed great attention to this part of the yard, as it was not – unlike the orchard and the vegetable patch – of direct utilitarian value. Another reason for their interest was its relatively late historical appearance: the flower garden became common in the home space rather 'suddenly' during the nineteenth century, whereas vegetable patches existed earlier.

Despite the fact that in many small towns of the Ottoman Empire at that time there were no separate green areas for public use, smaller cities often seemed to have a lot of garden areas: many private gardens were situated right next to each other. The authors also noted that towns mutually influenced each other in supporting venicular flower gardens and emphasized differences caused by geographical and climatic factors.

Researchers of domestic yards and gardens also analysed the variety of flowers and plants, the frequency of species of flowers and their distribution in individual gardens. The descriptions also mentioned the gender aspect of the work in the flower garden. It was generally considered a sphere of women.[28] Sugarev wrote that women spent a lot of time in the yard, planting and arranging the flowers.[29] He also mentioned the activities of young girls: girls sat here with their embroidery work. Furthermore, he pointed out that the first flowers for home gardens were taken from surrounding forests and meadows; later plants were ordered and delivered from places as far away as the Netherlands and Denmark.[30]

All towns and villages where home gardens were studied were situated in the region of the Balkan Mountains. The economic growth of European Turkey in the nineteenth century and increase in trade and crafts (particularly for the needs of the Ottoman army) changed both social conditions and the appearances of houses and streets. Craftsmen and traders became the main figures in urban social life, even of smaller towns. The number of wealthy citizens was also growing among the Christian population (Greek, Bulgarians, Armenians and others). The political reforms in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire (Tanzimat), which gave more rights to the non-Muslim population, also contributed to this economic growth. As part of the social changes, craftsmen families developed a desire for representativity. The one-floor house was replaced by one with more storeys and interior decoration became more complex. Scholars have noted that this change coincided with a change in structure of the yards and the location of the flowers in them. Raina Gavrilova for example underlines the large-scale distribution of these flower gardens in the urban culture during the nineteenth century.[31] She points out that, at that time, yards only served

representative purposes. This was mainly due to the fact that the price of land in the cities increased, yards subsequently becoming smaller.[32]

A book by the architect Hristo Dimov on nineteenth-century yards, published in 1976, focused on another area of the Balkan mountain region. The small town of Kotel (together with nearby villages), where the population enjoyed certain privileges in the Ottoman Empire, became an important crafts' centre in the nineteenth century: sheep breeding, wool-production, mill industry as well as trade with Austria-Hungary and other Central European regions were central sources of income. The houses became two-storeyed, built of local materials – stone and wood – with representative rooms.[33] According to Dimov, yards were between 500 to 2,000 sqm large, of which about one eighth to one third were flower gardens.[34] He provided maps of the flower beds, where around 80 different kinds of flowers were planted. Families took great care in planting and tending their garden plants according to the seasons and the weather.[35] As shown by Dimov, the most frequently occurring flowers were snowdrops, geraniums, roses and boxwood that flourished in gardens, according to their seasonal appearance, from early spring to late autumn.

The houses had rooms with many windows; their main front usually faced yard and garden. Verandas opened into a terrace with grapevines, which served as a place of rest and one where guests were welcomed. The garden contained flowers and stoney paths bordered with boxtree and an orchard separated from the official part of the yard by small fences and box hedges.[36]

Contemporary local publications also emphasized the appearance of flower gardens in vernacular houses. In his essay about the history of the village Zheravna near Kotel, Danail Konstantinov states that home yards were not large but always had a flower garden. He also gave a description of the different species of flowers.[37] As in vernacular gardens of other geographical regions, plants from the surrounding nature were domesticated, among them a lot of flowers. A widespread mountain flower was crane's bill (wild geranium). It was used for different occasions, including church rituals. In only a short time, crane's bill became one of the most planted garden flowers, together with box tree, basil and other flowers, which gave the garden a native character.

Previous historical research on urban houses in the Balkans during the nineteenth century focused on their collective dimension, that is on a functional division of space. Most scholars regard modern processes of individualization and individual human activities inside and outside the house, such as the preparation of food, cooking, sleeping, resting, dreaming, reading, etc., as collective family activities, ignoring the individual need for solitude or privacy. They also fail to take into account gender, age and class aspects, despite the richness of ego documents – diaries, memoirs and autobiographies – that could be used as sources to explore heterotopian experiences of the family members in their garden.

Domestic flower gardens and the young girl: literary projections in the second half of the nineteenth century

'Personal places' in the nineteenth century were mentioned in memoirs and literature: places that answered the new need for privacy, allowed for self-reflection, dreaming, reading or writing in private, away from the collective family life. These heterotopian places were usually located in the periphery of the domestic sphere or its 'marginal' parts: the attic, the roof or trees in the yard and other hidden places where the young family members escaped to read books. With the appearance of the small flower garden in the nineteenth century, an appropriate place of solitude, a personal space emerged, the topos of the 'home garden'

appearing in personal narratives (memoirs and autobiographies) as well as in novels and poems. The context of its appearance as an important place for the individual allows for an analysis of such texts, despite their genre-specific differences.

These descriptions also have a gender specific aspect. The family rules which were established at this time gave girls in the home a private space: the flower garden in the yard. This 'garden' became a place where young girls could have some rest and be alone. Indeed, contemporary Bulgarian literature of the second half of the nineteenth century, largely produced by male writers, invented the topos of the 'flower garden' and the image of 'the girl in the home flower garden'.[38] Home flower gardens were described as common and native in poetry and novels, instumentalized through emphasis on their connections to the 'native', in contrast to the 'temptations' of the big Ottoman capital.[39]

In Petko Slaveykov's (1827–1895) popular poem, the home garden is a main topos, if not the most important one. It tells about young Gergana who lives with her family (mother and father) in modest circumstances in a south-eastern Bulgarian village, not far from the route to Istanbul. She works in the field, helping her father and also at home in the garden. The poem presents the small garden as the girl's symbolic 'treasure'. Gergana's love for her own garden is one of the reasons why she refuses a rich Ottoman vizier's offer to take her to Istanbul, where she could lead a wealthy life. The vizier's promises of a luxurious house contrast with the natural richness of her small garden that contains a huge variety of flowers. This 'wealth' is enough to make her happy, so she turns the rich Ottoman man down:

> In my small garden / it's enough for me to have: / all colours of hollyhocks, / vibrant reds and yellows / tiny blackish basil, / blue iris, yellow nasturtiums / white iris, pure silver, / dewy pearl icicle flowers, / tender willow branches, / thick stemmed silky ozier, / birthwort reddening at sunset, / early ruffled bluebells, / winter and summer carnations, / nodding gillyflower / and velvet mauve foxtail.[40]

Although Slaveykov mentions neither the word 'Bulgarian' nor the word 'National' in his poem, the reader instantly recognizes Gergana as 'Bulgarian', in contrast to the 'Ottoman' vizier, giving the garden national symbolic value. Gergana epitomizes modest but true national values.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the symbolic link between 'garden' and 'nation' was not an exception; this is particularly true for Poland, Finland and other countries with strong national movements.[41] However, unlike Bulgaria, the connection between the 'garden' and the 'nation' in these countries was characteristic of elite home gardens, not for vernacular flower gardens as in Gergana's case.

With the figures of Gergana and the Ottoman vizier, Slaveykov also established a crucial juxtaposition in spatial terms, by contrasting the garden idyll of a small village with the luxuries and temptations of the big city. This image prevailed, and in the twentieth century the topos of the 'flower garden' became a nostalgic symbol of the past.

A novel by Todor Vlajkov (1865–1943)[42] written some years later does not present the vernacular flower garden as a national symbolic place, but rather as an expression of a girl's inner beauty and innocence. The small flower spot has been planted by a young girl named Rayka. With admiration Vlaykov describes it:

> O, if you enter, what a surprise! How those flowers were planted, how those beds and flower circles were arranged and decorated! Here a rose bush: white and red,

> cut and arranged like a bouquet, and surrounded by low hedges of box trees; bunches of marshmallows, thick and colourful, also circles of small daisies and beds of different kinds of cloves and a nice line of Istanbul flowers.[43]

He describes the small garden as a place where Rayka can indulge in her feelings and mourn her lost love, as her grandfather forces her to marry a man she hardly knows while she is in love with another. The home garden is an 'other' place for the young Rayka, where she seeks solitude in the late hours of the day in order to express her feelings. The narrator addresses the reader directly: 'So, this night, which I tell you about, Rayka sat in the garden, thinking, with tears in her eyes and a heavy heart – and she did not want to know that the neighbours had a dance evening … '.[44]

Both Petko Slaveykov and Todor Vlaykov describe home gardens as personal spaces for young girls in the family home. Both female literary figures, Rayka and Gergana, choose the garden as their place: while Rayka finds a place of solace and quiet in the garden, Gergana sees no need in going to Istanbul, for she finds wealth in her own. Both prefer their gardens over other places because here they can enjoy solitude and freedom surrounded by the flowers they care for.

The two young women are characters from the mid- and the late nineteenth century. Both Slaveykov and Vlaykov came from typical small towns where they grew up in vernacular family houses with yards and gardens. Despite their sudden appearance in the second half of the nineteenth century, the home garden became an important place for female activities, particularly for women born in the 1820s and the subsequent decade. Literary descriptions paint a traditional picture of young girls being restricted to the home, and doing home and garden work. However, the appearance of the 'garden' as a female place was one of the most important changes in the gender topography of the home during the nineteenth century, as there are no previous descriptions of other 'female' places. It should also be noted that during the second half of the nineteenth century the education of girls in urban regions of the Balkans and women's social status also began to change considerably. Until then, only nuns in monasteries enjoyed elementary education. The first Bulgarian school for girls opened in 1840, followed by further schools over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century.[45] In most towns that Sugarev and Dimov studied, such as Karlovo and Sliven, schools for girls opened during the nineteenth century, and women's societies that participated in charity activities or supported female education emerged, the first one in 1858. Through women's societies or as teachers, a new generation of women became more actively involved in public life. Supported by sholarships, the first female students studied at higher education institutions, primarily in Russia and Austria-Hungary. Despite this progress in female education in the middle of the nineteenth century, educated Bulgarian women remained an exception.[46]

Floral domestic gardens in women's autobiographies

One might assume that the literary figures Gergana and Rayka were primarily the result of the literary imagination of two male authors from the nineteenth century, a means to create an aesthetic image of the relationship with the 'native' and to emphasize the ties between the young girl and the domestic sphere in the home. It almost seems that foreign Romantic literature influenced and inspired Bulgarian authors, since such descriptions did not appear in published female autobiographies.

However, this assumption is not supported by unpublished sources from the nineteenth century. Reading several women's ego documents describing their families and homes, it becomes apparent that courtyards and flower gardens were in fact relevant spaces. The problem is rather that although the first women's autobiographical texts in Bulgaria were written in the last decades of the nineteenth century, they remained rare until the First World War. Furthermore, although teachers, female activists and artists wrote their memoirs after the war, many of them remained unpublished. Thus, this chapter uses unpublished memoirs of famous women as well as an autobiography of a village woman, published by her daughter.

Despite the fact that, in the nineteenth century, yards and flower gardens were an exception in the relatively large city of Plovdiv, the topos of the garden appears in women's ego documents in relation to important moments of their lives. According to the memoirs of Nedyalka Lyudskanova (born 1864), daughter of the well-known Bulgarian politician Dragan Tsankov, her mother met her father "in the garden", where he proposed to her.

> Despite the customs of that time [around the middle of the nineteenth century] – she wrote – my father, before going back to Tsarigrad [Istanbul], meets my mother in the garden, proposes and tells her that he is a very poor man. My mother liked him and promises that she will marry him, even though he was so poor.[47]

Other autobiographical texts of women from remote geographical areas and of lower social backgrounds also mention this topic. In this sense, the memoirs of Maria Boyadzhieva, born in 1892, are important because she did not come from a rich town like Plovdiv but from a village near the Belasica mountain north of Thessaloniki. The men in her family were traders and farmers; her whole family was engaged in trade and agriculture. Her autobiographical text shows that in the Ottoman Empire elements of yards, such as vernacular flower gardens, gradually spread not only in towns but also in many villages during the second half of the nineteenth century. When Maria Boyadzhieva was a child, she went to a local Bulgarian school. According to her decriptions, her family home and yard very much resembled the layout of the houses described by Sugarev and Dimov: summer kitchen, flower garden and utility rooms. In her memoirs she details the house, emphasizing the place of the flowers in the yard. Moreover, planting and growing flowers were female activities and an important aspect of the communication networks of women and girls in the village. In their spare time, married women could sit in front of the house, while the young girls had to stay inside the yard or the garden, doing embroidery:

> Our house was big. It had a small shop with a gallery room that opened into the street and a summer kitchen as well as two other rooms towards the yard. The upper floor had four rooms. A long and wide terrace went along the upper rooms, facing the yard. And in the garden as well as on the window sills on the side of the terrace: such a variety of flowers! Cloves, geraniums, white and pink roses and many others whose names I do not remember. In the village Usually we did not buy flowers and seeds in the village, but together with other women and girls we looked at them and swapped them among each other.[48]

She further notes:

> In addition to playing in the church yard, we [the children] enjoyed our sweet games in the surrounding area. In the summer, at dusk, before it became hot, the slight wind from the Egean Sea brought us nice cool air. The women who were not working in the fields, sat in the street in front of their houses, enjoying the cool evenings. Usually they were spinning there. And they talked to each other from a distance. The girls did not join them, they sat in the garden of the yard if they were not in the fields, and did their embroidery here.[49]

With the processes of urbanization and industrialization during the twentieth century, the craft centres of the nineteenth century gradually lost their importance and the image of the old house, yard and garden became a place of nostalgia. The pianist Stela Zdravkova (1887–1958), who graduated in music in Dresden, wrote in her autobiography *Memories About the Old Great-Grandmother's House and Yard or the Former Bulgarian Life* about her childhood in the town of Sliven. Her manuscript has until now remained unpublished, although she was a remarkable woman: active in the women's movement (Bulgarian Women's Union) as well as in the Plovdiv local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in the 1920s and 1930s.

In her native town Sliven, not far from the town of Kotel which Sugarev described in his book on nineteenth-century yards, her grandmother was a co-founder of the local women's society. Modernization changes in family homes since the second half of the nineteenth century were still ongoing here. Her family also housed the first piano in the town. But for Stela Zdravkova this house was still her 'old great-grandmother's house and yard', a symbol of 'tranquility' and a 'life without storms'. In her memory, house and garden were closely connected to the 'old virtues' of her childhood life:

> My first largely vague but very dear childhood memories were of my old great-grandmother's house, and later, when I was older, I often went there where I felt more at home and which was one of the most cherished memories for the rest of my life. Memories of a quiet and peaceful life, a life without storms and major disruptions from the outside, a life where pain and torment and joy were experienced by maintaining self-contol and keeping emotions quiet and hidden deep in the soul without expressing them. [...] Do not lose heart in misfortune, trust God, pray and wait; endure! ... Don't be proud in time of happiness, in bliss. Beware of human envy and anger, fear God! Where is this good education gone? Where did those manners go? Where are the good old days?
>
> Grandma's house and yard were so loved by her little granddaughter because of the peace and quiet there. I have always loved peace and order in my life and in nature, I still like them, because they allow us to focus and to introspect; to observe and to immerse oneself in studying surrounding things, in order to know and to understand people; seeing everything around you.... Paradise was this yard, with nothing missing. Giant lime and peach trees, medlar-trees[50], fig and apricot trees with big yellow-golden fruits, which when they got overripe fell down on the green grass like golden balls [...]. And the arbour with its blue acacia tufts which spread their mild scent. It was so nice to sit inside and to smell the scent of the beautiful flowers! High box trees surrounded the garden with small water ditches; in the afternoon the water was let out to water flowers and vegetables. This was one of the

> pleasures and enjoyable events. [...] All those beautiful yards from that time, which were a feast for the eyes with their beloved dahlias, roses, Michaelmas daisies,[51] chrysantems, aquilegias,[52] salvia splenders, pelargoniums, gillyflowers,[53] basilicum, crane's bill,[54] and everything else you want in your garden [...], day after day, all year long, women spent their entire lives in those yards surrounded by high walls. There was no life, no amusements outside them, neither cinemas nor theatres, concerts, dance evenings or other amusements, except visiting relatives and friends, which happened through the small doors in the walls, from yard to yard.[55]

While Stela Zdravkova admired her grandmother's garden as a beautiful and quiet place, she also saw the garden walls as walls of the women's world and as a symbol of the secludedness and the monotonous of the everyday lives of women at that time.

As can be seen from these autobiographical passages, images of the yard and garden remained a main topos of nostalgic memory. They were no longer places of young girls but of grandmothers and great-grandmothers. The large living room, the piano, the yard and trees were part of a memory of a foregone time, associated with other values that the modern woman would continue to reminisce about. But Stela Zdravkova was aware that this calm life of nineteenth-century women happened behind "high walls", which she mentions twice in her memoirs.

From the late 1870s, when the first young women who had received scholarships from schools abroad returned home, family houses were increasingly equipped with separate rooms for them as they needed their own place. Filled with books and furnished with a mirror and a desk, the new rooms replaced the garden as an important place of solitude; a place where young women seeking education were able to do their reading and writing, and dream and plan for the future.[56]

Nevertheless, images of vernacular homes, yards and gardens of small towns survived in women's memories far into the twentieth century. These childhood memories found expression in the image of the old house with the yard and its flowers. The need for silence, order and morality was represented by the image of courtyards and gardens with their 'native' aromas and flowers. These images remained in the collective memory throughout the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The vernacular flower garden of houses in small towns and villages appeared in poems, novels and autobiographical writings by the middle of the nineteenth century, around the same time that changes took place in the spatial layout of the domestic sphere. On the one hand, these changes were caused by the desire for representativeness, especially in families of craftsmen, traders, teachers and priests. On the other hand, these families increasingly needed more 'personal places' due to the ongoing process of individualization. The maintenance of a garden rested on female family members, particularly on unmarried women and girls, flower gardens thus becoming 'their places'. Emotionally charged, they turned into their personal territory, where moments of solitude and self-reflection could be found. Once the garden was established in the home topography, it was not just a green area but became a place of meaning, of emotions and experiences, it became a 'personal place', even if only for certain moments. The small flower garden contributed to the changes in the emotional world of women, in their communication networks and shared knowledge. With the development of women's education and their increasing mobility in the subsequent decades, the process of individualization expanded and other personal spaces for young girls played an important role within this process.

Notes

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19 Source: Miteva, "Architectural and Art Design", p. 34.
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23 Hristo Dimov, *Vazrozhdenski dvorove v Kotlensko* (Sofia: Zemizdat, 1976), [Христо Димов, Възрожденски дворове в Котленско – Revival Time Yards in the Kotel Region].
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27 Sugarev, *Karlovski dvorove*, p. 8.
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46 In some cases home education was conducted by fathers who were priests. Nuns taught elementary education in female monasteries. Wealthy families in the big cities could afford to employ home tutors, but this was the exception.
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48 Julia Popvassileva, *Poroy* (Sofia: 1981), [Юлия Попвасилева, Порой – A Flood]; cf. www.strumski.com/books/%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B9.pdf, last accessed 22 March 2020.
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21

CARETAKERS, DOORMEN, CONCIERGES

Negotiating intermediate spaces

Jens Wietschorke

Introduction

During the course of the nineteenth century, a group of social actors established themselves between the public and private spaces of apartment buildings and residential complexes. These caretakers, doormen and concierges can be described as key figures of the modern city in both a figurative and a literal sense.[1] No other authority played such a central role in practices of exclusion and inclusion within urban residential architecture, in the regulation of accessibility, in the mediation between tenants, homeowners, political interests and public bodies as they did in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With their position at the hinges of urban life and their controlling and assessing gaze, doormen and caretakers represent an everyday form of governmentality; at the same time, they also functioned as the 'good souls' of the house, as contact persons, managers of everyday life and confidants on site on whose personal favour much depended. They occupied the intermediate and passage spaces of apartment buildings, acted as a go-between of street and apartment and fulfilled an essential monitoring and control function. Thus, they contributed to the everyday negotiation of private, semi-public and public spheres around residences. In the social structure of the house, they took a mostly double-edged position: as figures of authority, they were superior to the occupants of the house, while by their social background they were often inferior to them. In all this, both doormen and caretakers are distinct metropolitan phenomena: apartment buildings that employed their own concierge or caretaker were only found in big cities; the same applies to hotel porters who took care of the interfaces between hotel, city and guest.[2] Despite all the functional differences between concierges, doormen and caretakers, they can all be seen as urban gatekeepers who, owing to their responsibility for the entrances and passages of buildings, were and still are fundamentally involved in the internal organization of the city.

A cultural analysis of urban gatekeepers provides central insights for historical urban research that is interested in margins of space as well as the margins of the social, the intermediate zones and transitions, as they are spaces of assessment and encounter and represent the processual nature of the social.[3] It taps into urban structures from a micro-perspective and demonstrates that the city is also always a specific system of accessibility.[4] It looks at the constitution of the domestic sphere from a semi-distant perspective. Above all,

however, it sheds light on aspects of the informal logic of the social – the everyday negotiation processes of neighbourhood.

State of research

It is particularly surprising that until now, with only a few exceptions, research has not covered this promising topic in greater detail. This applies first and foremost to German-language research: while, for instance, the relevant handbook *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas* (The House in European History), published a few years ago, does contain articles on pets or house numbers, there is no reference whatsoever to the important institution of the caretaker.[5] The ambitiously conceptualized five-volume *Geschichte des Wohnens* (History of Residential Living) by the Wüstenrot Foundation offers little more: only a single mention makes the reader aware that caretakers ever even existed.[6] There are hardly any remarks on the caretaker in studies of urban sociology, and, again with few exceptions, even urban research in cultural studies has not yet discovered the topic.[7] For Vienna, first steps have been taken by urban studies scholar Peter Payer, although his contributions to the field are not easily accessible.[8] The state of research is somewhat better for the Paris concierge: Jean-Louis Deaucourt's presentation provides a compact overview of the concierge's social history, which also includes literary sources.[9] Villanova and Bonnin as well as Elizabeth Main, among others, have published very diverse studies on the history of real life and motifs.[10] Furthermore, there is a brilliant case study of caretakers (*házmester*) in Budapest in the first half of the 1940s by Istvan Pal Adam.[11] All in all, however, these few works are not sufficient to provide a comprehensive overview of the history and significance of caretakers and concierges for urban history, as well as the development of the domestic sphere in actual residential environments. Above all, there is need for further theoretical approaches that contribute to introducing caretakers into historical research and cultural analysis.

Building on these studies, this chapter attempts to explore the significant figures of the caretaker and the concierge for historical-cultural urban research. It will examine their potential for understanding everyday urban structures and micro-politics as well as the boundaries between public, semi-public and domestic spaces. The following will show how the work of caretakers, doormen and concierges contributed to establish the context for the formation of the domestic sphere. This contribution will primarily focus on caretakers or housekeepers (*Hausmeister* or *Hausbesorger*) in the Austrian imperial capital and royal residence of Vienna, who were not only a particularly distinctive urban institution but also developed a remarkable life of their own as a cultural figure; social location and folklorization are intertwined here. A quick look at the predominantly female concierges in Paris also offers the possibility of a cursory comparison.

The study is based primarily on source material from the period between the 1840s up to around 1930. These sources are tentatively used to develop urban-theoretical considerations and interpretations. Caretakers, doormen and concierges are therefore not only to be treated as phenomena in their own right but also raise new questions. From a rather narrowly defined vantage point – the doorman's lodge or caretaker's apartment in the residential building – spatial structures of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be viewed. The argument states that the social practices of caretakers and concierges had an impact on the differentiation of domestic and semi-public spheres in so far as they separated these spheres and organized the space in-between. In addition, the analytical focus on practices of taxation, control and gatekeeping permits further considerations, for example with regard to

gated communities and the increasing isolation of exclusive residential complexes of the present, in which security services and new types of 'concierges' are used as service posts.[12]

The Viennese caretaker: an urban institution

In a famous comment on the cliché of Viennese coziness, Karl Kraus wrote in 1919 that he only demanded the following things of a city in which he wanted to live: asphalt, street cleaning, house gate key, air heating, hot water pipe.[13] From today's point of view, this list is only surprising in one aspect: the house gate key. In fact, the possession of a house key was not a matter of course for tenants at the time. It was only in January 1923 that an appendix to the 1922 House Caretaker Regulations was adopted, finally establishing the right of all tenants to receive such a key.[14] Until then, locking and unlocking the gates as well as opening them when required during the overnight rest period was among the central tasks of caretakers. They were the masters of the gate key, which gave them a powerful position, both formally and informally, in Vienna's everyday tenement life. With power over the key, they contributed to the internal regulation of the city, to the negotiation of transitions and transitory zones between public, semi-public and private space as well as to the regulation of the boundaries between day and night.

Anyone who wanted to enter their apartment in nineteenth-century Vienna after 10 p.m. had to pass the caretaker's checkpoint at the entrance gate and pay the so-called 'curfew money'. Initially, the penalty amounted to six kreuzers – from which the colloquial phrase *Sperrsechserl* (curfew sixer) is derived – subsequently to ten hellers.[15] This money, together with fees for cleaning and tips, formed the income of a caretaker, who was also entitled to a rent-free apartment consisting of at least two rooms, usually on the ground floor or the mezzanine of the apartment building. It was precisely these precarious wage modalities that contributed significantly to the informality of the relationships between house owners, caretakers and tenants: payment was not generally regulated but depended on specific services. In order to guarantee caretakers a reasonably predictable income, additional provisions were laid down in the first Viennese housekeeping regulations of 1910: from now on, house owners were allowed to provide individual tenants with their own house gate keys but in return had to compensate the caretaker for the loss of curfew money. The amount of this payment was a matter of discretion and negotiation.[16]

During the nineteenth century, the legal status of Viennese caretakers remained largely undetermined. Since prior to that 'caretakers' mostly performed their duties in owner-occupied houses, they were usually considered to be servants and thus subject to servant regulations. In the apartment buildings of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, the situation was different: caretakers tended to act as employees of the non-resident homeowners.[17] Free accommodation did in fact correspond with the traditional servants' law (*Gesinderecht*) – a contemporary journal referred to it as a "cross between capitalism and patriarchal habits".[18] However, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards Viennese caretakers were clearly treated as an independent occupational group. Legal studies attempted to clarify definitions until the above-mentioned caretaker regulations were adopted in 1910.[19] Despite all these regulations, and although professional interested groups had been established in the meantime, the *Österreichische Hausbesorger-Zeitung* (Austrian Caretaker Newspaper) in 1925 still described the caretaker as a "rather peculiar figure who by no means adapts to the law, but rather towers above it in all places and has grown right out of life."[20] This statement is interesting in two respects: it shows, firstly, that it was precisely in the field of urban housing where informal negotiation processes

constituted social role models. Secondly, it makes it clear that while a historical analysis of the topic must start with the structures of everyday life, it will also shed light on these structures: "The study of doormen reveals something about the grammar of everyday life".[21]

How the tasks of caretakers and housekeepers were structured depended largely on what was expected of them in their role. In addition to basic responsibility for house cleaning, smaller repairs as well as their compliance with regulations and curfews, caretakers represented the house owners, particularly in the suburbs and working-class districts. They took care of the admission of new tenants, sometimes also collected the rent and handled terminations.[22] At times, caretakers also intervened rather autonomously in the tenancy practice – at least when they had the trust of the house owners. The Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' Newspaper) reported on such a case in September 1911:

> Within the last two days, there were spectacular demonstrations in Herthergasse in front of house no. 26. The cause was two parties, one of which had been living in this house for 13 and the other for 17 years, having their leases cancelled by the caretaker, a Miss Kaspar, while a third party was threatened with the same. [...] The grudge was mainly directed at the caretaker who is said to terminate leases on her own accord.[23]

Urban policy and the regulation of nightlife

As early as the 1840s, numerous debates on civil liberties, urban nightlife and public order focused on the fact that the transitional zones between public and private spaces were closed at 10 p.m. at the latest. Caretakers, who derived an important part of their income from this regulation, at times found themselves in the crossfire of criticism. In his pamphlet entitled *Sturmglocke für alle Hausmeister in Wien* (Storm Bell for All Caretakers in Vienna), published around 1848, Georg Sprungmehr attacked the members of this profession as "recognized interest hawkers and privileged leeches for the parties".[24] He referred to the charges that they demanded for their services – the cleaning of corridors and staircases, refilling lamp oil, clearing snow or minor repairs – as a pillage which burdened the tenants unnecessarily, producing "its own kind of sluggish, mischievous, arrogant and raw people".[25] The dubious conclusion from the economic framework conditions of the profession of caretakers to their social character is paradigmatic. Friedrich Schlögl, for instance, the widely read and influential Austrian writer and columnist, ascribed caretakers a dictatorial will and primordial type of brutality.[26] The image of the caretaker as a ruffian has been circulating in literature ever since. The fact that the House Caretaker Regulations of 1910 demanded in a separate paragraph that tenants be "met with courtesy and politeness" must also be read against the background of this iconography.[27]

The curfews themselves were criticized with a variety of arguments, referring not only to civil liberties but also to the economy of time of workers. Anyone who had a "tendency towards licentiousness" and therefore stayed out at night would hardly be likely to shy away from the caretaker, while it was the righteous workers who were "disciplined by the curfew".[28]

> The journeyman works with his master, the assistant with his boss, until 8 and often until 9 o'clock, and if he wants to enjoy a sparse meal after his day's work is done, he must either eat it in haste or pay tribute to the caretaker. If the worker wants to leave his apartment before the usual hour to go about his business, he also succumbs to the caretaker. Thus, the caretaker forms the customs barrier before the parties' own apartments.[29]

The expression of the customs barrier shows how the nocturnal curfew, reconfirmed by the Vienna City Council in 1862, was perceived as an interference in the free economic circulation of the city. The closure of the gates set narrow limits to what Murray Melbin has called the colonization of the night.[30] Neither economy nor pleasure was able to push themselves into the night; the discussions about "caretaker economy" (*Hausmeisterwirtschaft*) and curfew thus became a fundamental debate about the urban night.

In 1880, the actor, journalist and playwright Hermann Sallmayer published the polemic pamphlet *Hausmeister und Sperrstund-Gfrett* (caretakers and curfew nuisances), declaring closing time to be an exemplary "big city question".[31] Sallmayer described the house gate key as the "scepter of the free man", once again reclaiming sovereignty over the key as a civil liberty right: "Therefore, in the name of all free, constitutional citizens who are still under the control of the curfew, we call to our city fathers: 'Give us the house key!'".[32] From the 1848 revolution, the fight for the key to the house gate had been under the sign of bourgeois liberalism. In this struggle the significance of the private within in the urban fabric had also always played a role because without one's own house gate key, entering and leaving the apartment always had a semi-public aspect. However, labelling the question of the key as a metropolitan issue also points to something else: in the context of gradually developing tourism, urban tourism in particular, the nightlife of the city was seen as an indication of its metropolitan character, and thus the closing time of 10 p.m. was increasingly perceived as provincial and even embarrassing. On the symbolic level, the struggle against the curfew therefore also advanced to a controversy between 'city' and 'countryside' and became part of the domain of modern urbanity.[33] The urban planner Elim Henry d'Agivdor was one of the first in 1874 to blame mainly the 'caretaker economy' for poorly developed Viennese nightlife.[34] In his witty comparison between Vienna and Berlin, Alfred H. Fried wrote: "The curfew money [...] is a very suitable institution for a small town that suits the big city as much as the provision of a traveller with food if he prepares himself for a journey by the Orient Express Train."[35]

In this way, Viennese caretakers became central actors in the regulation and moralization of the night. The 10 p.m. mark categorically separated respectable citizens from the 'wanderers', and caretakers were the authorities who had to enforce this difference in practice. Thus, the caretaker also became a "guardian of morality and order".[36] This function sometimes also extended to the regulation of extramarital romantic relationships, as Friedrich Schlögl satirically exaggerated:

> His power in this regard is unrestricted, he binds and releases, he ties and tears apart, he maintains and destroys the alliances of the heart on his sovereign territory, for if the omnipotent caretaker protects a liaison, then it thrives, but if he does not tolerate it, then the angels of heaven may descend and campaign for the threatened couple, their plea would still be in vain.[37]

Here, the activities of caretakers stretch far into the domestic sphere; the regulation of semi-public space has direct effects on the most private area. Due to their literally intimate knowledge of relationships in the house, caretakers not only offered themselves for educational tasks in Vienna; Peter R. Gleichmann, for example, points out that the national economist Gustav Schmoller in Berlin recommended the employment of retired Prussian

sergeants as caretakers in order to teach discipline to tenants.[38] By day and by night, the caretaker served as a "censor of the house" with a "social mission" which could, of course, on a case-by-case basis be interpreted very differently.[39]

The institution of the housekeeper needs to be understood as an aspect of regulatory development in the semi-public field of housing that was also quantitatively significant. By 1906, the number of caretakers in Vienna had risen to 32,000,[40] a 1908 record even listed almost 35,000.[41] The profession was more or less seen as a "Viennese specialty".[42]

> The institution of the caretaker can be found not only in Vienna but also in the larger capitals such as Prague and Brno, where only the larger houses have caretakers and smaller houses inhabited by only one or a few tenants [...] have none. In smaller capitals, such as Innsbruck and Salzburg, the institution of the caretaker [...] is completely unknown.[43]

The more important the role of caretakers and doormen became in regulating the city over the course of the nineteenth century, the more urgent it became at the turn of the twentieth to represent their professional interests. The first support association was founded as early as the beginning of the 1880s, when the name *Zum Heiligen Petrus* (St Peter's), which was chosen at the time, openly alluded to the key symbol of the caretakers.[44] The two most important interest groups followed shortly thereafter: in 1894 the social democratic *Zentralverband der Portiers und Hausbesorger Wiens* (Central Association of Porters and Caretakers in Vienna) and in 1898 the *Erste Christliche Hausbesorger- und Portier-Verein Österreichs* (First Christian Association of Caretakers and Porters of Austria). All further debates about the 'caretaker economy' as well as the professional and social problems of doormen and caretakers unfolded between these political positions; Social Democracy and the Christian Social Party, between 'red' and 'black'. Both camps also had their own organs: in 1895, the first editions of the Social Democratic *Central-Organ der Portiers und Hausbesorger Wiens* (Central Organ of the Porters and Caretakers of Vienna) appeared; from 1904, the *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* (Caretaker and Porter Newspaper) was published as the official newspaper of the 'black' Christian Social *Hausbesorger- und Portiers-Verein* in Vienna. In addition, there were also independent periodicals conceived as non-partisan: the *Reichs-Organ* as the "official journal" of the *Reichs-Verein der Hausbesorger und Portiere Österreichs* (Imperial Association of Caretakers and Porters of Austria) as well as other newspapers such as the *Österreichische Hausbesorger-Zeitung* (Austrian Caretakers Newspaper), which also presented itself as a non-political journal.[45]

The caretaker in the house: a medium range authority

"Entrances, corridors and staircases, attics and basements, laundry rooms, toilets in the stairwells, courtyards and gardens" formed the space in the apartment building where neighbourly contacts took place.[46] Neighbourhood, however, describes a delicate and close social relationship; according to Sandra Evans and Schamma Schahadat, it moves between the ideal of a peaceful, safe and similar community and the reality of scandalous confrontations between individuals.[47] Forced proximity created forms of solidarity and cohesion as well as constant feuds that revolved around topics such as night rest, cleanliness, behavioural standards and the shared use of semi-public passageways. Conflicts over the use of in-house facilities such as the laundry room, which the professional caretaker journal once called the 'problem child',[48] were probably the order of the day. Mutually looking

into the private space of neighbouring households were also common. In these cases, caretakers acted as moderators, but also as actors of their own order who demanded cleanliness and the orderly use of the common spaces.

In his 1908 book on Vienna and Berlin, Alfred H. Fried provided a series of thick descriptions of the neighbourhood context in the Vienna apartment building, addressing the boundaries and overlapping zones of public, semi-public and private spaces. It is precisely the comparison with conditions in Berlin that bestows these descriptions with their distinctive character: thus, Fried emphasizes the 'open door' that was customary in Vienna, while the gates of the apartment buildings in Berlin remained closed during the day; moreover, the characteristic Berlin servants' staircases hardly exist in Vienna:

> One and the same staircase is used by all categories of people, and the lady in the theatre outfit must put up with meeting the coalman with his heavy burden, the chimney sweep or the business messenger, and she willingly puts up with it because the democratic Viennese character does not find anything wrong with it. Many Viennese housewives even loathe Berlin's double staircase arrangement because, as they perhaps do not claim wrongly, they would lose control of the servants' comings and goings through this duplicity.[49]

This specific permeability between classes in the stairwell confronted the caretakers with a broad spectrum of social conditions and situations.[50] In fact, the Viennese 'open door' created a genuine semi-public space because, according to Fried:

> here, corridor and stairs remain a continuation of the street. This therefore penetrates up to the apartment with all its noises and discomforts. A stone-paved corridor welcomes us coldly, the staircase of white sandstone runs in a wide quadrangle through a huge staircase made of stone, brick and iron. On it is a continuous coming and going, the steps droning on the hard material and dying away in the wide, bare space. In bad weather, the traces of street dirt cannot be removed as quickly as seems desirable. From the kitchen windows, one hears loud conversations, often quarrels, children's cries and the inevitable singing of cooks, or – even more annoyingly – amateurish piano exercises. Mixed into all of this is a symphony of smells that flows through the open kitchen windows, summarizing the contents of the cooking pots of the entire house.[51]

The caretakers had to regulate this inwardly extended street space and ensure cleanliness, order and safety. This also involved the protection of the semi-public space from the outside, for example in the defence against beggars and peddlers.[52] In this sense, caretakers turned this area into an intermediate space subject to certain rules. Although they did not determine these rules themselves, they had the authority to interpret the leeway that remained; here, they demanded respect. Even if what Michael John notes about the real power in the house not lying in the hand of the caretaker but being exercised by the owner is true,[53] it was the caretakers who, as deputies and in the name of the owner of the house, regulated matters on site. In this sense, Friedrich Schlögl's polemic contemporary depiction even goes so far as to present the opposite finding: in his words, the caretaker's power over the internal affairs of the house was an unlimited one, and even the most indomitable landlord submitted to his draconian ordonnances.[54]

The truth probably lies in the middle: the specific authority of doormen and caretakers resulting from the informal logic of the apartment building is paradoxical in itself; their power was both enormous and highly limited. In reference to the Paris portière, Sharon Marcus aptly speaks of the "disparity between her quasi-divine powers and the minuscule space in which she exercised them".[55] Among the "figures of authority",[56] doormen and caretakers were thus in a precarious position. Their legitimacy and decision-making power ended on the sidewalk and was tied to the fragile alliance with the homeowner. Particularly doormen and caretakers of the noble apartment houses in inner city districts were also confronted with the sometimes enormous social divide between them and the apartment owners. Meanwhile, "the power of the caretaker vis-à-vis the tenant parties increased in geometric progression to the distance from the centre of the city",[57] as the lawyer Wilhelm Fuchs put it in 1891. Particularly in working-class districts, caretakers thus became representatives of the house owners, who in turn were extremely important for urban policy: in the period between 1873 and 1900, they made up 58 percent of the representatives of the Viennese City Council, creating a Christian Social hegemony in the city.[58] The result was a hierarchical system that linked the political-administrative level of the city with the administration of individual apartment buildings. The administrative authority was passed in a specific way from top to bottom, where it was represented by individuals who combined a "sometimes disconcerting self-confidence"[59] with a low social status, at times close to the poverty line. Already in the middle of the nineteenth century, many caretaker families lived in "for the most part miserable holes";[60] applications for jobs in the respective trade journals also show how many caretaker families tried to move up from their poor suburban post to one of the better houses.[61] Although in 1911 the chairman of the *Erste Christliche Hausbesorger- und Portiersverein* (First Christian Housekeeper and Porter Association) declared the caretaker to be the "miniature edition of an office that still exists at princely courts today, that of the caretaker and court master",[62] nothing remained of this noble origin in the reality of the Viennese apartment building.

Neighbourhood as socialization among those who are present

Insider knowledge about the house and its residents was essential for the caretaker's authority. Someone like him, who was the key contact in all matters concerning the house day in, day out, could hardly be bypassed and gained respect in both a positive and a negative sense. His specific authority was based on experience, knowledge and personal proximity, which was – as in the case of servants – able to cross class boundaries. In the Viennese apartment building of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the direct economic management of relations between caretakers and tenants played an important role. The caretaker did not receive a salary but lived mainly on tips and cleaning and curfew fees, in addition to free accommodation. This situation established informal structures in the neighbourhood, a network of loyalties, preferences, favours and special considerations. In his novel *Die Blendung*, Elias Canetti describes the submissive servility of the otherwise raw and brutal housekeeper Benedikt Pfaff towards "Professor" Kien, who tipped him more than all other parties combined.[63] From then on, Kien occupies an undisputedly special position in the house, which is defended tooth and nail by the caretaker. In this sense, tips, curfew and cleaning fees constitute a system of rules whose basic principle is their exception. All parties are equal before the law, but not before the caretaker; the informal logic of social relations in the neighbourhood is connected not least with this rule of exception. This calls for flexibility in social roles, for a character who "knows how to submit to everything, roughly and politely, depending on what is needed".[64]

In all this, the position of the caretaker in the house was unmediated; the contacts to the tenants were personal and direct. This applies to all neighbourly contacts that were primarily restricted to the house and its concerns. As Ilya Utekhin has pointed out, neighbours, even if they want to, cannot evade coexistence.[65] Neighbourhood is, to take up a phrase by German historian Rudolf Schlögl, socialization among those who are present.[66] A few years ago, Schlögl presented an ambitious attempt to understand early modern societies focusing on the structures of direct communication. His assumption is that the inclusion of those who are absent and of events beyond the current presence of action was determined by the conditions of dominant communication among those who were present across wide areas of early modern history.[67] What is conceived here as a theoretical model for the description of general social structural patterns can also be used to understand social subsystems that tend to be more manageable. Schlögl discusses village, urban and courtly living environments, focusing on the corresponding dynamics of presence and absence. The caretaker's field of action, whose job description has evolved within patriarchal structures, can also be understood as an example of socialization among those who are present on a small scale. Even though the nineteenth-century caretaker acted as an employee and representative of the – usually absent – house owner, power and authority relationships were always negotiated among those present. In this sense, the house is a "face-to-face society" in miniature.[68] Random encounters, personal conflicts, disputes about space and its use – all this took place in the semi-public space of corridors, stairwells, laundry rooms and courtyards. And it depended on the face-to-face communication of all those who were concerned. Joachim Eibach has also described and theorized the co-presence in the house as a fundamental aspect of communicative practice in the social vicinity for the early modern period.[69] The caretaker, who established himself in the nineteenth century, was both moderator and party to the conflict in the tension of this domestic co-presence. His occasional intervention, which took place face to face, earned him the reputation of a notorious ruffian; this, however, is only another indication that Schlögl's and Eibach's diagnoses can be applied not only to the early modern period but also to spaces and places of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Urban observation and social control

For historical-cultural urban research, the figure of the porter or caretaker offers a double opportunity in so far as he was not only a central protagonist of social negotiation processes and regulatory authority in urban threshold areas but also a proto-ethnographic observer of social life, so to speak. He embodied vigilance, the tense attention that is a prerequisite of social control. From this perspective, the doorman's lodge or caretaker's apartment initially presents itself as an observation and listening post par excellence: "The concierge sitting at her desk meets all kinds of characters, all patterns of personalities, from the most attractive and personable to the most exquisitely obnoxious."[70] At the spatial interface between inside and outside, between semi-public and public space, a social interface emerges, inviting the practical study of social and cultural differences and calling for a "rapid taxator" with a "pronounced talent for classification" – the "ability to correctly assess the entire human race after *one* fleeting, superficial glance in its individual and often masked specimens",[71] as Friedrich Schlögl described it for the Viennese caretaker in 1874. For the present, Peter Bearman has highlighted this aspect of the doorman's profession:

> Analysis of the patterning of doormen-tenant interactions at the micro-level yields insight into the expressive nature of distinction, social distance, and social class

> [...]. Doormen have to develop and act on theories about their tenants in order to do their job. In this sense, good doormen are also good sociologists.[72]

Knowledge is power, information the basis of social control. In his polemical criticism of the Viennese caretaker system of the 1840s, Georg Sprungmehr particularly complained about the caretakers' dense network of information in the apartment buildings: according to Sprungmehr, the caretakers above all drew

> all the service personnel of the parties of the house into their interest; they associated with cooks, maids and attendants in the most shameful way, corrupted all the servants, and usually not a single secret of one of the parties escaped them on their path because of this method.

In short:

> The caretaker was the safest organ of the secret police. [...] All information which the secret police needed about individuals or families was obtained by the trusted caretaker; therefore, the same must always possess the most exact knowledge as to how many letters each party received, whether and to whom and where they would reply, whether visitors come into the house, which education the sons receive; whether state and country affairs, politics or whatever else constituted the subject of conversations and more of the like.[73]

Thus, the caretaker was not only the one who collected the information; he was also the one who could pass it on or withhold it and had a considerable influence on its circulation. Like other domestic figures – servants, attendants, drivers – the caretaker was also a centre of information whose importance for the social dynamics in the house must be rated highly.[74] Although he was a protagonist of semi-public space, his knowledge reached far into the domestic sphere of many tenant parties.

In terms of using caretakers as means for control and surveillance, tsarist Moscow went particularly far. While caretakers in this city were employees of the house owners, they were at the same time subordinated to the district police and responsible for a variety of registration and law enforcement services.[75] As Felix Schnell points out in his study on illegitimate police violence in Moscow, their territory was not only the house but also the semi-public street space in front of it. However, in 1909, the head of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department voiced his suspicion that 90 percent of all home burglaries in Moscow were committed with the knowledge or assistance of the caretakers.[76] Elias Canetti's figure of the caretaker Pfaff in *Die Blendung* depicts precisely this opaque tension between police violence and crime. On the one hand, Pfaff is a retired policeman, which is abundantly clear in his calls for order. When it comes to assessing someone by their clothing, Pfaff is said to have achieved as much certainty as he used to have in arresting people,[77] and sometimes he still uses police methods as a caretaker, for instance when calling out to someone to say that they are arrested in the name of the law.[78] On the other hand, however, when said that since the death of his consumptive daughter he had not beaten a woman and was living alone, Pfaff appears as a brutal thug responsible for the death of his wife and daughter.[79] This grotesque exaggeration shows the connection between vigilance, routine violence and arbitrary rule which is part of the bitter caricature of the Viennese caretaker.

The finding of a cultural homology between the caretaker and the professional field of policemen and detectives is quite apparent in the Viennese source texts. In 1893, the *Wiener Hausmeister-Zeitung* (Viennese Caretaker Newspaper) published a note:

> Caretakers of Vienna! Prove that you are the best police when it comes to individuals who are harmful to the community, and that you are able to achieve what the police seem to be having great difficulty in doing, namely the determination of a fraud.[80]

In 1904, Leopold Klein wrote in the *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* (Caretaker and Porter Newspaper) that caretakers had to "serve as guards, detectives and information office".[81] It is obvious that this also led to a competitive situation; a particular incident in January 1907 is revealing in this respect. Apparently, the owner of the private detective institute *Helios* in Bräunerstrasse 5, Johann Müller, had an invective printed in the *Wiener Kriminal- und Detektive-Zeitung* (Vienna Criminal and Detective Newspaper) against Viennese caretakers, whereupon in the *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung*, the following boycott call appeared:

> To you, caretakers and doormen, we address the urgent request in the name of our organization: in the future, deny any information, let it be understand, *any information*, to any private detective, whoever he may be. Then we will see whether Mr. Müller and his editor will dare to continue to insult the caretakers and doormen in such an unqualified way.[82]

The fact that the only theatre advertisement far and wide that appeared in the *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* at the time was for a performance of *Sherlock Holmes* by the Vienna Bürgertheater is in this context a telling clue.[83] A humorous surveillance fantasy which Franz Feldkirchner published in 1904 under the title *Ein Hausbesorger vom Jahre 2000* (A Caretaker of the Year 2000) saw the homology between caretaker, detective and police through to the end:

> Suddenly a square apparatus, which was attached to the wall of the cabinet and which I had not noticed before, made a hell of a noise. Immediately after that a ray of light hit the opposite wall and you could see on the wall a portrait of a man like in a *Laterna Magica*, and immediately after *that* a voice sounded from the apparatus asking whether this man did not live in the house. Thereupon my friend went over to the apparatus and denied the question, then the portrait disappeared from the wall. Now he immediately explained to me that the police were looking for this man and that this request had come from the police prefecture. This machine is called 'Helithon'.[84]

Whoever combines such intimate knowledge of the house and its surroundings with detective vigilance is not least the ideal outpost of political organizations. With the residential building programme 'Red Vienna' that started shortly after the First World War, a new variant of the social figure of the caretaker emerged: the caretaker in community buildings (*Gemeindebau*). In the newly constructed social buildings, the new city government preferably installed politically compliant caretakers who were to contribute to the establishment of a Social Democratic neighbourhood. As Payer points out, only those who agreed with the aims of the Social Democratic Party and were loyal towards it became caretakers in a community building, the profession of the caretaker thus becoming

a political task.[85] The social status of the occupational group improved considerably; instead of the substandard apartments on the ground floor of an old apartment building they now received community apartments that met the new standards; in return, as Payer writes, they were part of an extensive care system based on political-ideological principles in which the community tenants were embedded.[86] This episode of the history of caretakers also clearly shows that the functions and competences of caretakers went far beyond their role. Their everyday knowledge and learned sense for situations and social constellations were an important resource for party and local politics.

From Vienna to Paris: the concierge as an urban figure

The history of the Viennese caretaker can hardly be separated from iconography and the history of literature. Friedrich Schlögl and Elias Canetti may have contributed no less to the constitution of the caretaker as a figure of public life than the provisions of the Caretaker Regulations of 1910.[87] It is therefore only natural that social and cultural historical studies such as this one always also refer to sources from literature and the arts pages in order to make the role of caretakers in urban life tangible. In his study *Premières Loges* on nineteenth-century Paris concierges, Jean-Louis Deaucourt demonstrates this approach in an exemplary manner, repeatedly referring to authors such as Sébastien Mercier or Honoré de Balzac as well as to comic papers, caricatures and pictorial broadsheets. Archival documents and literary sources are intertwined, forming a joint pattern; fact and fiction do not represent a contradiction but rather depend on and complement each other.[88]

Literary sources about Viennese caretakers first appeared in great numbers during the 1840s, when they became an important protagonist of 'satirical' and 'comical' scenes. The figure was quickly established as a cliché in literature and journalism: "So much has already been written about the characteristics of caretakers that we consider it superfluous to go into this in more detail", wrote the *Wiener Geschäfts- und Vergnügungs-Anzeiger* (Vienna Business and Entertainment Advertiser) as early as 1862.[89] Everything indicates, therefore, that the process of figuration had been complemented by its main features in the middle of the nineteenth century. The caretaker was a popular target for ridicule during this time; stereotypes are predominantly negative. The novelist Heimito von Doderer went furthest in this respect, drawing highly sinister and derogatory portraits of caretaker families in the novels *Die Strudlhofstiege*, *Die Dämonen* and *Die Wasserfälle von Slunj* in particular. The 'common man' in Doderer's novels fundamentally mistrusts any representative of authority such as policemen, guards, drivers, conductors and small civil servants – but no figure is pursued with a similar antipathy as the caretaker.[90]

The Paris concierge, on the other hand, appeared on the scene earlier than the Viennese caretaker. Mercier dedicated two entire chapters to the concierge in his famous *Tableau de Paris*, published in 1782/1783. From there, this figure conquered metropolitan literature. Paris was the epicentre of doormen and concierges because here, the social practice of living in large apartment buildings was particularly common. In contrast to London, for example, where in many residential buildings the individual entrances led directly to the street or into a front garden, in Paris residential complexes where numerous households shared a central entrance door dominated. The resulting problems and conflicts required a person responsible for the house.[91] Over the course of the nineteenth century, the concierge's function was to break away from his former connection with the aristocracy and become an institution of the bourgeois residential districts, so much that Deaucourt speaks of a "banalization" and "proletarization" of the professional image.[92] This was one of the main reasons that concierges had such a bad reputation, particularly in literary representation.

The importance of the Paris concierge for the regulation of semi-public space all the way into the domestic sphere was connected to their omnipresence in the house as well as the peculiar informal remuneration situation that is comparable to the Viennese caretaker economy.[93] This gave the concierge a unique position, which predestined them to become an organ of surveillance. Deaucourt describes the concierge as a "veritable moral police",[94] reflecting the corresponding reports from Vienna. There is also evidence of contacts with the authorities and repressive organs of government. For example, the political police of the restoration period used to draw on the knowledge of concierges.[95] Findings on the specific intermediate social position of Parisian concierges also confirm what has already been noted here about the Viennese caretaker. Particularly during the French Revolution of 1789, the unique mediating position between the aristocracy and the lower classes made the concierges part of a "particularly sensitive milieu"[96] with explosive political significance. As Deaucourt points out, the contradiction between their popular origins and service to the privileged targeted by the revolution, their professional experience and service in the house, put them at the centre of all social and ideological tensions.[97]

Like the Viennese caretaker, from the 1840s the Parisian concierge also increasingly appeared in satirical literature. An early example is James Rousseau's *Physiologie de la Portière*, published in 1841, which delivered humorous vignettes of the concierge's social character – entirely in the style of the 'moral images' of the Age of Reaction – illustrated by no less than Honoré Daumier.[98] Eugène Sue published a portrait of a concierge named Pipelet, who keeps control of the house and the neighbourhood through clever uses of gossip.[99] In Honoré de Balzac's novel *Le Cousin Pons*, published in 1848, the concierge Madame Cibot is one of the key figures, with her psychological profile drawn with great precision. Balzac also showed the complex economic relationships between 'the lodge' and the tenant parties in the house and the neighbourhood.[100] Émile Zola finally used the concierge extensively as the hub of his social novels, for example in *Le Ventre de Paris* (1873), *L'Assommoir* (1877), *Une Page d'Amour* (1878), *Nana* (1880) and *Pot-Bouille* (1882). Not least, these texts provided for a quick establishment of the concierge as a cultural figure who stood for France in general and Paris in particular: "There is probably no other character more intimately connected to nineteenth-century French urban culture than the concierge".[101] The Paris concierge – either in an explicitly likeable or explicitly disagreeable variant – is also a persistently recurring character in Georges Simenon's series of crime novels about Detective Maigret, documenting its affinity to investigative matters.[102]

Even more than the Viennese caretaker's apartment, the Parisian concierge's lodge is thus regarded as a place of social observation, assessment and classification. It was, above all, this motif that gave the concierge their central role in the French city tableau and nineteenth-century social novel. For Sharon Marcus, the concierge or portière of the nineteenth century is "the personification of urban observation".[103]

> Urban literature characterized the *portière* as an adept observer: their duties as mail distributor, rent collector, and maid gave them an intimate and composite overview of the building's individual parts that perfected the totalizing yet local vision of the Parisian microcosm sought after by the authors of the *tableaux*.[104]

As early as 1823, a one-part play by Eugène Scribe entitled *La Loge du Portier* reads: "Who knows the news / Of the whole neighbourhood? / In faithful accounts / Who will publish it all? / [...] It's our *portière*, / Who knows all, who sees all, / Hears all, is everywhere".[105]

Conclusion

In her study on the concierge's role in Zola's novels, Elisabeth-Christine Muelsch gives three good reasons why the figure, at times, dominated urban literature: first, the concierge was an "*observatrice* and *expérimentatrice*" of urban everyday life,[106] a keen observer whose comprehensive everyday knowledge and intimate knowledge of the tenants and their everyday behaviour were ideally suited to be a starting point for the narrative style and dramaturgy of the urban novel. The "apartment-house view" became one of its standard formats.[107] Second, she was a figure who embodied the problem of social contacts across classes as much as she mediated between the bourgeois reading public and proletarian milieu: "Like the real concierge, the fictional concierge became the hinge between classes [...]. In essence, the fictional concierge served as an intermediary between bourgeois readers and Zola's representation of the working class".[108] Finally, the concierge sat at a spatial interface where conflicts regularly arose – another elementary subject of the novel. The concierge's lodge thus became a narrative hub where social difference could be demonstrated *in situ*.

This trilogy fundamentally shows how the figures of the concierge and the caretaker can enrich historical urban research, particularly the research on intermediate spaces within the city. For they come into view as actors of urban internal regulation and urban observation who have contributed significantly to the constitution of spaces between the public and the domestic sphere. Acting in this intermediate space, they had insight into parts of the private lives of the residents and dealt with their intimate knowledge in various ways. At the same time, they were present in the domestic sphere – cleaning the house, fixing things or simply controlling what went on. Furthermore, they represented a domestic sphere of their own. The caretaker's flat, as well as the porter's lodge, were significant locations in the negotiation of trivial issues and spatial demarcations of everyday life that had a strong impact on social order in general. What the public and the private mean is therefore always a matter of specific staff that are entrusted with the informal organization of these spaces and their arrangements. Starting with an analysis of the caretaker, the doorman and the concierge, we arrive at a better understanding of what has characterized social cohesion and social conflicts in the house. For this reason alone, it is worth introducing these figures into research on historical and cultural studies.

Translated by Stefanie Everke Buchanan

Notes

1 Parts of this text are based on Jens Wietschorke, "Vigilanz und Schlüsselgewalt: Der Wiener Hausbesorger und die Binnenregulierung der Stadt im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert", *Historische Anthropologie* 27, 2 (2019), pp. 164–91.

2 Habbo Knoch, *Grandhotels: Luxusräume und Gesellschaftswandel in New York, London und Berlin um 1900* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016), p. 199.

3 See Johanna Rolshoven, "Übergänge und Zwischenräume: Eine Phänomenologie von Stadtraum und "sozialer Bewegung"", in Waltraud Kokot et al. (eds.), *Kulturwissenschaftliche Stadtforschung: Eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Berlin: Reimer, 2000), pp. 107–22; Johanna Rolshoven, "Der Rand des Raumes: Kulturwissenschaftliche Überlegungen zum Thema Übergang", in Johanna Rolshoven (ed.), *Hexen, Wiedergänger, Sans-Papiers: Kulturtheoretische Reflexionen zu den Rändern des sozialen Raumes* (Marburg: Jonas, 2003), pp. 7–17; liminal spaces as communicative nodes in the modern city are also discussed in Habbo Knoch, "Schwellenräume und Übergangsmenschen: Öffentliche Kommunikation in der modernen Großstadt, 1880–1930", in Alexander C.T. Geppert et al. (eds.), *Ortsgespräche: Raum und Kommunikation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2005), pp. 257–84; see for a multifaceted interdisciplinary exploration of intermediate spaces Uwe Wirth (ed.), *Bewegen im Zwischenraum* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2012).

4 As Lichtenberger has already pointed out, the concept of accessibility allows for new spatially oriented urban research. See Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Die Stadt: Von der Polis zu Metropolis* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2002), p. 115; for a broader understanding of accessibility which mainly focuses on questions of public transport and accessibility see also Annalisa Morini, "Accessible City", in Robert W. Caves (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the City* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 2–3.

5 Joachim Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

6 See Jürgen Reulecke (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens, vol. 3: 1800–1918: Das bürgerliche Zeitalter*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1997); Gert Kähler (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens, vol. 4: 1918–1945: Reform, Reaktion, Zerstörung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1996); Ingeborg Flagge (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens*,vol. 5: *Von 1945 bis heute: Aufbau, Neubau, Umbau* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1995).

7 See for example Rolshoven, "Übergänge und Zwischenräume".

8 See in particular the contributions of Vienna-based urban researcher Peter Payer, *Der Hausmeister: Eine aussterbende Respektsperson* (Vienna: Gebietsbetreuung Brigittenau, 1995); Peter Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien: Aufstieg und Niedergang einer Respektsperson", *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, supplement 4 (1996); Peter Payer, "Der Hausmeister: Ein unsterblicher Wiener?", in Wolfgang Kos (ed.), *Wiener Typen: Klischees und Wirklichkeit* (Wien: Brandstätter, 2013), pp. 174–77; for a photographic documentation see Sepp Dreissinger (ed.), *Hausmeister-Portraits: Wien Paris Berlin* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1989).

9 Jean-Louis Deaucourt, *Premières loges: Paris et ses concierges au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions Aubier, 1992).

10 Roselyne De Villanova and Philippe Boninn (eds.), *Loges, Concierges et Gardiens: Enquête en Europe: Paris, Londres, Barcelone, Milan, Oslo* (Paris: Créaphis, 2006); Elizabeth Main, "La concierge dans l'imaginaire parisien 1830–2004", in Myriam Tsikounas (ed.), *Imaginaires urbains du Paris romantique à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions Le Manuscrit, 2011), pp. 269–99.

11 Istvan Pal Adam, *Budapest Building Managers and the Holocaust in Hungary* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

12 For analyses and case studies on gated communities on a global scale see Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997); Rowland Atkinson and Sarah Blandy (eds.), *Gated Communities: International perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006); Samer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku (eds.), *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments* (London: Earthscan, 2010).

13 Cf. Karl Kraus, *Aphorismen: Sprüche und Widersprüche, Pro domo et mundo, Nachts: Schriften*, vol. 8, ed. Christian Wagenknecht (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1986), p. 20.

14 Cf. Claudia Zimmer, "Der Wiener Hausbesorger: Historische Betrachtungen zur Entwicklung eines Berufsstandes und seiner gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen" (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2003), p. 52.

15 Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien", pp. 6–7.

16 "Hausbesorgerordnung" (caretaker regulations), 11 June 1910, quoted in: *Hand- und Nachschlage-Buch für Hausbesitzer, Administratoren und Hausbesorger* (Vienna: Verlag des Ersten christlichen Hausbesorger- und Portiervereines, 1911), pp. 8–10 (9).

17 On the legal status see Zimmer, *Hausbesorger*, pp. 35–60.

18 "Der Hausbesorger einst und jetzt", *Österreichische Hausbesorger-Zeitung: Fachorgan für die Gesamtinteressen der Hausbesorger und Portiere Österreichs*, XXII, 6 (1929), pp. 1–2. All quotes form historical source material have been translated from German.

19 19 Cf. Wilhelm Fuchs, *Der Hausmeister und sein Recht: Eine juristische Studie aus dem Wiener Leben* (Vienna: Manz, 1891).

20 "Was jeder Hausbesorger wissen muß", *Österreichische Hausbesorger-Zeitung: Fachorgan für die Gesamtinteressen der Hausbesorger und Portiere Österreichs*, XVII, 3,4 (1925), pp. 1–8 (1).

21 Peter Bearman, *Doormen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 4.

22 Cf. Michael John, *Hausherrenmacht und Mieterelend* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1982), pp. 32–34; Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien 1848–1938: Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1988), pp. 52–53.

23 Quoted in John, *Hausherrenmacht*, pp. 41–42.
24 Georg Sprungmehr, *Sturmglocke für alle Hausmeister in Wien, als anerkannte Zinsvertheuerer und privilegirte Blutegeln für die Parteien* (Vienna, ca. 1848); cf. in a very similar manner J.R.H., *Zinsohrfeigen oder Laximittel für Hausherrn und Hausmeister* (Vienna, 1848).
25 Sprungmehr, *Sturmglocke*.
26 Friedrich Schlögl, *Wiener Blut: Kleine Culturbilder aus dem Volksleben der alten Kaiserstadt an der Donau*, 3rd edn (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1874), p. 362, 367.
27 "Hausbesorgerordnung", p. 9.
28 "Aus dem Wiener Leben", *Wiener Geschäfts- und Vergnügungs-Anzeiger* 1, 4 (1862), p. 1.
29 "Aus dem Wiener Leben", p. 1.
30 Murray Melbin, "Night as Frontier", *American Sociological Review* 43 (1978), pp. 3–22.
31 Hermann Sallmayer, *Hausmeister und Sperrstund-Gfrett: Eine Großstadt-Frage* (Vienna: 1880).
32 Sallmayer, *Hausmeister*, p. 16.
33 Recently also Peter Payer, *Der Klang der Großstadt: Eine Geschichte des Hörens. Wien 1850–1914* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2018), pp. 73–74. Payer quotes the author Otto Friedländer on this subject: "Vienna has no nightlife. The Viennese goes to bed at ten o'clock. The house gate is locked at ten o'clock. No one has a gate key. Whoever arrives after ten o'clock must ring the bell and pay the *Sperrsechserl* and, of course, wait in the dark, cold street until Mr Wotruba or Nowotny, or whatever his name is, shuffles about in his slippers, with a flickering candle in his hand, provisionally wrapped in a dressing gown. In short, the Viennese knows why he does not like to come home after ten o'clock – by the way not only because of the inconvenience and the *Sperrsechserl* but also because of his good reputation, because it does not contribute to a good reputation if it is said that one often comes home after ten o'clock.", in ibid., p. 74.
34 Elim Henry d'Avigdor, *Das Wohlsein der Menschen in Großstädten: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Wien* (Vienna: Gerold, 1874), p. 206.
35 Alfred H. Fried, *Wien – Berlin: Ein Vergleich* (Vienna: Josef Lenobel, 1908), p. 36.
36 Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien", p. 5.
37 Schlögl, *Wiener Blut*, p. 365.
38 Peter Reinhart Gleichmann, "Wandlungen im Verwalten von Wohnhäusern", in Lutz Niethammer (ed.), *Wohnen im Wandel: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1979), pp. 65–88 (79); cf. Adelheid von Saldern, "Im Hause, zu Hause: Wohnen im Spannungsfeld von Gegebenheiten und Aneignungen", in Jürgen Reulecke (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens*, Vol. 3:*1800–1918: Das bürgerliche Zeitalter* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1997), pp. 145–332 (200).
39 Schlögl, *Wiener Blut*, p. 362.
40 Cf. "Der 'Hans Jörgel' als Gegner der Hausbesorger", *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* III, 10 (1906), p. 2.
41 Cf. "Toröffnung um sechs Uhr früh", *Central-Organ der Portiers und Hausbesorger Wiens*, 14 (1908), pp. 1–2 (1).
42 "Der Hausbesorger einst und jetzt", p. 1.
43 "Was jeder Hausbesorger wissen muß", p. 1. Apparently, this essay is based on older versions, it is therefore reflecting the situation in the Habsburg Monarchy.
44 Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien".
45 All titles and dates from Zimmer, *Der Wiener Hausbesorger*, pp. 91–113.
46 "Der Hausbesorger einst und jetzt", p. 2.
47 Sandra Evans and Schamma Schahadat, "Einleitung: Nachbarschaft in Theorie und Praxis", in Sandra Evans and Schamma Schahadat (eds.), *Nachbarschaft, Räume, Emotionen: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einer sozialen Lebensform* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012), pp. 7–27 (7).
48 "Das Schmerzenskind des Hausbesorger", *Zentral-Organ des Hausmeister- und Portierwesens* 21, 8 (1915), pp. 3–4.
49 Fried, *Wien-Berlin*, pp. 36–37.
50 For a similar constellation see Markus Krajewski, "Der Butler: ein Cursor und Bindeglied der Stände", in Uwe Wirth (ed.), *Bewegen im Zwischenraum* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2012), pp. 217–36.
51 Fried, *Wien-Berlin*, pp. 37–38.
52 "Gegen den Hausierhandel", *Hausbesorger- und Portierzeitung* III,12 (1907), p. 3.
53 John, *Hausherrenmacht*, p. 34.
54 Schlögl, *Wiener Blut*, p. 363.

55 Sharon Marcus, "The Portière and the Personification of Urban Observation", in Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 348–58 (355).
56 Peter Becker and Rüdiger von Krosigk (eds.), *Figures of Authority: Contributions Towards a Cultural History of Governance from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008).
57 Fuchs, *Der Hausmeister*, p. 19.
58 Wolfgang Maderthaner, "Von der Zeit um 1860 bis zum Jahr 1945", in Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll (eds.), *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*. vol. 3: *Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), pp. 175–544 (229).
59 "Der Hausbesorger einst und jetzt", p. 2.
60 J.R.H., *Zinsohrfeigen*, p. 6.
61 See the job advertisements in the following journals: *Central-Organ der Portiers und Hausbesorger Wiens, Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung, Reichs-Organ. Offizielle Fachzeitschrift des Reichs-Vereines der Hausbesorger und Portiere Österreichs, Österreichische Hausbesorger-Zeitung.*
62 M. Fragner, "Vorwort", in *Hand- und Nachschlage-Buch für Hausbesitzer, Administratoren und Hausbesorger* (Vienna: Verlag des Ersten christlichen Hausbesorger- und Portiervereines, 1911), pp. 5–8 (5).
63 Elias Canetti, *Die Blendung* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1965), p. 89.
64 *Der Hausmeister comme il faut* (Vienna: 1842), p. XVI.
65 Ilya Utekhin, "Privatsphäre, Nachbarschaft, Zusammenleben: (Post-)Sowjetische Kommunalwohnungen", in Sandra Evans and Schamma Schahadat (eds.), *Nachbarschaft, Räume, Emotionen: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einer sozialen Lebensform* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012), pp. 189–203 (201).
66 Rudolf Schlögl, *Anwesende und Abwesende: Grundriss für eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Konstanz: Konstanz University Press, 2014), pp. 39–47.
67 Schlögl, *Anwesende und Abwesende*, p. 14.
68 Schlögl, *Anwesende und Abwesende*, p. 13.
69 Joachim Eibach, "Das offene Haus: Kommunikative Praxis im sozialen Nahraum der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 38,4 (2011), pp. 621–64; Joachim Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", in Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 19–37, esp. pp. 29–30.
70 Elli Kohen and Dahlia V. Kohen-Gordon, *La Concierge* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2001), pp. XI–XII.
71 Schlögl, *Wiener Blut*, p. 363.
72 Bearman, *Doormen*, pp. 3–4.
73 Sprungmehr, *Sturmglocke*, p. 2.
74 Markus Krajewski, *Der Diener: Mediengeschichte einer Figur zwischen König und Klient* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2010), p. 147; see also Markus Krajewski, "Ask Jeeves: Servants as Search Engines", *Grey Room: Architecture, Art, Media, Politics* 38 (2010), pp. 6–19.
75 Cf. "Der Hausbesorger einst und jetzt", p. 2; and Felix Schnell, *Ordnungshüter auf Abwegen? Herrschaft und illegitime polizeiliche Gewalt in Moskau 1905–1914* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 78–82.
76 Schnell, *Ordnungshüter auf Abwegen*, p. 81.
77 Canetti, *Die Blendung*, p. 88.
78 Canetti, *Die Blendung*, p. 310.
79 Canetti, *Die Blendung*, p. 91.
80 Quoted in Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien".
81 Leopold Klein, "In der Stehweinhalle", *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* I, 3 (1904), pp. 2–3 (3).
82 "Gegen die 'Wiener Kriminal- und Detektive-Zeitung'", *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* III, 12 (1907), pp. 3–4 (4).
83 *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* III, 9 (1906), p. 7.
84 Franz Feldkirchner, "Ein Hausbesorger vom Jahre 2000", *Hausbesorger- und Portier-Zeitung* I, 8 (1904), pp. 5–6 (6).
85 Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien".
86 Payer, "Hausmeister in Wien".
87 For an analysis of the caretaker as a social type see Payer, "Der Hausmeister"; Christian Jäger and Erhard Schütz (eds.), *Städtebilder zwischen Literatur und Journalismus: Wien, Berlin und das Feuilleton der Weimarer Republik* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag, 1999), pp. 123–36.
88 Deaucourt, *Premières loges;* on the theory of social types see Orrin Klapp, "Social Types: Process and Structure", *American Sociological Review* 23 (1958), pp. 674–78; for a broader survey, including

empirical examples, see Moritz Ege and Jens Wietschorke, "Figuren und Figurationen in der empirischen Kulturanalyse: Methodische Überlegungen am Beispiel der 'Wiener Typen' im 18. bis 20. und des Berliner 'Prolls' im 21. Jahrhundert", *LiTheS. Zeitschrift für Literatur- und Theatersoziologie* 10 (Graz: 2014), pp. 16–35.

89 "Aus dem Wiener Leben", *Wiener Geschäfts- und Vergnügungs-Anzeiger* 1,4 (1862), p. 1.

90 Gerhard Stejcek, "Im Schattenreich der Troglodyten", *Wiener Zeitung* 4 (2016), cf. www.wienerzeitung.at/themen_channel/wz_reflexionen/geschichten/842184_Im-Schattenreich-der-Troglodyten.html, last accessed 16 Dec. 2018.

91 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, pp. 16–17, p. 22.

92 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, p. 20

93 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, pp. 99, 106–09.

94 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, p. 131.

95 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, p. 125.

96 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, p. 38.

97 Deaucourt, *Premières Loges*, p. 38.

98 James Rousseau, *Physiologie de la Portière* (Paris: 1841).

99 Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris*, 6 Vols. (Paris: 1843).

100 Honoré de Balzac, *Le Cousin Pons* (Paris: 1847).

101 Elisabeth-Christine Muelsch, "Monsieur Zola's Concierges", *Excavatio* XXVII (2016), cf. https://sites.ualberta.ca/~aizen/excavatio/articles/v27/ElisabethChristineMuelsch.pdf, last accessed 17 Nov. 2018.

102 See Murielle Wenger and Stephen Trussel, *Maigret's World: A Reader's Companion to Simenon's Famous Detective* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2017), p. 146.

103 Marcus, "The Portière", p. 352.

104 Marcus, "The Portière", p. 352.

105 English translation quoted in: Marcus, "The Portière", p. 354.

106 Muelsch, "Monsieur Zola's Concierges", p. 11.

107 Marcus, "The Portière", p. 349.

108 Muelsch, "Monsieur Zola's Concierges", p. 100

PART XI

The domestic sphere as a religious space

22

SHAPING CONFESSIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE URBAN HOME

Suzanna Ivanič and Irene Galandra Cooper

Introduction

Attention was first drawn to religion in the early modern home by scholars of the Protestant Reformation. The traditional narrative relates that for Protestants the family home provided a new alternative spiritual locale to the religious houses and idealized celibate life of medieval Catholicism. Research on Catholic contexts has recently provided a counterbalance to this account. The Italian renaissance home and Catholic households in northern Europe have been shown to be places of vibrant devotional activity. This chapter surveys the scholarship and proposes a new direction for research to bring forward an understanding of the domestic sphere in early modern religious practice that pushes beyond confessional arguments. Two examples of current research on sixteenth-century Naples and seventeenth-century Prague show that the home was more than just a passive setting. It enabled individual varieties of 'lived religion' that could be practised daily and away from the Church and authorities. Furthermore, the early modern home had agency in shaping the daily religious experiences and spiritual spheres of men, women and children.

It has become commonplace to view the relocation of religious authority into the home as one of the prime transformations of religious life caused by the Reformation in Europe.[1] Key to Martin Luther's theology was an emphasis on marriage, family and the household. In contrast to Catholicism, Luther elevated marriage above celibacy, thereby undermining the primacy of Catholic priests, monks and nuns. These values were expounded in a number of Luther's writings and recorded conversations.[2] In *On the Estate of Marriage* (1522), Luther laid out the scriptural basis for how marriage and bearing children should be understood as conducive to the soul's salvation and advised "how to live a Christian and godly life in that estate".[3] We might note how these terms were inextricable in early modern thought. Marriage and the family were fundamental parts of the household. Furthermore, the home was a place for religious education. The subheadings to all nine parts of Luther's *Small Catechism* (1529) read "The Simple Way a Father Should Present It to His Household".[4] In line with Luther's teachings, the genre of *Hausväterliteratur* (Housefather Literature) encouraged readers to teach their household (a unit including wife, children, servants and apprentices) to read, say prayers, acquaint themselves with the Bible and engage in catechism.[5] Certain *Tischzucht* (Table Manners) images in Protestant contexts, often

depicting a family seated around a table being led in prayer by the father, reinforced the idea of domestic religious practice and education.[6] By producing this prescriptive literature and imagery, Protestants claimed domestic piety for themselves. Religious matters were taken out of the hands of the priesthood and left to husbands, fathers and masters. Moreover, the head of the household newly acted as intermediary between God and man, further loosening the grip of the Church. The home came to be considered not only as a new locus of spiritual engagement but also as 'holy' in and of itself.

Historical attention in the Anglophone world was drawn to this Protestant shift in devotional belief and practice by Christopher Hill. In 1964, Hill coined the term "the spiritualization of the household", drawing on evidence from seventeenth-century prescriptive literature on household government written by Puritans in England, such as William Perkins's *Christian Oeconomie* (1609), William Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties* (1626) and Richard Baxter's *The Catechizing of Families: A Teacher of Householders, How to Teach their Households* (1683).[7] Hill saw these popular printed treatises as reinforcing ideas that had been advocated in the pre-Reformation works of John Wycliffe and William Tyndale.[8]

Since the 1980s, historians interested in social history have drawn attention to how this shift led to significant transformations in gender hierarchies and family relationships. In light of the 'social revolution' precipitated by a married clergy, Steven Ozment and others have emphasized how Protestantism promoted positive attitudes to conjugal and family life, and male relationships.[9] In contrast, Lyndal Roper, studying Augsburg guild families, wrote about the more negative aspects of patriarchal authority in Protestant homes in *The Holy Household*. The Augsburg home was a space in which not only to practise religion but also to reconstruct a morally- and socially-ordered family life comprising a model 'holy household'. For Roper, the "domestication of the Reformation" restructured gender relations and subjugated women.[10] The Reformation, no less, inscribed patriarchal hierarchies into society.

This focus has led to the misleading idea that domestic religion was an invention of, and unique to, Protestant areas. In contrast to the Protestant focus on the family home, the Counter-Reformation has been seen to shift emphasis away from it. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) decreed against celebration of the Eucharist in private houses and regulated sacred materials and rituals. In 1970, John Bossy argued that the Catholic Church entrenched its opposition to Protestantism by treating the household as a "seedbed of subversion".[11] This has had an enduring effect on scholarship. Indeed, Marc Forster has asserted that the family was not a prominent part of Counter-Reformation devotion in Germany until the eighteenth century.[12] One instance where Catholicism has historically been studied in conjunction with the home as an important devotional space is in Protestant lands, where Catholic practice was forced into the home and out of the public eye, such as in the Netherlands and in Britain.[13] In these locations, the home provided a largely 'private' space for continuing the practice of banned religious rites and for protecting priests.

However, new research on Catholic and multi-confessional areas in northern and southern Europe reveals that domestic devotion was far more central to Catholic devotion both prior to and during the Reformations.[14] Firstly, pre-Reformation religion had seen a 'domestic turn' through a variety of measures. The cult of the Holy Family in the form of Jesus, Mary, Joseph and Mary's mother Anne and father Joachim was promoted among others by Henry of St Gallen in the late fourteenth century and Jean Gerson (1363–1429) in the fifteenth century, and was depicted in books of hours and altarpieces.[15] Humanist works on domestic government such as Leon Battista Alberti's *Della Famiglia* (1434–1441) celebrated the home as a sphere in which to live piously.[16] Supplementing this, there was

increased demand for guidance and paraphernalia for private prayer as is evident in the proliferation of books of hours, primers and prayer beads.[17]

Secondly, in parallel with Protestant literature, Catholic household treatises and catechisms from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries promoted the home as a site for religious devotion and education.[18] Giovanni di Dio's 1471 *Decor Puellarum*, for example, guided young girls from aristocratic backgrounds on how to grow in God's favour – and thus be good daughters, sisters, wives and mothers. The author went so far as to suggest that girls would use their apparently abundant free time to construct their own domestic altar and adorn it with "beautiful and devout images".[19] Household altars of this kind were not built to celebrate mass but rather as dedicated spaces, within the household, for the practice of one's private devotion. Giovanni di Dio further instructed young girls to develop their religious virtuosity:

> First, briefly say some prayers before this altar. Then read a little if you are able; if you cannot read, then learn some stories of saints. Then return to prayer at your altar. Then, if you know how, write some pious words.[20]

A century after the *Decor Puellarum* was written, and a decade after the closing of the Council of Trent, the Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo wrote his own conduct treatise. Dedicated to all members of the family across social strata and reflecting the Catholic spiritual renewal of the Counter-Reformation, Borromeo's 1576 *Libretto di ricordi al popolo della città di Milano* contains instructions on how to live as a good Christian.[21] The domestic quality of Borromeo's booklet is demonstrated by his explicit dedication to fathers and mothers as well as shopkeepers. He repeatedly evoked the *casa* as the place where an individual should learn to live a true Christian life, thus recognizing its key role as a site of religion in daily life. Borromeo wrote his instructions so that the faithful could read and practise them frequently.[22] The Cardinal encouraged fathers and mothers "to teach his writings to their children, to remind them of them by fixing them to the walls of their homes".[23] In this, the Tridentine Church attributed, at least officially, an equal role to mothers and fathers in the Catholic education of their children. Borromeo specifically invited all wives and mothers to keep his writings in front of them to act as "the mirror every morning, and at every hour, to look at, and cleanse, the soul's face".[24]

The instructions of Giovanni di Dio and Carlo Borromeo drew on principles embedded within Christianity itself; they echoed Jesus's invitation to pray in the privacy of one's home: "But though when thou shalt pray, enter into thy chamber, and having shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret: and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee".[25] While they do not cite this passage directly, their writings endorsed Christ's emphasis on the importance of the home as a site of devotional practice. The foundations of Catholic domestic devotion were thus well-grounded in literature and supported by ecclesiastic authorities.

Acknowledging the cross-confessional and pan-historical importance of religion and the household, the 2014 issue of *Studies in Church History* drew attention to six major themes related to domestic devotion: the home acting as a site of resistance or bulwark of the social order, as nursery of morality and piety, as private space and public place, as an environment for everyday religious life, as an ecclesiastical household and as a site of conversion.[26] Most importantly, the domestic sphere was a space that provided an opportunity for a variety of religious practices and identities: it was characterized by its fluid position between public and private and open and closed. Being outside the

immediate control of religious authorities, it provided a location for the formation of individual beliefs and practices that diverged from orthodoxy and orthopraxy, but could also provide a space in which the Church extended its influence and where 'correct' religious practice could be displayed to the community. This binary provides ample fodder for recent and current research. In both Protestant and Catholic contexts, there remain questions over to what extent people really followed the Church's teachings when in their homes.

At the crux of this ongoing line of enquiry is a question about the nature of the early modern home as religious locale. The home might provide physical protection, allowing inhabitants to practise clandestine forms of worship. However, the home was not necessarily an enclosed and safe space beyond ecclesiastical reach. Trials for heresy show that, whilst people may have hoped to practise faith 'privately' in the home away from the authorities, certain mechanisms, such as spying neighbours, could permeate these frontiers and betray the occupants.[27] In many of these studies, the boundary between household and Church is described as 'blurred'. The Church could 'reach' inside the home by producing texts, images and objects for use in the domestic setting, and could still prosecute those found to have acted heretically within the home.[28] These porous borders strongly resonate with the 'domestic sphere', as delineated in the introduction to this volume. Research has shown the early modern house to be 'open' and 'public'.[29] For example, business activities might take place inside the home, part of it might be used as a workshop, and family members might sleep in the same bed generating the conditions for mixing ideas and beliefs.[30] Whilst this porosity may have had negative effects for individual devotional freedom, it also had a positive side. Acts of 'spiritual sociability' such as praying together and reading the Bible at home within the family could reinforce religion practised in church and publicly within the community.[31]

Recent research has contributed to a new conceptualization of the early modern home, across confessions, as a 'sacred space' in and of itself. Traditionally, the literature on sacred spaces has largely ignored the home. In their introduction to a 2005 volume on sacred spaces in medieval and early modern Europe, Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton observed that when investigating sacred spaces, historians have tended to focus on the study of the "law, geography and architecture of sacred spaces rather than how they were defined. Studies have thus focussed not on rites and the practice of prayer, [...] but rather on ecclesiastical buildings and shrines."[32] This skewed approach results from the far more substantial documentation on institutional religious and secular buildings. Even while highlighting this problem, the volume in question omitted the home as a sacred space. Yet, recent research has built a solid case for reintegrating the home into the field. The 2006 exhibition *At Home in Renaissance Italy* held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, revealed a deeper understanding of the meanings associated with the use of spaces and the ownership of objects, by raising questions about everyday domestic practices and investigating the home from a multidisciplinary perspective.[33] Here, Margaret Morse showed that "religious observance persisted and thrived in the residence of all social levels through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and expressed itself in a variety of visual formats."[34] Morse concluded

> no longer can the Renaissance *casa* be considered secular space; rather, it was a complex environment, situated at the intersection of public and private, individual and communal, spiritual and worldly, as were the sacred objects that both emerged from and informed this sphere.[35]

Most recently, attention has been drawn to the Catholic home as a 'sacred space' by a trio of publications and an exhibition arising from a research project at the University of Cambridge. *The Sacred Home in the Italian Renaissance* co-written by Abigail Brundin, Deborah Howard and Mary Laven studies the household as a site of lived religion.[36] The authors primarily focus on three regions unfamiliar to Anglophone scholars: the prosperous and potentially heterodox towns of the Venetian *terraferma*, or mainland territories; the vulnerable but choosy inhabitants of the Marches on the Adriatic coast; and the vibrant, pious, contradictory city of Naples. Working across disciplines – history, literary studies and art history – they delved into a variety of sources, including visual and material evidence and drew on unusual archival records, such as pawn lists. For the authors, the Renaissance was the age of miracles, and the beating heart of Italian Renaissance religion was the home, not the church. Two complementary edited volumes of essays on *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy* and *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World* showcase the most recent research into the variety and vibrancy of spiritual beliefs and practices that shaped family life, including examinations of music, images, objects, prayer, gender, family and space.[37]

Finally, we should emphasize that not all early modern domestic spheres were equal. A home of a peasant or artisan would have been very different from that of a nobleman or noblewoman who may have had a private chapel. The Church's involvement in these spheres varied accordingly. Evidence abounds, for example, of the tension between the Church and pious wealthy laity, who wished to institute their own household altars and private oratories.[38] The convent and monastery, too, acted as 'home' to thousands of individuals in this period, reflecting myriad aspects of private devotional beliefs and practices. One of the most striking practices to emerge was that of nuns in Germany and Italy who created highly emotional relationships with Jesus dolls, which they kept within their bedrooms.[39] Thus, the domestic sphere as sacred space must also be seen through its many permutations.

Research perspectives: domestic agency and lived religion

As the historiographical survey shows, the view that Protestantism alone led to the 'spiritualization of the home' no longer holds steady. Scholarly studies both from across the period and of different geographical and confessional areas have shown the variety of ways in which the early modern home could act as a religious space. Current interest in lived religion, however, provides fertile ground for new research, and the domestic sphere continues to be vital to this pursuit. Social and cultural approaches to the history of religion since the 1960s and 1970s have directed interest towards lived experience and sought to investigate forms of practice and belief away from ecclesiastical and theological prescription. Historians interested in non-elites, 'history from below' and the history of 'popular culture' have transformed the history of religion to include unorthodox lay beliefs and devotional experiences.[40] Furthermore, building on sociology and anthropology, historians have shown how religion in the early modern period was not only about inner beliefs but also consisted of practices that used images and objects as tools.[41] In searching for evidence of lived religion, investigations have touched upon the domestic sphere.[42] Until now, however, studies have rarely been explicit about the relationship between the two. Further work remains to be done to understand the particular nature of religion in the domestic sphere and how it shaped and was shaped by this public–private environment.

The foundations for investigating how the home had agency in religious experience have been laid by art historians and archaeologists as a by-product of research aiming to dispel the

myth of Protestant 'visual anorexia' during the period.[43] Many studies into the visual and material aspects of Protestantism have focused on images, objects and edifices in the domestic environment. Tara Hamling's study of the homes of wealthy Protestants in seventeenth-century Britain revealed not only numerous instances of Protestant visual culture but also how these artefacts determined the religious experience of the home's inhabitants. A plasterwork depiction of the Tree of Jesse on a ceiling in the Butterwalk home of the Puritan Mark Hawkings in Dartmouth (*c.*1635–1640) sets 35 pairs of eyes staring down at the room's occupants with "the ambiguous unblinking gaze of inanimate sculpture".[44] Hamling argues that the presence of these eyes had a psychological effect on the room's occupants, creating the feeling of being watched (ultimately by God) from above.

Such household fittings served as reminders to live by moral codes and prompted pious behaviour. Stove tiles depicting martyrs, discovered amongst archaeological remains of the Reformation, also encouraged viewers to dwell on the blazing heat of martyrs' last moments.[45] Soft furnishings embellished with detailed needlework of religious imagery and motifs reminded inhabitants daily of the need to live piously. The act of making them was part of a performance of piety and diligence that was in line with prescriptive Protestant household literature.[46] Across Europe, fruit trenchers, windows, cutlery and ceramics bearing inscriptions might also draw attention to religious morals and ideals, contributing to a 'speaking environment' that was designed to educate, entertain and stimulate the family and visitors in pious learning and behaviour.[47] Further, these items were involved in establishing complex religious identities. For example, imagery on Delftware tied Reformation histories to an international framework.[48] Objects such as coral or amber prayer beads or *prie-dieu* could also create a highly sensory environment for religious practice.[49] In all these examples, the material and visual nature of the home and its contents had physical and psychological agency on domestic devotion. The home was thus not just a frame for religious life, but shaped the way in which inhabitants might experience religious practice.

Research into how religion and the home were mutually constitutive continues to be productive. We might consider not only how the home had physical agency in religious practices and experiences but also how the home shaped beliefs and spiritual identities. Which elements of religion did men and women choose to bring into the domestic sphere? Did some men and women need religion to be present in the domestic sphere in order for it to feel like 'home'? To gain a deeper understanding of these issues, we suggest the need to employ innovative methodologies and sources. Material and visual evidence can cast an oblique light on devotion in the home and is fundamental to accessing the everyday practices and beliefs of early modern men and women. However, it is most helpful when combined with archival evidence.

The following case studies provide two windows into the homes and the domestic and religious spheres of early modern men and women in sixteenth-century Naples and seventeenth-century Prague. Naples was one of the most important ports in the Mediterranean Sea, the capital of the Spanish Kingdom and the largest city in Europe with 212,000 inhabitants.[50] Thanks to its extraordinary convergence of people, the restructuring of its urban layout and its wide range of religious orders and lay confraternities, Naples is an intriguing, and overlooked, environment for the study of the domestic devotional practices and materiality which characterized the everyday lives of ordinary Catholic men and women. Prague, on the other hand, was a central European capital that acted as the Imperial seat of the Holy Roman Empire since the Habsburg Rudolf II (1552–1612) had brought the court there from Vienna in 1577. A bustling urban centre, by 1600 it had grown to a population of around 70,000, at the highest estimate.[51] Reflecting a long

tradition of religious protest against the Catholicism that flowed from Rome, its inhabitants were primarily Protestant, made up of Utraquists, Bohemian Brethren, Lutherans and Calvinists, although Catholics also populated both court and city.

The case studies go beyond the treatment of the domestic sphere as a mere frame for lay religion and reveal how it fundamentally shaped lived religious experiences. The example from Catholic Naples uses inquisition court cases to examine the fine grain of domestic religious experience. While showing what got people into trouble, inquisition trials also reveal what they should have been doing and – most importantly – what they actually did in this space beyond the immediate reach of the Church. The trials' transcriptions provide valuable clues to the materiality, beliefs and devotional habits of ordinary men and women.[52] The second case study from multiconfessional Prague in 1610 examines a probate inventory listing personal household possessions. It asks what the material register of a home can reveal about beliefs and devotion. A swathe of studies has scoured lists of books and artworks in inventories for evidence of the possession and use of devotional literature and images in the home, and more recently attention has also been paid to predefined religious objects listed in inventories.[53] However, a more holistic approach to examining inventories reveals how devotional practice was shaped by the location and storage of items in the home, by community networks and by the gifting, bequeathing and purchase of objects.[54] These two cases are purposefully diverse in their analysis: they reveal how different evidence can be used to cast light on numerous aspects of domestic religious practice, beliefs and identities.

Case studies: domestic religion in the urban home

Naples

From the 1520s onwards, the number of Naples's inhabitants soared. Since the Spanish dominion of 1503, newcomers to Naples included aristocratic and religious elites as well as non-noble citizens, farmers, artisans, craftsmen and merchants, who were all attracted by the city's economic allure. The rising number of inhabitants, most of whom lived in relative poverty, and the ongoing military expansion within the city, meant that by the mid-sixteenth century Naples's old city centre had to accommodate almost twice the number of people it had originally been built for. Soon, the city centre became the most overcrowded space in early modern Europe, with poor quality, unhealthy and unsafe 'homes' often built on top of existing ones.[55] From the 1530s, parallel to this demographic increase, the religious landscape of Naples also began to change. Religious orders arrived in the city, accounting for the construction of numerous churches, oratories, confraternities and pious institutions.[56]

The history of Counter-Reformation Naples has been told in relation to a simplistic opposition between orthodox and unorthodox behaviour, explored from the perspective of the ecclesiastical authorities and the urban elite.[57] But a study of Neapolitan lived religion within the home needs to integrate the tensions of opposition, resistance and negotiation, and their consequent nuances. Whilst outward practice can be more easily identified and often paints a general picture of religious adherence, there remain many unanswered questions regarding the nature of people's 'actual' beliefs and practices when not in church. Building on the numerous studies of the public, normative characteristics of religious life in sixteenth-century Naples, the following example aims to show that the domestic sphere was a lively space where ordinary people performed their devotional acts in close tie with the

Church teaching. Somewhat unexpectedly, an Inquisition court record targeting improper lay behaviour allows us to glimpse this tight bond between household and official religion.

On 18 April 1580, Martia Penta, 23 years old, "God's most humble servant", hurried to the Inquisitor's vicar of the Roman Inquisition court in Naples to denounce her husband, Giovanni Leonardo d'Urso, a man

> who lives a wicked life and an enemy of God and the Holy Mother Church, [...] and once when the said Giovanni Leonardo was arguing with me, he turned towards *my* images that I keep in the *house*, which are the Crucifix and the Virgin of Mount Carmelo, and he was saying bad words against Our Lady [...].[58]

Martia and Giovanni Leonardo had been married for seven years and had a daughter. Martia's words initiated a trial against Giovanni, accused of blasphemy and irreverence.

Testimonies such as Martia's have not only opened up people's homes and provided access to their devotional 'things' but have simultaneously sparked questions about positive domestic devotion. When not enraged, how did Giovanni Leonardo, together with his wife, use the image of the Virgin and the Crucifix to pray? Did they kneel in front of their religious images and utter prayers? Were the same devotional gestures that informed their devotion in church replicated as part of their domestic practices? Evidence of domestic religious objects, such as the crucifix and the image of the Virgin mentioned in the quoted fragment of Giovanni's trial, not only reveals which objects existed in lowlier sixteenth-century Neapolitan homes but also allows us to gain an insight into everyday domestic devotional experiences, so often omitted from written historical records.

On the same day as her denunciation, the archbishop's vicar kept Martia in for further questioning about her accusations. Martia's responses to the vicar's routine questions reveal further information about the couple's living situation and domestic life. Firstly, Martia noted that they lived "inside the *fondaco de la pietà* at San Giovanni a Carbonara", now destroyed.[59] By the second half of the sixteenth century, *fondaci* were one of the unhealthiest types of housing for the poor and working classes and tended to be self-administered by their inhabitants. The *fondaco* can be associated with a kind of neighbourhood. Its architectural make-up with an inner courtyard, accessible from the street through a covered entryway, and *camere*, or houses, on multiple floors overlooking it aided the creation of a discrete community. Furthermore, people's residences within the *fondaco* sometimes also doubled as their work places. Sixteenth-century Neapolitan households were not built for privacy: thin walls and open windows allowed for a constant interaction between inside and outside. Such interactions were characteristic of the Neapolitan *fondaco*.

Reading through Martia's detailed condemnation, we encounter her description of how Giovanni Leonardo had not wanted yet another crucifix in the house. Later in the trial she explained that she had bought another one anyway because all the other figurines *de creta*, made in ceramics, were old and, Martia said, the crucifix *era bello*, was beautiful. This indicates both that a rather sizeable group of devotional things were present within the home, and shows her personal taste. Martia explained that she had "bought it as she thought the crucifix would help her husband to improve his behaviour", thus signalling the compelling efficacy bestowed upon devotional things by ordinary devotees simply through their existence within the domestic sphere.[60]

The same could be inferred for the other image mentioned by Martia, almost certainly a copy of the miraculous icon that by 1550 already resided, and still resides, in the Church

of the Carmine Maggiore in Naples. It is also addressed by the faithful as *La Bruna*, the dark-skinned Virgin. According to its Byzantine iconographical type, she is identified as the Virgin of Tenderness.[61] Although always an image of great devotion for Naples, its popularity rose during the Jubilee of the year 1500, when a large number of Neapolitans walked to Rome carrying it to be blessed by Pope Alexander VI. During this event, Neapolitans witnessed a great number of miracles, and their devotion to the miraculous painting instantly grew. Although the trial is silent on specific domestic devotional practices related to the image of the Virgin of *La Bruna*, it is clear that reproductions of local miraculous images for worship were to be found in Neapolitan homes. The recognized miraculous power of the prototype located outside in a local church, and therefore sanctioned by the official ecclesiastical body, prompted it to be replicated and kept in Neapolitan households, and therefore inside.

This brief analysis of the Inquisition court record against Giovanni Leonardo d'Urso furthers our knowledge of what it meant to live in one of the least private residential structures, the *fondaco*, in sixteenth-century Naples. It reveals multiple clues as to how ordinary homes acted as spaces for a daily relationship with the sacred. Furthermore, it proves that at its least pious, life was nevertheless constantly framed by devotion.

Prague

Thirty years later and approximately 1,500 kilometres north of Naples, beyond the Alps, the 1610 post-mortem inventory of Jindřich Slepička, a butcher, noted the contents of his property on Long Street in the Old Town of Prague. Unlike the Neapolitan homes of the *fondaco*, this was a large house comprised of two living rooms, a storeroom, a chamber next to the main living room, a large cellar and a kitchen. Furniture and a few cooking pots were listed in the two living rooms while in the chamber next to the main living room eleven chests and boxes full of Jindřich's 'moveable' possessions were itemized, indicating that the contents of the house had already been sorted into storage and moved into this room before the town scribe visited. Plentiful amounts of bedding and clothing (including coats and items made of silk, velvet and leather) were listed as being inside the chamber's chests and further attest to Jindřich's comfortable living. Whilst no family members seem to have been present when the inventory was made, the remnants of family life appear amongst his possessions: children's rings, women's gloves, a woman's belt with silver pieces and four beds. Jindřich's inventory from 1610 acts as a snapshot of one individual's religious world in seventeenth-century Prague. It provides a glimpse of how religious culture not only permeated but was also created in the domestic sphere.

A number of items in the inventory provide clues that indicate Jindřich's religious beliefs and practices. In an "old yellow chest" there was "a Melantrich Bible in folio, 1 Brethren *Kancional* (hymnal), a Czech Ecclesiasticus and some old children's rings".[62] The Bible, hymnal and Ecclesiasticus were the only books amongst Jindřich's possessions. Two of the three books suggest that Jindřich was a Utraquist. The Melantrich Bible in folio was a large illustrated Utraquist Bible in Czech. The heavy tome, measuring between 33 and 39 centimetres in length, was an expensive and precious item.[63] This popular Bible, printed by the Prague printer Jiří Melantrich z Aventina (*c.*1511–1580), went through five editions between 1549 and 1577 and featured images from the workshop of Lucas Cranach and, later, by the Prague-based artists, Florian Abel and Francesco Terzio.[64] The Brethren hymnal provided songs to be sung throughout the whole year, marking the liturgical calendar. These may have been sung individually, in the family setting or perhaps in

a Utraquist singing group.[65] Both these books bound Jindřich's personal devotional practice at home with wider community devotional practices.

The only other book mentioned in Jindřich's household was the Czech Ecclesiasticus, which was a popular pocket-sized volume containing short texts grouped into chapters on everyday themes such as family, children, friendship, death and illness.[66] It advised, for example, in 3:9 "For the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children; but the curse of the mother rooteth out foundations" and in 7:27 "Honour thy father with thy whole heart, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother".[67] Compared to the two larger books, this volume may have been used in a less formal devotional way – to guide moral behaviour in the home.

Not much is known about Utraquist stipulations regarding domestic devotion. However, a number of contemporary publications indicate that it reflected principles in contemporary Protestant and Catholic literature. In Bohemia, the Utraquist Jan Kocín z Kocinétu compiled and published the *ABC of the Pious Wife and Trusty Housekeeper* (Prague, 1585).[68] It brought the two qualities of piety and home-making together and was addressed to women, upholding the woman's subordinate position to the male head of the household. It advised that a good housewife should wake first and go to bed last, and should not only enjoy clothes for their necessity, but for their decoration.[69] In 1618, eight years after Jindřich's death, Matouš Konečný, a 'Bishop' of the more radical Unity of Brethren, published another manual, the *House Preacher* (Hradec nad Labem, 1618). The frontispiece to the 1618 edition (see Figure 22.1) followed the Protestant *Tischzucht* tradition, which depicted the father of the household preaching to his family gathered around the table in prayer.[70] Two large books are on the table, one of which was presumably a Bible and the other a catechism perhaps. Framing the image, clockwise from the top, are the words "Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord" (Psalm 34:11); "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God" (Luke 18:16); and "Fathers, bring your children up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord" (Ephesians 6:4).[71] The ideas in these publications resonate with the patriarchal godly household promoted in Protestant literature, in which the home was an important site of scriptural learning and engagement.

The books in Jindřich's inventory suggest that he made efforts to conduct his household life in accordance with an 'orthodox' Utraquist devotional style, centring on religious education, observance of the liturgical year and moral conduct in the home. However, other devotional objects noted in the inventory suggest his spiritual world extended beyond the parameters of prescribed Utraquist practice. In another small chest with a mirror, the inventory recorded a "beaded Paternoster with eleven silver coins and silver beads" along with accessories including a silver chain, silver knives and belts.[72] Inside this chest was a small, round painted box, in which were "silver *groš* [coins] with fastenings for hanging", "a figure of the Resurrection" and a "paw set in silver" as well as a number of gold rings, a ring set with a yellow stone and an unset Czech garnet.[73]

The paternoster, coin charms, figure of the Resurrection and paw charm indicate a much more varied assemblage of beliefs. The paternoster would normally be associated with Catholic faith, although numerous instances of their possession amongst Utraquist and even Lutheran belongings in inventories in early seventeenth-century Prague have brought this into question.[74] The addition of eleven coin charms to the prayer beads was a common practice, though unlikely to have been a sanctioned practice even in Catholic circles, owing to its indication of belief in the charms to be powerful intermediaries in daily life. The other coin charms and the paw indicate further methods of engagement with divine power

to negotiate the exigencies of daily life.[75] In addition, the figure of the Resurrection perhaps suggests the influence of Catholic devotional practice in Jindřich's home.

The way these items were kept – their groupings and their containers – hint at insights into Jindřich's everyday religious experience. Though the inventory implies the general rearrangement of possessions, the small, ornamented boxes were likely the original containers for his devotional tools. The mirror in the small chest containing devotional and decorative jewellery may have been used to allow the wearer to check their appearance before being seen by others: it reflects a liminal moment between private and public within the home. It can also be tied to the metaphor in Borromeo's *Libretto di ricordi* mentioned above, in which he urged his readers to dwell on his teachings as if looking in the mirror, to cleanse one's soul. Reflecting on the teachings while scrutinizing personal actions, like examining one's appearance wearing a paternoster, marked out time in the day to consider one's own behaviours and meditate upon improving one's virtue.

The small round painted box was a different type of container – perhaps a beautiful item in and of itself. It appears to have contained powerful objects such as the paw amulet and coin charms that could mediate the divine. Approaching this precious container full of tiny treasures, the devotee may have experienced a sense of excitement. To pick out the delicate *groš*, paw or figure of the Resurrection, Jindřich would have had to rifle through the rings, or, in the small chest, to untangle the prayer beads from the belts and knives. The way these delicate items were stored meant particular care would be required when wishing to use them in devotion.

Whilst the domestic sphere has been presented as either a bulwark of prescribed religious practice or as a site of resistance, this inventory suggests a 'via media'. The home acted as a nexus of an individual's spiritual world, which mixed beliefs from across confessions and employed diverse strategies of accessing the divine, for example, through the use of a variety of charms. The home – as a porous but distinct setting for devotional practice – enabled amalgamations of religious beliefs and practices unique to the individual. Aside from the physical ways in which the home had agency to affect religious experience, it also prompted its inhabitants to curate an individual religious and sacred setting that served their unique spiritual sphere.

The empty home called to be filled. Jindřich perhaps bought his religious objects directly from a bookseller, goldsmith or the Church. The acquisition of items involved conscious individual decisions about how to construct the domestic spiritual sphere and personalize devotion. The paternoster prayer beads with the addition of eleven *groš*, for example, were a unique style indicating a personal preference. As with other commodities, religious objects were susceptible to consumer demand. They became a site of material negotiation between the standard intended Church forms and alternative lay priorities. The home generated the need to make choices about constructing devotional settings and acquiring devotional tools. Decisions about how to populate one's home were important – what to spend money on, how to create a devotional space and how to make it one that allowed access to divine power.

Of course, not all items would have been new acquisitions. They may have been inherited and kept for their financial or memorial value, they may have belonged to someone else in Jindřich's family or been given as gifts by someone in the community. These different possibilities reflect the messy reality of the conditions surrounding lived religion. Even if these items were not part of Jindřich's direct and chosen devotional practices, they made up the spiritual sphere in the home with which he had daily contact. They may thus have not only been devotional tools but also items that held memories of family faith or connected Jindřich to the community.

Figure 22.1 Matouš Konečný, *Kazatel Domowný, Frontispiece* (Hradec nad Labem: Martin Kleinwechter, 1618), Národní Knihovna České Republiky Sig. 11,676, © Národní Knihovna České Republiky

Conclusion

The home has been identified as a place of mixture, tension, even 'ambivalence' when regarding religious activity: the presupposition is of a dynamic interplay between polar opposites; either between confessional choices or between religion and non-religion. Indeed, the language in which we talk about religious culture of the past forces us into such dichotomies. However, from an early modern worldview, as we have seen from the analysis of Jindřich's inventory and Martia's testimony against Giovanni, this approach to religious culture in the home needs to be adjusted. The home physically shaped devotional experience through its structures and sensory environment, but it also gave rise to the need

Figure 22.2 Soliani Workshop, *A Family at Their Devotions*, 1650s, © Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria

for individuals to make decisions about populating the domestic sphere with items that enabled them to practise religion and engage with the divine, forming a context for developing one's individual spiritual world. Individual choice is complicated by the interpersonal relationships in the home. Possessions might be inherited, linking the individual to devotional communities across space and generations, or – as in the extreme case of Martia and Giovanni – they might represent individuals' conflicting approaches to religion within the home.

A final image encapsulates the location of the home in the wider view of space and time. Dating from the mid-seventeenth century, a print made by the Soliani workshop in Modena depicts a *Family at Their Devotions* (see Figure 22.2).[76] Divided into three sections and six scenes, the lower scenes show a family group at prayer together in the evening at table, at midday in the fields (although the women are absent and other workers join the group) and in the morning while still in bed. In each case, a cleric tugging on a bell rope indicates their domestic prayer occurs in response to a church bell. In the upper scenes, the devotional focus for each period of prayer is identified in an image and text – the Incarnation, the Passion and the Resurrection. The spaces inside and outside the home are connected literally and figuratively by the cleric hanging onto his rope: family life and the devotional life of the wider community are intimately linked through a shared aural realm. The family is reminded of their obligation to observe and perform daily devotions by the presence of a bell ringer as the sound of the church bells traverses the space between familial and communal places of piety, thus uniting them. The woodcut beautifully represents a symbiotic relationship between the Church and the home, between official teachings and their domestic appropriation in daily life.

This idealistic image reminds us that the domestic sphere was fundamentally 'open' – or rather, that it was 'connected'. It formed a nexus of communities, beliefs and social interactions that all informed the spiritual worlds of its inhabitants. There were ideal ways in which these networks might function according to authorities – through the mnemonic of bells prompting prayer, the distribution of sacred objects blessed in churches used for domestic devotion, the replication of ecclesiastical and liturgical practices or repeated prescription to live piously in text and image. However, evidence of lived religion reveals the messy realities: the happenstance of family relations, neighbours and acquaintances, for instance, that might inform beliefs or shape collections of devotional objects and practices. Individual spiritual spheres were an amalgamation of these coincidences centred in the home.

If we look hard enough, beyond the rhetoric of Reformers and Counter-Reformers, we find the home to be central to lived religion across confessions in this period. Indeed, as repeated scriptural references show, the home was at the heart of Christianity: whether it was in Jesus's instructions to pray with the door shut, the emphasis on the Holy Family or the commandment to love thy neighbour. This leads to a fundamental continuity in religion and the domestic sphere. However, we cannot deny that the transformative effects of confessionalization in this period instituted some differences in domestic devotion through accents and emphases on various religious practices. The explosion of available goods – printed texts, images and objects – made the home a crucial agent that was at the heart of curating individual religious worlds. This was a period not of the spiritualization of the home, for the Christian home was always sacred, but of kaleidoscopic spiritual possibilities.

Notes

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4 Martin Luther, *Small Catechism* (1529), accessed through Project Gutenberg, cf. www.gutenberg.org/, last accessed 21 Aug. 2019.

5 Robert J. Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); although note the wealth of catechisms directed at women in Paula McQuade, *Catechisms Written for Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Children, 1575–1750* (London: Routledge, 2017).

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11 John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe", *Past & Present* 47, 1 (1970), pp. 51–70, quote on p. 68.

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13 Walsham, "Holy Families", pp. 146–60; Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 172–76; Benjamin Kaplan, "Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe", *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), pp.1031–64; Lisa McClain, "Without Church, Cathedral or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559–1625", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002), pp. 381–99.

14 On this point see Walsham, "Holy Families", pp. 146–47.

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19 Giovanni di Dio, *Decor puellarum: zoe honore de la donzelle la quale da regola, forma, e modo al stato de le honeste* (Venice: Magistrum Nicolaum Jenson, 1471), fo. 44r.

20 Di Dio, *Decor puellarum*, fos. 44r and 44v.

21 Carlo Borromeo, *Libretto di ricordi al popolo della città et diocese di Milano dall'illustrissimo si Santa Prassede et Arcivescovo per il vivere cristiano, comunemente a ogni stato di persone, et particolarmente a padre, madri di famiglia, a mastri, o capi di botteghe, et lavoranti* (Milano, 1576).

22 Borromeo, *Libretto di ricordi*, fo. 4r: "non solo per saperli, ma per pratticarli".

23 Borromeo, *Libretto di ricordi*, fo. 4v: "insegnateli ai figlioli vostri: rinnovateli spesso alla loro memoria: attacateli avanti agl'occhi nelle vostre case e boteghe".

24 Borromeo, *Libretto di ricordi*,fo. 4v: "questa raccolta de ricordi sia il specchio, che se ponghino avanti tutte le vostre donne la mattina, e ogni hora, per rivedere, e polire, la faccia dell'anima".

25 Matthew 6, 6.

26 Alexandra Walsham, "Introduction", in Doran, Methuen and Walsham (eds.), *Religion and the Household*, pp. xxi–xxxii.

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60 ASDN, *Fondo Sant'Ufficio*, 464.1578, fo. 1r: "l'ho comperato perché lo aiutasse".
61 For a full investigation on the cult of the Virgin of La Bruna, see Galandra Cooper, "Unlocking Pious Homes".
62 Jindřich Slepička (Old Town, 1610), AHMP 1174, fo. 386v.
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69 Ratajová and Storchová, *Žena*, pp. 288 and 296.
70 Morrall, "The Family", pp. 344–50.
71 Matouš Konečný, *Kazatel Domownj* (Hradec nad Labem: Martin Kleinwechter, 1618). Translations based on the English Standard Version, which is closest to the Czech wording.
72 Jindřich Slepička (Old Town, 1610), AHMP 1174, fo. 387r.
73 Jindřich Slepička (Old Town, 1610), AHMP 1174, fo. 387r: *groš* were small coins that were often used as charms.
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75 Suzanna Ivanič, "Amulets and the Material Interface of Beliefs in Seventeenth-Century Prague Burgher Homes", in Faini and Meneghin (eds.), *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World*, pp. 209–25.
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23

RELIGION AND DOMESTICITY

Tine Van Osselaer and Alexander Maurits

Introduction

Catholics and Protestants assumed that God instituted the family and that it had certain spiritual functions to perform. Neither tradition would have acknowledged that the nature of the family or Christianity had undergone radical changes throughout history.[1]

In 1985, Colleen McDannell addressed changes in Christian perceptions of the home and family in nineteenth-century America. Studying domestic ideology, including the rituals which supported and instilled it as well as its material culture, her book showed how the development of American domestic Christianity was closely entwined with the rise of the middle-class family and consumer culture.[2] The following pages focus on Christian ideas of the home and family in nineteenth-century Europe and touch on similar themes to those discussed by McDannell, including new insights from gender history as well as work on lived religion and material culture. Given the scope of the chapter, this can only be an initial introduction. We cannot discuss the specificity of the different religious contexts and the concomitant variations in the Christian churches and denominations in all European countries.[3] The following will focus primarily on Christian denominations, discussing some trends under the umbrella terms of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant'.[4] Some references to in-depth studies can be found in the endnotes.

Christian ideas about the family were subject to change. While some of the older practices and ideals that prevailed in the previous centuries continued throughout the nineteenth century, some new emphases emerged. Three developments need to be highlighted here: firstly, this was the period of the idealization and sacralization of the family home and family life, and Christian teachings underpinned this sacralization of the nuclear household. Secondly, this greater emphasis on the importance of the family was also apparent in its mobilization and politicizing. Christian families were seen as the cornerstones of a Christian society, and thus time and effort were put into creating good Christian families. Finally, the nineteenth century witnessed important shifts in the processes of production of religious objects, making them cheaper and more readily available for families to purchase. In other words, the material home in which these families lived also changed, with the material setting reflecting and influencing the changes described above.

The cult of domesticity and the Christian family

Sacralization of the home and the family

The nineteenth century was the heyday of the cult of domesticity, the idealization of the home as a calm and safe haven from the hectic and dangerous external world. Christian teachings supported these ideas. John R. Gillis, who has studied the development of the idea of the 'family', its space and rhythm, notes that before the nineteenth century "there was nothing very homey about most houses". They were production and consumption sites, and thus rather crowded and busy. Households were complex constellations that might also accommodate apprentices and servants, who were under the absolute control of the master and mistress.[5] However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the constellation of families had changed, and the houses in which they lived were no longer production centres. This development was more accentuated in industrialized areas and cities compared to rural areas, where conditions still demanded a more traditional way of organizing both household and labour.

In the first few decades of the second half of the nineteenth century, the nuclear family and, by extension, the family home, was set apart as special, or as Gillis argues, "the family became proof of the existence of the divine",[6] and the home had turned into "a sacramental site, complete with the redemptive qualities previously associated with holy places".[7] These changes were first seen in Protestant milieus. In this respect, according to Colleen McDannell, from the start of the nineteenth century, ministers and domestic reformers "promoted the family as a religious institution".[8]

The expansion of this predominantly middle-class domestic ideology has been linked to socioeconomic changes such as the rise of consumption and urban industrialization.[9] However, any emphasis on the novelty of this idealization calls for caution. The idea of the family as a cornerstone of Christian society was not new in the Protestant context. Within Lutheranism, for example, the idea of the three estates was of major importance. It was believed that in order to govern the world, God had established three different estates – Church (*ecclesia*), state (*politia*) and household (*oeconomia*).[10] Of course, the 'household' in this scheme was something broader than what we might mean today by 'family', but during the course of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran idea of the household fitted well with the development of a profound appreciation of the nuclear family. Thus, at the core of Lutheranism there was a theological foundation that could be used by commentators who attempted to proclaim the superiority of the Christian nuclear family.

In John R. Gillis' opinion, Catholics were slightly slower in attributing "a sacred quality to domestic space".[11] For them, "true sanctity lay elsewhere", and while they did bring images of saints and souvenirs of pilgrimages into their homes, this did not give them a sacred aura.[12] The church remained the spatial centre of religious life, and Catholics did not emphasize family worship at home.[13] The turn only took place at the end of the nineteenth century, a pattern similar to the development of the 'Jewish home', which replaced the synagogue as the centre of Jewish life.[14]

The Christian home was an idealized and isolated place that could easily be imbedded in the narrative of separate spheres. The cult of domesticity tallied with an increasing gender differentiation, according to which women were more emotional and sentimental and therefore preferred to remain at home, while their husbands, more rational 'by nature', entered the public world of politics and paid work.[15] Gender differentiation and hierarchy were key words here. In her study of Victorian working-class domestic lives and the limited

amount of time men could spend at home, Megan Doolittle remarks how at this time, "fathers and husbands of almost all social groups were vested with significant authority and power over their wives and children, sanctioned by law, deeply ingrained customs, and in the language of religious discourse".[16] These two aspects – the ideology of separate spheres and the emphasis on men's authority – feature in studies of the nineteenth-century Christian family and, in particular, on 'feminization' and 'patriarchal domesticity'.[17]

Christian teachings underpinned the changing perceptions of the diverse family members and the household in general. The ideal Christian household was a nuclear family that included an 'angelic mother', a Christian father and several children – who were no longer merely thought of as an extra pair of helping hands. The mother, no longer seen as the 'weaker vessel', became the self-sacrificing guardian of the Christian home, responsible for the religious upbringing of her children and her family's observance of Christian practices and norms.[18] The Christian father had a key role as head of the household and as its representative in the public sphere, for example at the ballot box.[19] In an attempt to grasp the father's public responsibilities, his paternal authority and the interaction between the home and the public sphere, Nancy Christie has suggested adopting the term 'patriarchal domesticity', considered as an ideal that was "promoted and fostered by both Protestant and Catholic churches in a polity in which the family was viewed as foundational edifice of the social order".[20]

We will discuss this idea of the Christian family as the cornerstone of Christian society in more detail in the next section. Here, it is important to emphasize two elements: first, although the idealizing images were quite similar, we need to keep in mind that Protestant and Catholic discourses built on two different traditions; and second, we also need to consider the specificity of the historical context and its influence on the domestic ideal. In relation to the first point, within Catholicism, marital status had long been regarded as of lesser rank than religious celibacy.[21] Nonetheless, in the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially from the papal rule of Leo XIII (1878–1903), the ecclesiastical authorities emphasized the importance of the Christian family for the well-being of Christian society.[22] Paul Servais has commented on these papal encyclicals, indicating that "[t]he domestic society shown therein is hierarchical, non-egalitarian, patriarchal, composed of reciprocal but differentiated duties of self – and others – control. In other words, it appears as a bourgeois society [...]". Similarly, changes in the perception of the family also had an effect on the very important idea of the Holy Family within the Catholic context.[23] The ideal of the Nazareth household had already been through some important shifts, but as Hildegard Erlemann has noted, in the nineteenth century, it shed the more complex symbolic layers – such as the integration of other cults – and turned into a petty bourgeois household, with Mary as the good, industrious housewife.[24]

Within the Protestant tradition, marital status, and thus the role of the family, was highly regarded. Martin Luther (1483–1546) was of the opinion that the vast majority of people were destined for a life within wedlock and that only a few people could manage a life of celibacy. Thus, in opposition to the Catholic Church, Luther distanced himself from the idea that marriage was a sacrament. Of course, marriage was part of God's creation, but it was foremost of a worldly order. As a sphere specifically defining sexual relations and safeguarding the Christian upbringing of new generations, marriage was beneficial both to society as a whole and to the individual. From a Lutheran point of view, marriage and household were the cornerstones of society. Thus, with the Reformation and development of Protestant Europe, tasks that had previously belonged to the Church were transferred to the family, which was thought of both as a miniature reflection of the Church and as an

entity that supported worldly rule, that is, perhaps the most essential of the three estates described above. Based on the findings of legal historian John Witte, one could argue that the period discussed in this chapter saw at least three different, and sometimes blurred, discourses on marriage and family. There was the Roman Catholic sacramental view of marriage, the Protestant view of marriage as a mundane but Christian-based order, and the idea that became increasingly prominent after the Enlightenment, which was marriage considered as a contract between equal partners.[25]

Turning to the second point concerning the specificity of the historical context, the ideological and prescriptive emphasis on the family, or rather the ideal bourgeois image of a stay-at-home mother and caring, providing father as the foundation of society and guarantee of social peace was not confined to Christian discourse of the time but was also in line with political discourses.[26] The ideals were not timeless, they gained relevance and were articulated in discussions of contemporary 'problems', such as women's salaried employment, birth psychosis and the lures of socialism.[27] The specificity of different national contexts, for example, seems to have generated two strands of historical discourse and historiography concerning the authority of fathers within the Christian household. On the one hand, as already noted, religious discourse could strengthen a father's authority within the household, considered as a building block in a hierarchically structured Christian society. On the other hand, as scholars working on French anticlericalism have noted, women's piety was regarded as a threat to men's authority. Their loyalty to the Church and clergy was allegedly greater than the obedience they showed their husbands; as such, their religiosity challenged men's authority rather than confirmed it.[28] Women were thereby regarded as 'Trojan horses' of the clergy, as a means of persuading those husbands who had deserted the Church's ranks.[29] This theme of the 'religious dimorphism' of the marital couple primarily appears in descriptions of nineteenth-century France and, albeit not being completely absent, is not as obvious in the historiography of other countries.[30]

Nevertheless, in studies of other countries an increasing emphasis on mothers as the guardians of their family's piety and morality is also attributed to societal changes. In the Swedish context, for example, the description of the role of men within the household underwent important shifts. As alcoholism increased at the beginning of the nineteenth century to become one of the most severe threats to the stability of society at large and to individual families in particular, the role and responsibilities of women as key figures in maintaining the religious and moral status of the family increased.[31] However, as we will explain in the following sections, the Christian home was certainly not seen as being isolated from the rest of the world, rather as ideally functioning as a building block of Christian society.

Family initiatives

The increasing idealization of home and family was stimulated by and also supported Christian initiatives focusing on the family. In this period, new organizations developed that centred on families, or rather good Christian families. The ideal was not self-evident, and at times families needed some encouragement to meet the religious standards required. The clergy and the rapidly developing new Christian movements were there to help them on their way. Christian homes were regarded as the cornerstones of a stable Christian society, and thus the time and effort invested in them was considered to have a positive impact on society at large.[32] This emphasis should be linked to the social mutations taking place in nineteenth-century Europe. Cities were booming and industrialization and improved

agricultural techniques had resulted in migration to the industrial areas. The population growth in the cities became a concern of the churches, which feared that the parish structures could not cope with this new situation and that the urban masses did not care about the Church's ideas on marriage.[33]

The Catholic Church initially appealed to the Catholic nobility and bourgeoisie, who became important partners in promoting Catholic family ideals. Concerned by political events in Rome (the siege of the Papal States, 1859–1870) and Paris (Parisian Revolution 1848 and Commune 1870–1871), these elite laypeople were convinced that the world as they knew it was in danger. To guarantee social stability, family life and ideals such as the bourgeois Catholic family and the authority of the *paterfamilias* were to be promoted. These elite laypeople appealed to a combatant Catholic press and a network of paternalistic organizations. The Brussels branch of the Society of Saint Jean-François Régis, for example in 1837, promoted marriage among the poor and attempted to legalize their illegitimate children.[34]

Historians working on such Catholic initiatives have primarily addressed these within specific national contexts, although many of the newly developing movements echoed initiatives in other countries and were part of an international network. One of the best-known initiatives was the Confraternity of the Holy Family, created by a Dutch officer, Henri Belletable, in Liège (Belgium) in 1844, which also became immensely popular in the Netherlands (active from 1851). The movement focused on the lower classes and aimed at stimulating family life through common prayer.[35] Interest in the Nazareth family increased in the 1880s, when new threats, such as industrial and financial capitalism, the individualism of liberalism and collectivism of socialism were – at least in the eyes of the Pope – endangering family values and, by extension, the stability of society. Pope Leo XIII had emphasized the importance of the family for the stability of society in his encyclicals *Arcanum Divinae Sapientiae* (1880) and *Rerum Novarum* (1891), and explicitly promoted movements in honour of the Holy Family in his *Neminem fugit* (1892).[36] As Peter Jan Margry has noted in relation to the Dutch case, the new family-oriented initiatives, such as the archconfraternity of the Holy Family, also reflected the 'devotionalization' of the period – the rise of extra-liturgical practices, with similar organizations introducing devotional practices into the home rather than in a church setting, such as family prayers.[37]

It was not only the female members of the family that participated in the Dutch movement.[38] While the participation rate may have been somewhat lower in the larger, more secularized cities, "the participation of families was of a high level, and included family members of both sexes and all ages".[39] As Bernhard Schneider has noted in relation to the German movement "every family should indeed become a holy family".[40] The Belgian bishops also supported the Association of Christian Families dedicated to the Holy Family. They were most probably influenced by the workers' strikes in the Walloon industrial area in the 1880s and believed that by promoting the Nazareth family as a workers' family, the workers would come to terms with their existence.[41] In line with this idealization of the family and domestic religious practices, the Belgian bishops also promoted family prayer, parental blessing and the placing of a crucifix in a position of honour in the home.[42] Such religious practices expressed and contributed to the ideals of the Christian home and family.

Similar initiatives centred on the Sacred Heart devotion. This practice, focusing on the bleeding and burning heart of Jesus – as a symbol of his love of humankind – had become very popular in the second half of the nineteenth century and inspired various devotional movements and public ceremonies, such as the consecration of nations and regions to the Heart of Jesus – not seldom marked by the public erection of a statue in its honour. By the

end of the century, the devotion had become more family-oriented and, from the 1880s onwards, the Jesuit order – one of the main promoters of the cult – encouraged the consecration of families to the Sacred Heart.

The family aspect was not so difficult to emphasize as it had been part of the visions of Marguerite Maria Alacoque, the seventeenth-century Visitandine nun from Paray-le-Monial, whose visions inspired the modern inception of the cult. The second promise allegedly made to her by the Sacred Heart referred to the peace it would bring to Christian families. The efforts increased in 1889 when Father Ramière regarded the centenary of the declaration of the *Droits de l'homme* as an occasion to declare the rights of God, not through the individual but through the family, as the foundation of society. In the consecration ceremony, a family would dedicate itself to Jesus' Sacred Heart.[43] Apart from these new movements and rituals, older and more clergy-centred monitoring strategies remained in vogue as well. Pastoral visits, for example, remained an important means for the clergy to control the behaviour of the faithful.[44] In the Netherlands these visits occurred on a regular basis and were taken seriously, as they were considered necessary to help Catholic families maintain their faith amidst the dangers of Protestantism.[45]

The initiative to safeguard the Christian faith of the family was not only confined to the Catholic parts of Western and Northern Europe. In Protestant areas of Germany, there were efforts to re-establish a domestic spiritual milieu that at the time was only upheld in Pietist families and in the families of the pastor. According to Lucian Hölscher, who has written extensively on religious socialization in Protestant Germany, there were, for example, attempts made during the 1850s to revitalize family prayers.[46] Within the Protestant churches of the Scandinavian countries, an increased emphasis on the religious practices of the household can be seen as a consequence of the Awakening movements that were so important for these societies during the course of the nineteenth century. In the case of Denmark, the importance of domestic devotional life in Awakened circles has been fittingly characterized by Enggaard Stidsen, who writes that in the daily life of Awakened families prayers and hymn singing had their natural place:

> Morning prayers were said in home and school, grace before and after the meals, evening prayers in bed led by the children's mother and the devotion on Sunday afternoon, where the housefather read the sermon of the week from the Huspostille, and where one or more hymns were sung.[47]

Worship within the domain of the household was also common among religiously inclined people in Norway. Here, all family members and servants had to be present at the daily devotions led by the father of the family. These gatherings consisted of a reading from the catechism or other devotional books (e.g. collections of sermons, New Testament) and the singing of hymns (inherited from the Lutheran Reformation).[48] As we will see below, this kind of arrangement of devotional life within the family was also strong in many parts of Sweden throughout the nineteenth century. As a consequence of different revival movements, both within the established Church and within new denominations, one could argue that the role of the religiously conscious family increased during the period. As emphasized above, the ideological and theological foundations that supported a strict domestic religious life were not new, and this old religious tradition seems to have had a resurgence during the nineteenth century. However, this resurgence was most accentuated in ecclesiastical contexts that were inclined to a more Low Church ecclesiology.

In the case of devotional life in the Swedish context, Anders Jarlert speaks in terms of an "ecclesiastical shift". According to Jarlert, the consequence of the dissolution of the traditional household was increased privatization, in which a shared and collective religious custom was transformed into an individualized custom. The shift was supported by such measures as the erection of new or restored church buildings or new ecclesiastical books. In relation to the piety of the family, Jarlert points to a shift in the communion customs among married couples. While husband and wife may have previously attended communion together, revivalist movements contributed to changing this, such that the spouses "separated themselves from each other in the public religious life". This was one of many signs of the shift from religion as a collective undertaking to a more individualized approach, and of course this shift also had its effects in the private domain.[49]

However, conservative theologians in Lutheran countries such as Germany and Sweden attempted to counteract this incipient move towards a more individualized religion, along with the implications that this had for domesticity.[50] In a different kind of prescriptive theological literature, it was obvious that the father should hold the primal spiritual position within the household. Of course, the wife could take on the role of spiritual family leader, but this was not as common as has been stated by scholars who tend to emphasize 'the feminization thesis'. Taking as an example the leading Church of Sweden theologians from the neo-orthodox group that became known as the Lund High Church Movement, it becomes obvious that the family was considered a reflective microcosm of the Church. Within the private domain of the family, the father had a role similar to that of the pastor in the parish.[51] There was a strong emphasis on the father of the house safeguarding the religious well-being of his family. As noted above, this mirrored the strong conviction based on the Lutheran ideology of the three estates that the estate of the household (*oeconomia*) was the domain of the father of the house. As was also the case within other denominations, the family home became the place of religious rituals. John Gillis, for example, points out that while baptism had been a community matter, it now became home-centred, "and by 1900 Christian confirmation and the Jewish bar mitzvah were such major family occasions that religious authorities began to worry that they were losing their religious meaning".[52]

Anders Jarlert concludes that the nineteenth century was marked by a "tremendously widened associational activity", which was also occurring within the ecclesiastical sphere. Across Europe, pious associations were being established in a previously unseen number. As the examples above have shown, religious associational initiatives in Catholic countries were strongly church-oriented. Within Protestant countries, these kinds of activities – even those aimed at fostering the position of the Christian family – were to be found within different awakening movements that often had a rather critical attitude to the established Church.[53] In addition to Jarlert's findings, it could be argued that the initiatives concerning the domestic sphere and the Christian family should be seen within the context or as a part of these previously unseen associational activities and the ongoing reform of piety that, regardless of confession, was a characteristic mark of the nineteenth century.

Research perspectives: gender, 'lived religion' and material culture

The previous section has shown how the ideal of the Christian home and family as the cornerstone of society was reinvented in the nineteenth century, with angelic motherhood and patriarchal authority being supported and promoted for various reasons within different confessions and denominations. Scholars working on the sacralization of the home and family and its interactions with Christian teachings have noted how this new ideal was

reflected in and performed/created through a changing discourse (for example a focus on the 'angelic mother'), new practices (for example home baptisms rather than communal events) and material culture including the creation of family shrines in the home and the increased distribution of ecclesiastical books. Three strands of research seem to have been of particular importance in the development of this field: the feminization thesis, studies on fatherhood and domestic religion with, more specifically, its material culture.

The concept of 'the feminization of religion' was first introduced by Barbara Welter in 1974 in her work on American Protestantism.[54] This thesis implies a close connection between women and religion. Taken up by scholars working on other national and denominational contexts, 'feminization' has developed into a container term that refers to changes in religious practices and discourse. Two aspects of these changes are of importance here. Firstly, 'feminization' could be used to denote a softening of the religious content and to refer to perceptions of femininity, or, as argued by Welter, "[t]hus it entered a process of change whereby it became more domesticated, more emotional, more soft and accommodating – in a word, more 'feminine'".[55] This 'feminization' of content suggests gender stereotyping: femininity is thought to entail emotionality and sentimentality. This shift has been linked to a perceived quantitative feminization: it has been argued that there was an increasing focus on these aspects because the religious discourse was intended for a female audience who were still loyal to the Church and clergy (in contrast to the male audience that was allegedly leaving the Church).[56] The other important aspect here is 'discursive feminization'. This refers to gender constructions in which femininity and religiosity were closely entwined in the idealization of women's domestic role as the angelic guardians of the Christian home.[57]

Due to this focus on angelic mothers, an interest in 'Christian fatherhood' (if not reduced to 'home heathens') only developed slowly.[58] Criticism of different aspects of the feminization thesis and its implications for men's religion heightened interest in this theme.[59] An important volume to mention here, one that questions the emergence of 'separate spheres' and also emphasizes the public potential of the Christian household, is Nancy Christie's *Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760–1969*. The family, as Christie argues, was "a decidedly political terrain, an arena from which broader social and cultural forces were never entirely absent, but which was both complementary of and fundamental to the interest of Church and state".[60] As noted above, she developed the concept of 'patriarchal domesticity' to capture this dynamic between the family, state and Church levels and to denote the important role that fathers had to play on all levels.

Another important book that must be mentioned here is John Tosh's *A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. Working with private records and didactic texts, Tosh deals with a period that he considers "the climax of domesticity", approximately between 1830 and 1880. According to Tosh, there was a strong link between masculinity and domesticity, and this link had strong religious support. In addition to orthodox Christian beliefs, Tosh describes evangelicalism, which importance in Victorian England cannot be overestimated, as "essentially a *domestic* religion".[61] Tosh also elaborates on fatherhood as part of Victorian middle-class masculinity and the father's role as a spiritual and moral authority within the household. However, in this regard, paternal authority was vulnerable, and during the nineteenth century, mothers were to a larger extent depicted as the spiritual and moral guardians of the family.[62] Also of importance is the anthology, *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*. In their introduction, the editors Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers, highlight the relationship between family, fatherhood and

religion in Victorian England, emphasizing the analogy between the godly Father and his earthly counterparts.[63]

Finally, studies on domestic religion have drawn the attention of scholars to other aspects of the Christian home: a family's 'lived religion' and its material culture. The nineteenth century witnessed the development of the mass production of devotional objects and prints, which lowered their cost and enhanced their circulation. Such devotional objects existed in older traditions, but the modern production processes made their creation easier and cheaper. Scholars working on Dutch Catholicism, for example, have noted a shift around the 1880s, when plaster and porcelain statues entered homes that previously had been primarily been decorated with inexpensive devotional prints.[64] Mass-produced objects reflected the rising popularity of new shrines such as Lourdes and the popularized devotions such as the Sacred Heart. While these changes in production process and their thematic emphasis have long drawn the attention of historians, interest in the use of the objects, their meaning and circulation has developed somewhat more slowly. This approach promises important new insights.

As Alastair Owens and Nigel Jeffries have noted in their research on domestic material culture, the micro-historical perspectives and the study of everyday life are necessary "in order to recover the agency of marginalized peoples and the complexity of their lived experiences".[65] The material aspects of domestic religious practices and the home as a place of Christian socialization have primarily been addressed in studies on the Victorian home in Britain and the US.[66] The neglect is partly due to the fact that, although the material turn in religious history took place in the 1970s and 1980s, most scholars still prefer texts and illustrations over objects.[67] While it has been an important issue in studies of contemporary religious beliefs (for example migrant communities creating a home away from home and home altars), in historical work on nineteenth-century Europe a focus on material culture has not yet become a dominant trend.

It is not that there has been a complete silence on the topic. As early as 1995, Colleen McDannell remarked in her work on religion and popular culture in the US: "People learn the discourses and habits of their religious community through the material dimension of Christianity [...] The symbol systems of a particular religious language are not merely handed down, they must be learned through doing, seeing, and touching."[68] She argues that the material aspects had long been ignored because the "dualist notion of sacred and profane" privileged "certain expressions of religion over others, but also because it has been associated with certain kinds of people".[69] Families did not necessarily make a distinction between "religious pictures as ornamentation, devotional focus, or instructional media".[70]

This material culture had profound and characteristic confessional marks. The religious objects on display could indicate denominational affiliation; for example, holy water fonts and statues of the Sacred Heart in Catholic homes or the busts of Wesley in Methodist homes. Several authors working on Catholic examples have addressed the use of these objects in the home.[71] Diplomas of affiliation and other marks of belonging (e.g. devotional images) served as material signs of a family's commitment to a Catholic movement (such as the Holy Family movement discussed above). These objects reminded them of their promise and marked the family as Catholic for all visitors to see.[72] Similarly, the Redemptorist order promoted the devotion to the Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary for the conversion of sinners and thereby encouraged the faithful to observe this devotion through religious practices in the home (for example praying the rosary, Marian month of May) and creating a domestic shrine, an altar, for Mary.[73]

While we might find similar uses across denominations, it is important to contextualize each object if we want to understand its meaning and value. Most of the studies that have addressed the material aspect of religious domesticity focus on a specific national context. Nonetheless, they also acknowledge the transnational aspect in the developments of the material culture. Fred Van Lieburg, for example, has studied the introduction of the Christmas tree into Dutch Protestant families around 1850. He describes it as to "some extent [...] the result of anti-Catholic sentiment toward the nationally wide-spread public celebrations of St Nicholas on the fifth of December, on which parents surprised their children with presents". A Protestant minister, Heldring, appreciated the family-centred nature of the feast. Through his contacts with wealthy German families, he was introduced to a similar ritual around a Christmas tree and, fond of the idea, included it in his programme of "interior mission and religious pedagogy". The idea of children's Christmas celebrations also caught on in lower-class families through Sunday Schools, as well as becoming a central point of attraction in shopkeepers' commercial campaigns.[74]

Religious rituals contributed to the creation of Christian families and confirmed their hierarchical order. It was no coincidence that it was the *paterfamilias* who was the voice of his family in prayer. Family ties were also confirmed through religious objects. McDannell has studied domestic shrines – for example the combination of religious objects and family pictures – in Catholic and Protestant homes and states that these home altars were not merely a way of displaying and strengthening the relationship with divine characters. They also illustrated the ways in which family members interacted with one another; for example, some of the objects might be handed down from generation to generation, or a picture of a family member in need might be put close to the religious image (or removed completely if they were out of favour).[75] The creation and maintenance of these domestic shrines were primarily the task of women (who were excluded from public devotional leadership). According to Bernhard Schneider, who has studied nineteenth-century German Catholicism, these domestic altars built bridges between private and public devotion, resembling altars in churches.[76] These domestic altars have been a point of particular interest in work on immigrant communities and their choice of honouring their own saints and traditions at home.[77]

The manufacture of religious objects did not peak in Protestant Europe to the same degree that it did in the Catholic regions, the exception being printed books and pamphlets within preferentially Low Church revivalist and Awakening movements. Due to new printing procedures, beautiful books and pamphlets were spread on a magnitude not previously seen. In Protestant areas of Germany, the nineteenth century saw the revitalization of the postil genre by conservative Lutherans, such as, for example, Claus Harms (1778–1855) and Wilhelm Löhe (1808–1872). In addition to postils and devotional books including Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ*, a great number of prayer and meditation books "were being edited and read".[78] The nineteenth century was also the period of Lutheran revival. In Germany, Luther's family Bible again became important, and in Sweden, "the writings of Martin Luther were translated, published and read to hitherto unprecedented extent".[79] This was part of a larger trend within Protestantism as a whole, and especially within the evangelical branch, aided by several innovations within the printing industry, which made it easier and less expensive to distribute devotional and ecclesiastical books, pamphlets and spiritual papers.[80] The Protestant context lacked many of the religious artefacts so important within Catholic spirituality, but beautiful and richly illustrated books and printed material such as posters with spiritual motifs seem to have filled this gap. To take Sweden as an example, the Swedish Bible Society had 250,000 copies of

the complete Bible, and almost as many copies of the New Testament, printed during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. As argued above, this richness of printed spiritual material had consequences for devotional life within families.

The houses of 'saintly' people: memorial culture

The interest in material culture and lived religion also developed in another strand of research on religious history, one that has less to do with the idealization of the family and more to do with the sacralization of sites within Catholic culture.[81] In particular, it concerns popular perceptions of sanctity and the "sedimentation of charisma",[82] meaning that charismatic people were still felt to be present in the places in which they once dwelled.

The nineteenth century was not only the heyday of the cult of domesticity but also the era in which most stigmatics (the men and women who carried the wounds of the crucified Christ) were reported. As Nicole Priesching and Paula Kane demonstrate, a new type of stigmatic developed in the nineteenth century, primarily involving young lay women. As many of these stigmatics displayed the wounds of Christ at regular intervals (on Fridays), they attracted the curious and faithful who wanted to see them live through Christ's Passion. Because they did not live in a cloistered environment, as had a previous generation of stigmatics, they could indeed be visited and seen, and their homes became places of pilgrimage.[83] In her article on three famous cases of stigmatics (Anne Catherine Emmerick, Louise Lateau and Therese Neumann), Paula Kane shows that while these women fit some of the expectations concerning women and were prototypical examples of suffering and purity, their stigmata and the attention they triggered also disturbed the Catholic feminine domestic ideal type. While they remained at home, their houses were invaded by outsiders, and thus, certainly, they were no quiet havens. Furthermore, their stigmata brought them into the centre of attention and gave them a certain authority, which did not concur with ideas of humbleness and obscurity.[84]

What happened to these homes after the demise of the stigmatic, when there was no longer a special body to be seen? Some of these homes were in fact used in the campaigns to elevate them to the level of sainthood (some of them had been regarded as 'living saints' during their lifetime). In a combination of musealization (in which objects and sites are laden with museum-like qualities) and sacralization (the site and objects set apart as special), collections of former belongings of the stigmatic were put on display. In the case of Anne Catherine Emmerick, for example, her belongings were gathered together about 50 years after her death and exhibited in the house where she had lived. When it became clear that the house could not be bought, her promoters built the Emmerick House, with a museum-like room onto which one of the rooms in which she had actually lived was later added (including all of the woodwork and windows, with the door intact and even the wall coverings, which were packed up and reused at the new location). Thus, the houses and rooms in which the stigmatics had lived became places of remembrance and prayer, keeping their *fama sanctitatis* alive.[85]

Lived religion in nineteenth-century Sweden

The unique and personal source material available in the ethnographical collections of the Church History division at Lund University provides a comprehensive picture of the lived religion of ordinary people throughout Sweden from the second half of the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. The collection is based on 5,500 interviews with people born

during the latter half of the nineteenth century regarding their religious customs. The interviews are semi-structured, and the questionnaire used by the students and the researcher who undertook the interviews during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s includes questions on religious life and practices within the private domain. For example, the respondents were asked what kind of devotional literature they had, such as postils, which were read in their homes; how the family celebrated major holidays such as Christmas and Easter; if there was a religious home culture including family prayers; and if so, the customs that were observed and what forms of reading and singing occurred. Furthermore, the interview included more detailed questions about whether meals on family occasions were accompanied by hymn singing, if there were certain customs in the home after attending the Sunday service at the local church, and if these Sabbath customs included, for example, readings of postils. While other researchers have used this ethnographic collection, a comprehensive and thorough investigation of this rich source of material is still lacking. The 5,500 interviews offer insights into the spiritual life of nineteenth-century Sweden and also show the variation between different regions and ecclesiastical traditions. As yet, the domestic sphere, and its material aspects, as a religious arena has not been discussed in relation to this valuable source material.

Taking family prayers as an example, it would be interesting to see what the three respondents from the small rural parish of Finnekumla (the diocese of Gothenburg) thought about their religious socialization within the domain of the household. One of the three informants – a woman born in 1883 – told her interviewer that there was no time for family prayers in the morning but that the family came together to pray in the evenings. During this gathering, her paternal grandfather read from the Bible or from a postil (probably Luther or Arndt) and her paternal grandmother sang hymns. Before going to bed, all family members individually prayed the Pater Noster at their bedsides.[86] The second informant – a male cottager born in 1884 – also emphasized that there was no time for family prayers in the mornings but that his mother read from different devotional literature (probably by Magnus Friedrich Roos) and sang hymns in the evenings. It is not clear whether the entire family came together during these gatherings.[87] The information given by the third informant from the parish of Finnekumla – a woman born in 1889 – might even be used as proof of 'the feminization thesis'. According to her response, the women in the family upheld the religious customs, with joint prayers in the morning and the evening. The men in the family did not participate on a regular basis. In addition, her mother read devotional books written by the above-mentioned Magnus Friedrich Roos.[88]

Conclusion

We identified three important characteristics of the nineteenth century: there was an increasing idealization of the family, the mobilization of this ideal for different causes, and changes in the production of religious objects and texts (lowering the costs and thus making them available to a larger public). In religious history, therefore, the family home can be looked at from three perspectives: first, as a material setting for religious practices; second, as a religious ideal (the home as a safe haven) and third, as a lived reality: the Christian home and family as something people created through, for example, practices and decorations.

As demonstrated in this chapter, the sacralization of the family went hand in hand with the changing perceptions of family members. The Christian home – in line with the separate spheres ideology and hierarchically structured – consisted of an angelic and self-sacrificing mother who took care of her husband and children and a Christian father who

provided for his family and upheld the role as *persona publica*, that is, represented the family at the ballot box. Such idealized images were promoted in family-oriented Christian movements that stressed the importance of the Christian family as cornerstone for a Christian – and stable – society. The Christian family was not just a trope used in idealizing discourse, the ideal got more concrete contours in the family-oriented religious practices that developed and the material culture that surrounded these.

Given the multiple views on the Christian family, historians can gather new insights from different strands of research ranging from work on the feminization of religion and its ideals of angelic motherhood, studies on domestic fatherhood and recent work on the materiality of domestic religion. Whilst summary overviews like these build on the descriptions of more general evolutions, some caveats need to be added. First of all, the novelty of this focus on good Christian families should not be overemphasized. Within the Protestant context the idea of the family as cornerstone of Christian society was not new. What changed were the ways in which and the goals for which this ideal was activated. Secondly, even though the changes and evolutions with Catholic and Protestant seem similar, the parallels should not be overestimated as the initiatives and discourses built on different traditions. Finally, none of these evolutions can be fully understood without taking the specificity of the historical contexts into account. The increasing stress on good Christian families needs to be put in perspective of the dangers contemporaries perceived. The ideals gained relevance against the backdrop of the 'threats' of industrialization, increasing mobility, the individuality of liberalism and the collectivism of socialism.

At the dawn of modernity, it also seems as if the mobilization of the Christian family became an important tool – or rather bulwark – for churches and revivalist movements in order to neutralize trends in society that threatened the established Christian religion. This development was seen in all parts of Western and Northern Europe, and to some extent it helped reactivate the Christian churches and denominations.

Notes

1 Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 1.

2 McDannell, *The Christian Home*, p. 9.

3 On the differences in Catholicism, see e.g. Alfonso Pérez-Agote (ed.), *Portraits du catholicisme: Une Comparaison européenne* (Rennes: Presses de Rennes, 2012); Karel Dobbelaere and Alfonso Pérez-Agote (eds.), *The Intimate: Polity and the Catholic Church, Laws about Life, Death and the Family in So-called Catholic Countries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015); for a good introduction to the national differences see the Kadoc series of volumes on *The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Europe, 1780–1920*, 4 vols (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010–2017).

4 The focus is on Christian denominations; whenever possible we will make comparisons. For general introductions to this topic see Nancy Christie, *Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760–1969* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Tine Van Osselaer and Patrick Pasture (eds.), *Christian Homes: Religion, Family and Domesticity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014).

5 John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and Quest for Family Values* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 32.

6 Gillis, *A World*, p. 71–72.

7 Gillis, *A World*, p. 116.

8 Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 75. The trend is also noted by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, who state that there was a "preoccupation with the domestic as a necessary basis for a good Christian life" within the influential British middle class. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family*

Fortunes: Men and Women in the English Middle Class, 1780–1850 [1987] (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 450. In the case of nineteenth-century England, historian John Tosh has also emphasized that there was "a heavy emphasis on the family" among all Christian denominations during the period. See John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 149.

9 Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 2, 5.

10 John Witte, *Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 7, 93, 100–01, 109–10.

11 Gillis, *A World*, p. 126.

12 Colleen McDannell has pointed to a similar delay in her work on the Christian home in Victorian America. While a Protestant idealization of the sacredness of the family developed in antebellum America, a similar Catholic ideology only developed in the 1870s. See McDannell, *The Christian Home*, p. xv. She linked this to the slow rise of the Irish in the American middle class and the strong parish life, among other events.

13 McDannell, *The Christian Home*, p. 85.

14 Gillis, *A World*, p. 126.

15 A differentiation based on perceived medical, anthropological and psychological findings. Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Christianity and the Making of the Modern Family* (London: SCM Press, 2001), pp. 83, 103–04; Joan B. Landes, "The Public and the Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration", in Landes (ed.), *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 136–63; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

16 Megan Doolittle, "Time, Space, and Memories", *Home Cultures* 8, 3 (2011), pp. 245–64 (250).

17 We will discuss these in more detail under the second section, "Gender, 'lived religion' and material culture".

18 Roger Magraw, *France, 1800–1914: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 171; Hazel Mills, "Negotiating the Divide: Women, Philanthropy and the 'Public Sphere' in Nineteenth-Century France", in Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (eds.), *Religion, Society and Politics in France since 1789* (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 29–54 (30); Ruether, *Christianity*, p. 104; Lucian Hölscher, "'Weibliche Religiosität?' Der Einfluss von Religion und Kirche auf die Religiosität von Frauen im 19. Jahrhundert", in Margret Kraul and Christoph Lüth (eds.), *Erziehung der Menschen-Geschlechter: Studien zur Religion, Sozialisation und Bildung in Europa seit der Aufklärung* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1996), pp. 45–62 (51); Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 91.

19 Lynne Marks, "'A Fragment of Heaven on Earth?' Religion, Gender, and Family in Turn-of-the Century Canadian Church Periodicals", *Journal of Family History* 26 (2001), pp. 251–71 (255); Ulrike Brunotte and Rainer Herrn, "Statt einer Einleitung: Männlichkeiten und Moderne – Pathosformeln, Wissenskulture, Diskurse", in Brunotte and Herrn (eds.), *Männlichkeiten und Moderne: Geschlecht in den Wissenskulturen um 1900* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), pp. 9–23 (9); Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shephard, "What Have Historians Done With Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950", *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005), pp. 274–80 (278).

20 Christie, *Households of Faith*, p. 8.

21 From the perspective of ecclesiastical law, celibacy had a higher rank than marriage. However, from a theological perspective, a celibatarian life did not have a higher value than marital status. Gillis, *A World*, p. 34, suggests that, within Protestantism, being a wife was more important than being a mother. See also Christopher Van der Krogt, "Imitating the Holy Family: Catholic Ideals and the Cult of Domesticity in Interwar New Zealand", *History Now* (1998), pp. 13–19 (13); Albrecht Koschorke, *The Holy Family and Its Legacy: Religious Imagination from the Gospels to Star Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 115–20.

22 McDannell, *The Christian Home*, p. 15: he encouraged families to say the rosary together (*Fidentem piumque animum*, 1896); he supported the devotion to St Joseph in *Quamquam pluries* (1889); and he provided indulgences to those who prayed before the image of the Holy Family (1893). According to McDannell, "beginning in 1878 with *Inscrutabili*, and then in 1880 (*Arcanum*), 1890 (*Sapientiae christianae*), and in 1891 (*Rerum novarum*), he denounced the trends of divorce, family limitation, and state influence in child rearing. Under Leo XIII, for the first time, the family

became the guardian of purity of both society and Christianity". In McDannell, *The Christian Home*, p. 16.

23 Paul Servais, "The Church and the Family in Belgium, 1850–1914", *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 31 (2001), pp. 621–47 (625).

24 Hildegard Erlemann, *Die Heilige Familie: Ein Tugendvorbild der Gegenreformation im Wandel der Zeit, Kult und Ideologie* (Münster: Ardey Verlag, 1993), pp. 177, 201.

25 John Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion and Law in the Western Tradition* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), pp. 42–53, 194–98.

26 E.g. workers' problems and miseries could be explained as being due to not having the right wife or mother. See Eliane Gubin, "Home Sweet Home: L'image de la femme au foyer en Belgique et au Canada avant 1914", *Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine* 22 (1991), pp. 521–68 (528, 545).

27 Claudia Hiepel, "Die katholische Arbeiterfamilie im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1914/18: Programm, Praxis und Prägungen", in Andreas Holzem and Ines Weber (eds.), *Ehe Familie Verwandtschaft: Vergesellschaftung in Religion und sozialer Lebenswelt* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008), pp. 401–20 (401); Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers, "Introduction: The Empire of the Father", in eaed. (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 1–28 (20).

28 See Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 141; Paul Seeley, "O Sainte Mère: Liberalism and the Socialization of Catholic Men in Nineteenth-Century France", *The Journal of Modern History* 70 (1998), pp. 862–91.

29 Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen, "Die Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven (Einleitung)", in Götz von Olenhusen (ed.), *Frauen unter dem Patriarchat der Kirchen: Katholikinnen und Protestantinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), pp. 9–21 (10); James F. McMillan, *France and Women 1789–1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 51; Ford, *Divided Houses*, p. 26. This theme was also used in anti-Catholic rhetoric; Lutheran theologians could argue that Catholic families were subjected to clerical espionage and thus lacked the autonomy granted to their Protestant counterparts. Furthermore, Catholic priests lured weak-minded Protestant women to abandon their Protestant beliefs and to diverge from their families and the duties they should uphold in the private sphere. For more on this, see Alexander Maurits, "The Household of the Pastor: An Exponent of Christian Manliness", in Van Osselaer and Pasture (eds.), *Christian Homes*, pp. 50–65 (62); and Yvonne Maria Werner, "'The Catholic Danger': The Changing Patterns of Swedish Anti-Catholicism – 1850–1965", in Werner and J. Harvard (eds.), *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013).

30 See e.g. the references to the "home heathen", Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 91; and the "masculinisation of irreligion", John Stenhouse, "God, the Devil and Gender", in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robert Law (eds.), *Sites of Gender: Women, Men & Modernity in Southern Dunedin 1890–1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp. 313–47 (336). For the differences according to nations and denominations see Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit – männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirchen im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert", in Ute Frevert (ed.), *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 134–55.

31 Andreas Marklund, *I hans hus: Svensk manlighet i historisk belysning* (Umeå: Boréa, 2004), pp. 137–46, 293–98.

32 Bernhard Schneider, "Reform of Piety in German Catholicism", in Anders Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780–1920*, vol. III: *Piety and Modernity* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), pp. 191–224 (224).

33 Hugh McLeod, *Piety and Poverty: Working-Class Religion in Berlin, London and New York 1870–1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996); Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7: Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003), pp. 178–84, 211–24; Mary Heimann, "Christian Piety in Britain During the 'Long' Nineteenth Century", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III, pp. 27–54 (49–53).

34 Maite De Beukeleer, "Het Fonds Saint Jean-François Régis: Een uniek maar weinig bekend genealogisch archieffonds", *Tijd-Schrift* 7, 1 (2018), pp. 119–25.

35 Peter Jan Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization: Reforming Piety: Grassroots Initiative or Clerical Strategy?", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III, pp. 125–56 (133).

36 Servais, "The Church"; Jan De Maeyer, "Relatie en huwelijk in de moderne tijd (ca. 1800 – ca. 1950). Kerkelijke standpunten en strategieën", in Roger Burggraeve et al. (eds.) *Levensrituelen: Het huwelijk* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 31–51 (42); and Jan De Maeyer, "'Steeds volks en aangenaam': De weekbladen voor volwassenen (1903–1968)", in Rita Ghesquière and Patricia Quaghebeur (eds.), *Averbode, een uitgever apart* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), pp. 408–49 (409).
37 Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization", p. 127.
38 The 'gender gap' in religious practice varied according to the country, see e.g. McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit".
39 Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization", p. 148.
40 Schneider, "Reform of Piety", p. 212.
41 Jan Art, *Kerkelijke structuur en pastorale werking in het bisdom Gent tussen 1830 en 1914* (Kortrijk: UGA, 1977), pp. 310–11; De Maeyer, "'Steeds volks en aangenaam'", p. 409; Lieve Gevers, "Gezin, religie en moderniteit: Visie en strategie van de Belgische bisschoppen (1830–1940)", *Trajecta* 4 (1995), pp. 103–21 (109–10).
42 Servais, "The Church", p. 625.
43 Daniel Menozzi, "En réaction aux Lumières: le SacréCœur de Jésus dans les familles chrétiennes (dix-huitième – vingtième siècles)", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 2 (2000), pp. 199–211 (200–01); Tine Van Osselaer, *The Pious Sex: Catholic Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity in Belgium, c.1800–1940* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), p. 113.
44 Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization", p. 153.
45 Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization", p. 145.
46 Lucian Hölscher, *Geschichte der protestantischen Frömmigkeit in Deutschland* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005), pp. 281–305.
47 Johs. Enggaard Stidsen, "The Dynamics of Reform of Piety in Denmark, c 1780–1920", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III, pp. 265–85 (271).
48 Ingunn Folkestad Breistein, "Reform of Piety in Norway, 1780–1920", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III, pp. 307–25 (313).
49 Anders Jarlert, "Reform in Sweden: From Confessional Provincialism Towards World Ecumenism", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III, pp. 286–306 (290, 295).
50 Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekenntnis, Kirche und Amt in der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri AB, 1952), pp. 1–30, Alexander Maurits, *Den vackra och erkända patriarchalismen: Prästmannaideal och manlighet i den tidiga lundensiska högkyrkligheten, ca 1850–1900* (Lund: Universus Academic Press, 2013).
51 Maurits, *Den vackra och erkända*, pp. 196–200.
52 Gillis, *A World*, p. 72.
53 Anders Jarlert, "Introduction", in id (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III, pp. 7–24 (21).
54 On the feminization thesis see Tine Van Osselaer and Thomas Buerman, "Feminisation Thesis: A Survey of International Historiography and a Probing of Belgian Grounds", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 103 (2008), pp. 497–544; Bernhard Schneider, "Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert: Perspektiven einer These im Kontext des deutschen Katholizismus", *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 111 (2002), pp. 123–48.
55 Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800–1860", in Mary Hartman and Lois Banner (eds.), *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 137–57 (138).
56 Claude Langlois, "Le catholicisme au feminine", *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 57 (1984), pp. 29–53 (30); Claude Langlois, "Féminisation du catholicisme", in Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond (eds.), *Histoire de la France religieuse*, vol. 3: *Du roi très chrétien à la laïcité républicaine (XVIIIe–XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Seuil, 1991), pp. 292–310 (296–98); Caroline Ford, "Religion and Popular Culture in Modern Europe", *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993), pp. 152–75 (168).
57 Seeley, "O Sainte Mere", p. 865; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977).
58 According to Till van Rahden, studies on men and fatherhood only took off in the 1990s, although there were earlier examples, such as Yvonne Knibiehler, *Les pères aussi ont une histoire* (Paris: Hachette, 1987) and Jean Delumeau and Daniel Roche, *Histoire des pères et de la paternité* (Paris: Larousse, 1990). Till van Rahden, "Vaterschaft, Männlichkeit und private Räume: Neue

Perspektiven zur Geschlechtergeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 11 (2000), pp. 147–56.
59 Patrick Pasture, "Introduction", in Patrick Pasture, Jan Art and Thomas Buerman (eds.), *Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe: Beyond the Feminisation Thesis* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), pp. 7–33; Tine Van Osselaer and Thomas Buerman, "Feminisation Thesis: A Survey of international Historiography and a Probing of Belgian Grounds", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 103, 2 (2008), pp. 497–544.
60 Christie, *Households*, p. 3.
61 John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 1–8 (5, italics in the original); see also John Tosh, "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England", in John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), pp. 129–47.
62 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 89–92.
63 Broughton and Rogers (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood*, pp. 16–19; see also Raffaella Sarti, "Men at Home: Domesticities, Authority, Emotions and Work", *Gender & History* 27, 3 (2015), pp. 521–58.
64 Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization", p. 153.
65 Alastair Owens and Nigel Jeffries, "People and Things on the Move: Domestic Material Culture, Poverty and Mobility in Victorian London", *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20 (2016), pp. 804–27 (805).
66 See e.g. the seminal work of Colleen McDannell and John R. Gillis: Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Gillis, *A World*.
67 Maureen Miller, "Catholic Material Culture: An Introductory Bibliography", *Catholic Historical Review* 101, 1 (2015), pp. 99–106.
68 "Christian material culture does not simply reflect an existing reality. Experiencing the physical dimension of religion helps bring about religious values, norms, behaviors, and attitudes. Practicing religion set into play ways of thinking. It is in the continual interaction with objects and images that makes one religious in a particular manner." In McDannell, *Material Christianity*, pp. 1–2.
69 McDannell, *Material Christianity*, p. 8.
70 McDannell, *Material Christianity*, p. 15.
71 See Henrik von Aachen, "Piety, Practice and Process", in Henning Langerund and Laura Skinnebach (eds.), *Instruments of Devotion: The Practices and Objects of Religious Piety from the Late Middle Ages to the twentieth Century* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2007), pp. 23–44 (28), on the instruments of devotion and their importance in devotional practice (as a means to make piety accessible, describable and tangible).
72 Peter Nissen, "'Zoals in het huisje van Nazareth': Over devoties en rituelen in de kring van het gezin en de religieuze aankleding van het woonhuis", *Trajecta* 4 (1995), pp. 141–57; Gerard Rooijakkers, "De dynamiek van de devotionalia: De materiële cultuur van het geleefde geloof in oostelijk Noord-Brabant", in Marit Monteiro, Gerard Rooijakkers and Joost Rosendaal (eds.), *Dynamiek van religie en cultuur* (Kampen: Kok, 1993), pp. 80–106.
73 Margry, "Dutch Devotionalization", p. 136.
74 Fred Van Lieburg, "Reforming Dutch Protestant Piety, 1780–1920", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. III (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), pp. 157–85 (178, 179).
75 McDannell, *Material Christianity*, p. 34.
76 Schneider, "Reform of Piety", p. 207.
77 Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, "Faith in the Home: Catholic Spirituality and Devotional Materiality in East London", *Material Religion* 7, 2 (2011), pp. 299–302.
78 Anders Jarlert, "Evangelical Germany", in Jarlert (ed.), *The Dynamics of Religious Reform*, vol. 3 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), pp. 225–62 (230–31).
79 Jarlert, "Reform in Sweden", p. 287.
80 Harry Lenhammar, "Tryckpressarna i kyrkans och väckelsens tjänst", in Bexell (ed.), *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 7, pp. 306–15.
81 We do not only have Catholic memorial sites, see e.g. a site linked to Luther. Stefan Laube, *Von der Reliquie zum Ding: Heiliger Ort – Wunderkammer – Museum* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), pp. 233, 238–39.

82 Evgenia Mesaritou, "'He Is Among Us, Get Into Your Head, He Is Alive and Always Here': Saintly Presence at the Pilgrimage Centre of Padre Pio and the Importance of 'Being There'", *Culture and Religion* 16, 1 (2015), pp. 87–109 (89).
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PART XII

Health and food preparation

24

THE DOMESTIC CULTURE OF HEALTH

Sandra Cavallo

Introduction

Medical history has been affected by a veritable 'domestic turn' in the last decades. Early modern scholars have shifted attention away from the traditional focus on institutional spaces and professional structures such as hospitals, universities, medical colleges and guilds, and significantly expanded our awareness of both the figures who played a role in the delivery of medical services and the spaces where medicine was performed. A wealth of studies carried out on England and Germany, and to some extent on Italy and Spain, has identified the household as significant site of medical activity, and lay people, women in particular, as expert medical agents.[1] Households were in this period the principal locus of health care. Hospitals only catered for the sick poor unable to rely on a family structure, particularly if affected by a chronic condition. Hence, the infirm and the ageing were overwhelmingly nursed and treated in the domestic environment, women gave birth here, people died at home.[2] The medical role of the household was not limited to providing bedside care and administering the medicaments prescribed by doctors. It also encompassed diagnostic and therapeutic skills, the independent experimentation of cures and production of medicinal remedies. These practices often led to the construction of a vast patrimony of household medical notions as private letters, domestic manuscripts and handwritten notes document. Moreover, this broad expertise in medical matters did not only concern the management of frequent and often lengthy health crises. It also applied to the health wisdom necessary to carry out the important preservative functions routinely performed in the home: maintaining a salubrious domestic environment, keeping bodies and clothes clean, producing healthy meals and encouraging the adoption of salutary life styles.[3]

Domestic medicine was therefore pervasive, and its reach even extended in this period beyond the boundaries of the household. In fact, in an age which witnessed a fantastic expansion of the commercial supply of medical advice, remedies and care many households became active participants in the marketplace of health, not just as consumers but as dispensers of medical services and goods on payment.[4]

Unusually, this chapter will offer, therefore, a dynamic picture of household medicine over time. It will explore the relationship between lay and professional, domestic and commercial medicine and the contextual factors that impressed new directions to these sets

of relationships. Moreover, it will stress the significance of geographical variation in these practices. Paying special attention to the still under-investigated Italian case, it will highlight its distinctive traits when contrasted with the better studied cases of England and Germany. The view from Italy will also offer new elements to reconsider the controversial issue of the role of gender in domestic medicine.

State of research

Why was domestic medicine so common?

Starting in the 1980s, and drawing on the evidence from letters, diaries, printed vernacular literature and domestic manuscripts, the relationship between household and professional medicine has been explored in a myriad of studies.[5] The regular provision of sick care in the early modern home and the diagnostic and therapeutic roles performed by the household were initially explained as a necessary response to the limited supply of professional medical services, especially in rural areas, and to their high cost. This argument, however, did not stand up to scrutiny: in England the availability of medical practitioners increased considerably in the seventeenth century, while in countries like Italy it was already well developed in previous centuries.[6] Moreover, poor households did not have to bear the full cost of treatment: many professionals differentiated their fees according to the social status of patients and even cured the less prosperous for free.[7] Besides, public provisions were in place for the indigent sick. By the late sixteenth century, the English Poor Law paid for the medical treatment of poor parishioners while on the continent physicians and surgeons 'of the poor' were regularly employed by cities.[8] Rather than considering domestic medicine as a residual, 'second-hand' option for those unable to access professional treatment, scholars are now inclined to see it as a regularly deployed set of practices that interfered and interacted in various ways with the opinions of medical men and the cures they prescribed.

The confidence with which laypeople exercised their own medical judgement and felt able to manage their own and their families' ailments partly stemmed from the very way in which medicine was practised and understood in this period. On the one hand, the public dimension of medical treatment enabled processes of appropriation of medical techniques by the laity. Indeed, consultations with specialists took place at the patient's bedside, under the eyes of family members, servants and visitors and this encouraged the reproduction of the elementary diagnostic methods available to doctors – feeling the pulse for temperature and examining urine. Ordinary surgical operations such as bloodletting, draining boils and dressing wounds, and even the much rarer caesareans and amputations, were also regularly performed in the patient's home or in the equally public setting of the barber-surgeon's shop, while itinerant specialized practitioners extracted teeth and removed cataracts in the public square. Therefore, it is not surprising that minor surgeries, including phlebotomy, were sometimes performed by laypeople.[9]

On the other hand, early modern theories of disease causation as well as medical language appear much less esoteric than they will become in modern times.[10] The physiological paradigm current at the time was based on graphic ideas of balance and imbalance between four humours and on images of disease generated within the body by humours in excess, then liable to be removed through various forms of expulsive strategies (purging, vomiting or sweating). These were concepts relatively easy to grasp and involved simple healing procedures that could be performed also by ordinary people. Likewise, the

principle that all elements in nature are endowed with a specific humoural composition, which may compensate the one prevalent in the sick body, made pharmacological treatments relatively easy to devise, especially since the inner medicinal virtues of different plants and other *naturalia* came to be minutely described, from mid-sixteenth century onwards, in highly popular printed herbals and became common currency. At the same time, the emphasis on the uniqueness of each body inherent in the concept of individual 'complexion', and the impact that life habits were supposed to have on a person's health further empowered patients, making their input essential when it came to define both the nature and origin of their illnesses and the necessary counter-measures. As well as reinforcing the position of the patient in medical consultations with professionals, these ideas also contribute to explain why laypeople often felt confident enough to make their own diagnoses, decide on courses of treatment and dispense home-made medicines to the sick independently of the advice of practitioners.

Professional versus domestic medicine?

Various manifestations of this confident attitude have been highlighted in relation to the English case.[11] But similar evidence can also be found in other European contexts. For instance, the medical choices of the Spadas, a seventeenth-century noble family based in Rome, are minutely documented in their letters. As common among people of their rank, they often resorted to the advice and prescriptions of doctors and surgeons. However, even when a professional was consulted, they rarely relied entirely on his assessment and recommendations. They remained vigil and continued to exercise their own medical judgement, drawing on their baggage of medical notions and trusting above all their physical perceptions.

Certainly, many ailments were cured independently within the household. When someone was unwell, the universal remedy consisted of persuading the sufferer to stay in bed for a day or two. Faith in the body self-healing capacity was widespread. Hence, the comfort of resting in bed, combined with avoiding food and sleeping long hours was regarded as a potent healing agent, which would stop various conditions from developing into something more serious. In Italy this measure seems to have been adopted universally across the social scale, in the Spada household even the house-keeper resorted to it.[12]

Burns, injuries, swellings or excoriations were also frequently treated independently, applying particular herbs or compounds on the suffering part, while internal ailments were cured through the ingestion of specific 'waters'. Evidence of this is offered in particular by the numerous drinks, ointments and plasters (or recipes to make them) that Marchioness Maria Spada dispatched to her still young and inexperienced daughter, Eugenia, married in Viterbo, to help her, her husband, her children, and even her maid, recover from various illnesses.[13] Interestingly, there is no evidence that these remedies were made by Maria herself; they were commissioned to specific Roman apothecaries on her instructions. And it is clear that the presumed efficacy of these remedies derived from having already been successfully employed by known acquaintances – as for the "herb for the eyes used by Princess of Butero in the last few years in Rome with great benefit".[14] Even when they did not materially manufacture their own remedies, therefore, householders still built an expertise in suitable cures by keeping track of recipes with a good record of success.

These therapies were sometimes the result of a negotiation with medical practitioners, other times they were decided and tried even in competition with professional advice. In October 1656, for example, Eugenia agreed to take a remedy recommended by her mother

"saying nothing to the doctor"; in another case the mother and the surgeon openly disagreed on the ingredients for the oil to apply to Eugenia's excoriated breasts.[15]

Overall, the authority of doctors and surgeons was acknowledged but they were not considered infallible. These reservations, combined with the conviction that the patient knew their specific physical complexion better that anyone else, explain the boldness of certain self-diagnoses. In September 1642, for example, Maria Spada denied that her recurrent stomach problems were due to the wines she drank, she put the blame on sweet things. These were not good for her, since her bowels were very "slick".[16] Patients took the ways in which they felt, i.e. their reading of physical signs and bodily sensations, as an unfailing guide to what their body needed. This often led them to doubt the validity of professional judgement. Shortly after giving birth, for example, Eugenia refused to undertake the traditional purge to which newly mothers were subjected, on the ground that the discharge from her breasts was "minimal" and "the liver did not trouble [her]". She reassured her mother that, instead of purging, she was taking every evening an extract of flowers of borage and continuously drank Nocera water.[17] Replacing a recommended debilitating procedure with a gentler treatment was a common pattern: often patients rejected invasive evacuative therapies.[18] But faith in the accuracy of self-assessment could also prompt the opposite reaction: occasionally the patients themselves required more violent therapies than those suggested by practitioners.[19]

In the end, Eugenia chose to undergo purging, but this occurred two months later than advised by the doctor and was presented as an independent decision, made in consultation with her husband – "who also agrees"– instead of with the doctor, who had not yet been informed of it.[20] Precisely because they shared similar medical principles with the professionals they employed, early modern patients and their families retained the right to decide if and when it was appropriate to adopt certain therapies, based on the perception they thought they had of their own bodies. The opinions of other members of the household, or of related households, also counted in their decisions. Practitioners, on the other hand, regarded physical experience and protracted observation as ultimately the best means of understanding whether a diagnosis was correct and a treatment suitable or unsuitable.[21] Hence, the patients' and their families' medical initiative, their suggestions and accounts were not necessarily regarded as offensive of the doctor's authority but a contribution towards better results. Certainly, the inequality of status between the noble Spada family and their doctors may contribute to explain the freedom of medical opinion enjoyed by its members. This factor, however, should not be overstated. Findings like these have contributed to undermine the long prevailing conceptualization of professional and domestic medicine as alternative and rival spheres of practice. While frictions certainly existed, there is strong evidence not only of mutual and fruitful exchange taking place between them but, more specifically, of an intense transfer of ideas and experience from patients and their families to well-established medical professionals.

Michael Stolberg has demonstrated that even academically trained physicians such as the Bohemian Georg Handsch, who later became personal physician to Archduke Ferdinand, thought they could learn from laypeople's medical expertise and used them as sources of professional information they would then employ in their practice.[22] In the 1540s and 1550s, Handsch painstakingly recorded in his notebook the diagnostic observations made by his patients and their carers, their understanding of the medicinal properties of certain plants and remedies, and the imaginative techniques they adopted in preparing medicaments and treating certain complaints. A similar case is that of the university qualified doctor Johann Christoph Götz (1688–1733). Active in Nuremberg, where he was member of the local

medical college, he trusted in particular the medical judgement of five widows, whom he honoured in his journal with the title of "doctor".[23] He even included in his medical *observationes*, published in 1730, some of the remedies they had devised – albeit without acknowledging his source!

The expanding role of domestic medicine

Not only medical knowledge was widely shared in early modern society but lay healing appears as a growing phenomenon in this period. Indeed, new factors may have reinforced ordinary householders' confidence in their medical abilities and enhanced the status of domestic medicine. The process of vernacularization of medicine is probably the most important of these novelties.

Texts that transmitted medical and natural knowledge in accessible vernacular and simplified form had already become available to broad readerships in the late Middle Ages.[24] For instance, numerous manuscript copies of the *Thesaurus Pauperum*, a collection of medicinal recipes attributed to Peter Hispanus (thirteenth century), and of the *Liber aggregationis*, a compendium credited to Albertus Magnus, circulated in several European languages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[25] Then the introduction of print gave extraordinary impetus to this dissemination of medical advice. Alongside the old texts, new titles multiplied: published in different vernacular languages and often in cheap, pocket format (*octavo*), these texts were explicitly directed to lay audiences. Many became veritable bestsellers.[26] The popularity of this literature across Europe was further enhanced by a flourishing trade in second-hand books and by the practice of book-sharing and book-giving documented by the notes of ownership still visible on many surviving copies.[27] Textual medical information then circulated further via verbal exchange, manuscript compilations, letters, songs and street performances, and a myriad of not strictly medical publications.[28]

Knowledge provided by printed texts was diverse and concerned different sets of domestic practices, performed in various home spaces. Indeed, even though the scholarship on this literature has given disproportionate attention to one type of publication, the recipe book or 'book of secrets', herbals, compilations about reproduction and regimens of health were equally popular. These texts offered householders detailed advice not only on how to make medicinal remedies in their kitchens but also on preserving a salutary domestic environment, on the virtues of medicinal plants and how to grow them in herb gardens, and on correctly caring for infants in the nursery. The purpose of these books was undoubtedly utilitarian. At the same time, in explaining why certain activities or herbs were beneficial to the body, or how conception took place, these works also contributed to consolidate shared notions of physiology and humoralism, and a common medical vocabulary.

It is logical to assume that the unprecedented volume of medical information now available to the common man and woman contributed significantly to turn early modern laypeople into medical experts. Alisha Rankin postulates that by offering advice and instructions on how to manage one's health, vernacular medical books "constructed the non-physician as a potential pharmacist and home practitioner", thus legitimizing lay medical initiative to a new extent.[29]

Rankin's reasoning is convincing and fits not only the German case object of her study but also the Italian one. Here, too, lay participation in medicine was growing. In Venice, so far the better studied case, experimenting with medicinal plants ingeniously grown on the

roof, balcony or even on the windowsills of their houses was frequent among ordinary citizens.[30] Many of them invented medicinal 'secrets' in their households and then produced and commercialized them from home or through retailers, often making a living out of them.[31] As vividly captured by the extravagant healer Leonardo Fioravanti in 1568, this explosion of lay medical initiatives was likely to be fuelled by the new availability of medical advice books:

> In the present day all ordinary households (*case particolari*) have become apothecaries (*aromatarie*) and even the most miserable house would have a book of materia medica, and there are so many recipe collections and tried secrets and remedies for all sorts of ailments [...] that one day we will all be physicians.[32]

The developments described by Fioravanti were also facilitated by the new value that early modern culture attributed to hands-on experience. Gathering empirical evidence about the working or failing of cures and remedies through the observation and recording of numerous cases acquired a new positive status in this period.[33] It is plausible that this shift from a bookish to a more empirical culture of medicine not only permeated the practice of learned physicians but favoured also the growth of a creative domestic culture of medicine, which did not simply adopt the advice found in printed texts but subjected it to scrutiny and experiment, turning the household into a site where medical knowledge was produced, not simply appropriated.

Domestic medicinal manuscripts provide strong evidence in support of this view. Thousands of such compilations have survived in European archives, and many recent studies have expanded our understanding of their features, particularly in relation to English examples (see Figure 24.1).[34] These manuscripts document the family efforts to construct its own, personalized, medical compendium. Printed medical texts (passages of which were sometimes copied verbatim in the manuscript) were certainly an important source for such collations. But these also included an array of independently-produced recipes and of experiential notes, which recorded the efficacy or failure of particular plants and remedies, and indicated the adjustments introduced within the household to make the recipe work, by changing ingredients, dosages or ways of dispensing it. These entries reveal that households were not simply reproducing but actively testing and devising treatments and remedies.

Figure 24.1 Domestic Manuscript Belonging to the Dardano Family, sixteenth century, Venice: example of Italian domestic herbal, containing descriptions, drawings and locations of a large range of plants, a selection of recipes and a regimen for newborns, Wellcome Collection, MS 337

This experimental attitude is confirmed by the way in which printed texts were read. Not everybody had the time and resources to compile a manuscript, therefore copious annotations were often inserted directly in the medical advice book. Its contents were considered selectively and critically, certain sections, possibly those most relevant to the ailments of householders, were underlined while others were contested; some information was crossed out and replaced in the margins by what was believed to be the correct advice. Textual knowledge was not passively received but customized to reflect the experience of cure accumulated by readers.

Household medicine: a profitable affair?

The recognition that lay participation in health-care and cure was generalized may however obscure the fact that domestic medicine was not always a small scale affair, confined to treating household members and entirely alien to the expectation of material and symbolic gains. In fact, the household was, in many cases, a site of elaboration of medicinal knowledge and remedies that were then consumed in the outside world. The phenomenon of high rank gentlefolks who were recognized as medical experts in the community was relatively common both in England and in Germany. Especially women from noble and gentry families represented a point of reference for sick neighbours and the local poor, to whom they supplied medical advice and self-produced medicines for free; sometimes they even performed minor surgery on those who needed it.[35] In some upper class households the production of medicines for external distribution was so diverse and extensive that it required broad dedicated spaces and complex pharmaceutical equipment. Some German princesses, for example, operated, together with their servants, in real palace apothecaries, which encompassed a medicinal garden, well-equipped laboratories, dedicated libraries and a vast storage space for stocking both the ingredients and the finished preparations.[36] The great variety of potions, powders, oils and waters produced domestically was then partly distributed locally, to the needy inhabitants of these women's landed estates. One of the purposes of this production was therefore charitable, these medical gifts were of undeniable value to the poor. But these transactions were also profitable to the donor. They elicited the gratitude of recipients and reinforced ties of loyalty and patronage between the lady and her subjects. Moreover, these remedies were sent far afield, well beyond the boundaries of the locality and the region, contributing to the intense gift exchange that characterized relationships between aristocratic families. Hence, the gift of medicines did not only reinforce the social capital of the donor's family in the surrounding community but also confirmed and consolidated bonds of alliance and mutual obligation between social peers.

While at elite level these social benefits were disguised by the rhetoric of Christian charity and curtesy, the domestic medicinal practices of the lower classes were often explicitly defined by commercial purposes. New evidence is suggesting that the large-scale production of medicinal remedies was not a preserve of the upper classes; more modest households, too, engaged with the manufacture of cosmetic and medicinal preparations for external consumers, decisively targeting a paying clientele. Tessa Storey has unveiled the case of Maddalena, a mature woman who ran one such business from home in seventeenth-century Rome.[37] As a widow with a combined income from weaving and room-renting, Maddalena enjoyed the privilege, rare among householders of similar rank, of possessing cooking facilities, the albeit rudimentary utensils necessary to make her potions and the storage space to stock them. Although difficult to pin down, domestic commercial enterprises like Maddalena's likely proliferated in urban settings, where most households,

stuck in basic, cramped accommodations, were unable to produce directly the pharmaceutical products they avidly consumed.

In focusing on princely figures or women of modest means such as Maddalena, however, many studies characterize the pursuit of domestic medicine as an individual endeavour. Indeed, single lay medical experts have monopolized scholarly attention. Recent research on Italy, by contrast, has highlighted the significant presence, in the market-place, of 'medical households', constituted by both women and men from different generations, who worked together, in the home turned laboratory, to compound medicinal preparations of their invention for sale. Similar in some ways to the scientific households studied by Shapin, Harkness and Cooper (on which see Kühn in this volume), these domestic units present however a more modest social and educational background than their scientific counterparts.[38] Remarkably, the medical expertise and the inventions developed in these settings not only reached a significant number of paying consumers but their efficacy was sometimes officially recognized by state health structures.

Crawshaw documents the case of the remedy against the plague concocted and marketed by a middling sort couple, Niccolò and Marieta Colochi, in early sixteenth-century Venice. After Niccolò's death, the 'secret' continued to be produced within the domestic environment and commercially exploited by his widow, son, daughter and the latter's husband, Ascanio Olivieri, and then also by a second daughter and her spouse.[39] The treatment provided a steady source of income to the family for generations as its efficacy was also acknowledged by the Venetian Health Board, which employed the family to dispense it in its hospitals, jails and fleets, "whenever there was need".[40] Although only the male members of the family obtained official medical appointments, such as that of head of the Venetian plague hospitals (*lazzaretti*) initially granted to Niccolò, and then to Olivieri, the know-how related to the treatment's dispensation was transmitted by Marieta. For 15 years, she worked in partnerships with various members of the family, travelling across the Venetian state and even to its colonies to minister the secret to patients in various public health institutions.[41]

Domestic and official medicine were not separate spheres of action. Moreover, close forms of cooperation may develop between self-trained home practitioners and those who had followed the orthodox educational programme required to qualify as surgeon or apothecary. Minuzzi's study of the trajectory followed by the Scutellio medicinal 'secrets' is a case in point. Originally devised by the empiric healer Giuseppe Scutellio in cooperation with his mother and wife, these remedies were licensed by the authorities and subsequently produced and sold from the Scutellios' Venetian home throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.[42] After the death of the original inventors, the increasingly famous remedies continued to be marketed from home by a long-term acquaintance of the family, the herb-man Cimolin, together with his wife and son Gerolamo, a surgeon, for another couple of decades. Eventually, it was absorbed in the official therapeutic circuit, being sold over the counter of the licensed apothecary shop run in partnership by Gerolamo and the daughter of the deceased pharmacist. Scutellio's 'secrets' were still popular at the beginning of the twentieth century, and one of them, the febrifuge *Donum Dei*, even merited a mention in the first history of Venetian pharmacy, written by the renowned chemist Girolamo Dian in 1900.

As the long and successful story of these remedies indicate, the domestic setting was perceived as a perfectly respectable professional space and even conferred added value to the business.[43] A key element in Scutellio's success seems to have been precisely the fact that his professional activities were home-based. Consultations occurred in his house, where he lived

for 20 years and where he was available round the clock. The territorial stability of the business was much more reassuring than the public venues used for their cures by the itinerant practitioners from whom the empiric Scutellio intended to dissociate: it made his practice transparent and accountable.

Gender and household medicine

Family partnerships such as the Colochis or the Scutellios seem to have been very common in Italy.[44] The extent to which this was a peculiarity of this part of Europe or could also be found elsewhere remains an open question. Certainly, the presence of household medical partnerships might have been underestimated as scholars have for a long time prioritized mining the archives for individual female breadwinners, i.e. widows or single women who made a living out of their medical services and potions.[45]

Yet a focus on domestic partnerships reveals the key role that many women commonly played in the family medical business and the authority this conferred to them also at public level. Marieta Colochi was defined with the title *medica* by the Venetian health authorities,[46] while Scutellio presented the central role that his wife and mother had played in the family medical enterprise as an element that added to, rather than detracting from its success. In a pamphlet printed at his expenses in 1710, he proudly stated that his wife

> possesses a full and perfect knowledge of all my aforementioned Arcana, as well as others yet to be noted, as she does all manners of concocting them and producing them, but, what is more, she is also knowledgeable as to illnesses and how to treat them as I do. [...]. The same [my wife], in regard to pregnant women and those giving birth, possesses great Rarities, passed on to her by my late mother, who was an Empiric and without peer in such areas.[47]

And even though, to honour the patriarchal ethos, medical practice was portrayed as individual and exclusively male in corporate representations of the medical profession, it often involved the whole household, regardless of gender. Both the maidservant and the wife of the German physician Götz, for example, engaged in sending drugs to his patients.[48] Moreover, women of the family often provided specific expertise to the enterprise, such as obstetrical knowledge and women's medicine, an area in which female views were particularly respected by male professionals.[49] But wives were also interchangeable with their husbands in record-keeping: Götz's spouse even contributed to the regular compilation of his case-histories journal.[50] Likewise, in the households of surgeons, women's competence in what was depicted as an exclusively male occupation is proved by the fact that they maintained the business during the long absences of their husbands and fathers, recruited in military hospitals or on ships engaged in overseas trade. And even when men were around, the intrinsically collaborative nature of surgical procedures – which encompassed simultaneous tasks such as holding the patient, handling the tools, preparing the topical remedies, dressing the patient's wounds – often required the involvement of several members of the household.[51]

At the same time, acknowledging the importance of professional medical households clearly undermines the long-held notion that domestic medicine was exclusively a female domain. In fact, this assumption has recently been challenged also from other perspectives, and the last pages of this chapter will consider the contradictory evidence available on this matter.

The tendency to consider lay medical knowledge as a female prerogative has usually been justified by the cultural and practical proximity between the sphere of medicine and the provision of nourishment and body-care, seen as undisputed women's territories. The equation between domestic medicine and women has even been reinforced lately, as the separation long established between healing and the various forms of "bodywork" routinely carried out in the household has been labelled as anachronistic.[52] Scholars have underlined the value for health that early modern societies attributed to daily domestic chores: cooking and feeding, keeping the house clean, regularly changing bedsheets and laundering household and personal linen, maintaining the right air temperature in the home, improving its quality and keeping humidity at bay were all operations charged with medical significance.

In reality, tasks of body-care and health-care were not universally feminine. In household settings organized on a principle of gender segregation, such as princely courts and aristocratic palaces, those who tended to the body and domestic environment of the master – nurses, *valets de chambre*, barbers and *baigneurs*, and even the cleaners – were all males.[53] In wealthy residences the kitchen staff was also largely masculine.[54]

It is true, however, that in more modest households these duties were associated with women; in English and French conduct books such as Gervase Markham's *The English Housewife* and Charles Estienne's *Maison Rustique*, treating the sick and making medicines is even presented as an integral component of female domestic tasks.[55] It is also possible that different European countries presented different patterns of gender involvement in medicine. Indeed in similar prescriptive texts authored by Italian writers medical tasks were not included among the responsibilities of housewives.[56] Furthermore, Storey suggests that the practice of compiling domestic medicinal manuscripts, relatively common among English educated women, was almost exclusively associated with male authors in Italy.[57] Now, the absence of a significant female manuscript culture in Italy is certainly significant; however, it does not exclude that relevant medical information was assembled by women in alternative forms – memory, flying sheets, scraps of paper.[58] In fact, the practice of collecting efficacious recipes, obtained from a variety of sources, was common both among the Roman gentlewomen discussed in this essay and the princesses of the Medici household studied by Sheila Barker.[59] Although the amount of research conducted so far on Italian sources is still quite limited, these findings invite us to avoid easy generalizations.

Recently, some scholars have questioned the persistent association between women and household medicine also in relation to other geographical contexts. Writing about France and England, Lisa Smith has argued that the deliberate focus on women in most studies on the topic has obscured men's contribution to the preservation of health in the household.[60] In a similar vein, Elaine Leong has showed that the presence of multiple handwritings in some English manuscript recipe books suggests that both men and women contributed to their compilation.[61] These texts, saluted by Monica Green as the first significant genre of women's medical writing, were often a plural family construction.[62] The circulation of medical knowledge, too, was not gender specific, as the information assembled in domestic collections of recipes derived from both male and female contacts.[63]

For many men, however, medicine was pursued more at an intellectual than practical level. By 1600, medical knowledge was, like notions of architecture, mathematics and astronomy, one of the fashionable subjects of learning and learned conversation for the genteel class, as the titles in their libraries illustrate.[64] Already in the previous century, distilling and experimenting alchemical preparations had become the pastime not only of the male elite but also of the artisan middling sort.[65] Then, in the eighteenth century, educated

men partook in the general curiosity and enthusiasm for new cures, as proved by the many letters of medical content they published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[66]

Many men, therefore, were knowledgeable in medicine but perhaps at a more abstract level than women, and their participation in the mechanics of medicating, care-giving and maintaining health was often not as regular as for their female counterparts.[67] Indeed, we must be wary of pushing the revisionist argument too far; by denying the specificity of medical gender roles we may fail to capture the ways in which these shaped everyday household practice.

Certainly, the idea that health provision was the unique responsibility of the women of the family is untenable and has quite rightly been challenged by recent studies. Much evidence has been assembled to show that men were profoundly concerned about the health conditions of householders and therefore involved in medical decisions that pertained to them. They identified and summoned practitioners, discussed symptoms and treatments and found out where medicinal remedies could be sourced. Smith reminds us that, in their capacity as heads of the domestic unit, men were seen as responsible for the wellbeing of its members; maintaining a healthy household was, like ensuring its prosperity, an essential aspect of their patriarchal duties. Smith's discussion mainly concerns the long eighteenth century, but detailed references to the "medicinal rules" to be adopted by a diligent *paterfamilias* were already contained in sixteenth-century handbooks for the management of the household (the *oeconomica* genre discussed by Hahn in this volume).[68] Sparse evidence has also revealed that nursing activities were often a shared responsibility within the household. Unsurprisingly, especially when a child was sick, both men and women took turns performing crucial caring roles such as sitting for long hours at the bedside of the infirm, keeping the patient calm and administering the required food and medicines.[69] Yet, we must be careful not to overlook gender specificities. If we systematically compare medical roles of men and women within specific households, subtle differences do become evident.

For example, the epistolary discourse among the Spadas certainly confirms that health concerns were common to both genders; men and women exchanged minute accounts of their physical and mental condition and those of their correspondents. Undoubtedly, however, women were those who more frequently dispensed competent medical advice and reminded husbands, offspring and other kin of the rules of a moderate, healthy living. Indeed, as well as to more or less serious ailments, much attention was given to the correct management of the six Non-Natural Things on which health was seen to depend (sleep, exercise, food and drink, evacuations, emotional balance and the quality of the air one breathed). Hence, their letters are filled with admonitions about the harm that physical inactivity or exposure to environmental hazards (cold weather, a strong sun, fog or the poor air quality) may cause.[70]

Even if they did not cook on a regular basis, women also displayed considerable expertise about the beneficial or harmful qualities of various foods and drinks. They chastised the habit of consuming too much chocolate or large quantities of *macaroni* or grapes; they also warned about the unsuitability of certain foods (such as onions, fish and shrimps) while one was purging.[71] Moreover, the exhortation that extreme emotional states might be harmful and must be avoided, and intense mental activity may hinder the ongoing healing process was often reiterated.[72]

Women also appear more acquainted with a specialized medical vocabulary and capable of articulating medically plausible narratives; hence, they often provided expert explanations of the causes of various ailments affecting members of the household. When Maria's

husband suffered from hemorrhoids, for example, she confidently declared that this is due to the "Lent foods and the season, which trouble the blood" (*fanno risentire il sangue*). A few days later, she reassured her puzzled husband that he should not be surprised if he suffered from hemorrhoids more when it was cold than when it was hot "for they proceed from internal heat, not external, and sometimes walking too long makes them come back".[73] Peculiar too is Maria's systematic habit of accompanying the news of a serious illness or sudden death in the Spada circle with physiological explanations of the causes of such event. For instance, Cardinal Sigismondo Chigi was said to have killed himself by taking too much "lead water" to cure scabies without informing the doctors, so that when they blood-let him, the substance "was drawn to the veins" and he died in three or four days.[74] While these comments betray the role that women played in the family as informers of the salient facts taking place in the city, they also attest to their confident relationship with medical issues. Men never went into such detail when communicating similar news.

Maria Spada's superior understanding in matters of medication is given for granted in a humorous letter in which her husband (away at the family castle) recounts his awkward attempts to heal his tongue, badly burned by a too fresh ricotta, and also his fingers, pricked by two thorns. Having worsened the situation by covering the wounds with a bandage, he finally recalled the virtues of betony and obtained better results by applying the plant's leaves on the lesions. This showed, he concluded, that he knew nothing about medicines, his ineptitude in these matters was such that next time his wife "will have to provide him with a recipe book".[75]

Reproductive knowledge and infant care

Long considered the most feminine area of medical expertise, reproductive knowledge, too, is no longer seen as a female monopoly. Recent studies have insisted that, even if excluded from the birth scene, husbands were involved at any stage of the childbearing process. They were informed of their wives' menstrual cycle and first pregnancy symptoms, and monitored the gestation's progress.[76] They also played a range of supportive roles when wives experienced miscarriages or complications related to difficult pregnancies and deliveries. The promotion of healthy pregnancies, therefore, was not an entirely feminine concern as a first wave of studies has perhaps too easily assumed, and not even an individual family matter. Births were public events and communities expected men to live up to their duties of care to pregnant women and newborns.[77] At the same time, however, women's superior expertise in matters of reproduction continued to be acknowledged and, I shall argue, in certain areas it even expanded in this period.

Significant evidence for this assertion comes, for Italy, from depositions in legal and criminal cases. The post-mortem caesarean section conducted on the corpse of Isabella della Volpe in 1545 bears remarkable similarities with the account of the miscarriage suffered by the sweet-maker Ginevra in early seventeenth-century Rome.[78] In both cases the role of male professionals appears secondary and purely technical by comparison with that of female lay attendants. In Isabella's case, it was her maidservant, her sister-in-law and her maid, and another female visitor who determined, by touching her belly, that Isabella's baby was living and moving, and asked the surgeon to perform a caesarean. In Ginevra's case it was the wet-nurse-to-be (occasionally aided by a female neighbour) who attended to the heavily pregnant woman for ten days and nights while she was bleeding and threatening to miscarry. Only when the miscarriage began, was a midwife called upon, while the physician and surgeon were simply expected to prescribe remedies that would ease the expulsion of

the dead foetus. Although in Italy the presence of male practitioners at childbirth is documented already in the mid-fifteenth century, this does not equate to a male takeover of the delivery scene, nor is it incompatible with the esteem in which women's authority in matters of generation was kept.[79]

In Italy, like in England, kinswomen, maids and female neighbours were also used as expert witnesses in court and legal cases concerning abortions, miscarriages and infanticides.[80] Their reproductive knowledge was officially acknowledged. In the judicial cases concerning the aforementioned Ginevra and Isabella, the magistrates recorded the depositions of the female attendants along those of the spouse and male practitioners. Female witnesses were asked for their opinions and observations regarding both the patient's health and the state of the foetus.

In order to determine how gender specific reproductive knowledge was, it is also important not to limit our attention to the moment of childbirth. Indeed, the exclusive focus on presences and absences at the birth scene has prevented consideration of the expertise deployed in the other phases of the childbearing process, from conception to postpartum recovery. Yet, to judge from the letters exchanged between Roman noblewomen, female expertise in both prenatal and postnatal care was undisputed. Women advised each other in matters of fecundity and healthy gestations, doctors do not appear to have been consulted, and vernacular obstetrical manuals were unlikely to be helpful, as they focused on anomalies (menstrual irregularities, pregnancy related ailments and difficult births) rather than on the management of normal pregnancies. This was seen to depend on domestic regimes and regarded as a woman's territory. Hence, to stimulate fertility Ippolita Ludovisi was encouraged by her older sister-in-law to avoid gaining weight, to take purgatives and drink specific waters to flush the body, and to keep in good spirit, since anxiety and sorrows prevent conception.[81] Once pregnant, she was instructed to give up on restrictive clothing that could harm the child, avoid movement in the first weeks but practise regular exercise in the form of walking later on, staying however away from bad and strong odours and from sick people, including her own children.

Some precautions, such as refraining from travelling in carriages and walking slowly to avoid falling over, were common knowledge and were also voiced by husbands.[82] However, most of the detailed discussion about suitable or unsuitable practices, including the appropriateness for a pregnant woman of washing her hair, and whether she should lean over or back while doing it, was conducted exclusively between women.[83] Even when Eugenia Spada experienced an early miscarriage, the matter emitted from her body was examined by her mother-in-law, her maid and the midwife summoned for the purpose, and no male professional was consulted. It was simply decided to switch to a special diet of broth and eggs, as the ensuing abundant bleeding reassured the women that the uterus has been well purged.[84]

The epistolary exchange with the female circle resumed after childbirth and now concerned the quality of postpartum discharge – was it abundant? and how could it be eased by specific medicinal waters? – and the quantity and colour of the first menstruations. The length of the lying-in period – how long should the woman stay in bed, when could she wear the corset again and go out for the first time – was also frequently debated and so were the activities that could be undertaken during confinement without exhausting oneself.[85] Another common topic of discussion was the pain and discomfort caused by the artificial stopping of breast milk, the consequence of entrusting the suckling of their babies to wet-nurses. This custom, often misunderstood as a measure that gave noblewomen the possibility of resuming sociability after gestation, was often the source of much physical

suffering, as the blockage caused swelling and inflammation of the breast that were difficult to heal.[86] Eugenia Spada was a victim of this condition more than once after childbirth, and in agony for months, in spite of the repeated attempts at treating it with various ointments and even with incisions.[87]

Surely, as noted by many, aspects of a woman's reproductive cycle – such as the timing of her menstruation and of giving birth – were often shared knowledge or matters of collective speculation in the household. At the same time, these interferences were sometimes resented and resisted by women, who withheld or manipulated such information to protect themselves, for example from an intrusive mother-in-law.[88] The public dimension of pregnancy should not be overstated.

In any case, the presumption that they could interpret the signs in their bodies better than anyone else was strong among women. In April 1657, for example, defiant of the opinion of both the midwife and her mother-in-law, Eugenia was adamant that childbirth was not imminent. She felt well, not heavy and walked without effort, though recently she had troubles sleeping and felt uncomfortable in bed. According to her counting she had just entered the ninth month.[89] Indeed, abundant evidence suggests that these noblewomen kept a precise record of both their periods and sexual activity, and this reinforced their feeling of control over their pregnancies.[90]

Women's competence over reproductive health even seems to have extended, in the early modern period, to decisions previously made by men. In Renaissance Italy, the choice of both the midwife and wet-nurse were the responsibility of husbands in patrician families.[91] The child's father negotiated the hiring of these women directly with their husbands.[92] By the seventeenth century, however, the task of identifying and interviewing the midwife and the wet-nurse fell on the mother, aided by her network of female kin and friends, who provided information not only on the professional qualities of various candidates but, particularly in the case of wet-nurses, on their physical, mental and moral characteristics.[93] Men were no longer protagonists but played at times an ancillary role in the decision process, contributing in particular to find suitable wet-nurses in their feudal lands. Women who belonged to families of vassals were preferred since reputed to be more loyal, an important attribute now that, as well as suckling the baby, they were expected to move to the family palace.[94]

This is another important novelty of the period. While earlier on newborns were raised in the wet-nurse's home until weaning, we find that in seventeenth-century Italy the nurse moved in with the hiring family for up to two years.[95] The new arrangement had important consequences for maternal roles as it enabled mothers to forge, from the start, a bond with their children which was denied to them in previous centuries.[96] Noblewomen's letters document how they now performed the roles previously entrusted to wet-nurses, who no longer appear as the supreme experts in infant-care.[97] Mothers personally attended to their children by making and giving them the first paps or spreading ointments on their bodies. They also depicted themselves as the best interpreter of their children's needs, capable of decoding them through a constant attention to the infants' behaviour – whether they slept, sweated, ate, cried – and to the signs that appeared on their bodies.[98] On the basis of these observations, mothers made assured diagnoses and decided independently on matters of cures, diet and the timing of weaning. Doctors were called only when more serious symptoms appeared, such as high temperature or suspected signs of measles. Otherwise the mother was in charge.

In parallel to this, the wet-nurse also seems to have lost the alleged power of influencing the personality and physical characteristics of the child. Indeed, there is no trace in

seventeenth-century gentlewomen's letters of the time-honoured belief according to which these features were transmitted to the baby by the nurse's milk.

Conclusion

The high status enjoyed by domestic medicine in the early modern period was partly the result of ancient paradigms, inherited from classical medical theory, but was also the consequence of new contextual factors. On the one hand, the explosion of vernacular health publishing encouraged readers to test, select and personalize the extensive medical advice now available in print. On the other hand, new positive notions of first-hand experience as a way of learning and discovering explain the esteem in which lay medical experts came to be regarded, irrespective of their gender, education and professional or social status. This enhanced legitimacy stimulated in turn an expansion of cures and remedies experimented and produced in the home, which often obtained the recognition of health authorities and were not only commercialized but administered in public medical institutions. The boundaries between official, market-driven medicine and household-generated medical practice appear therefore much more blurred than assumed in early writings on the subject. At the same time, a new confidence in the human ability to control natural phenomena and prevent disease impressed increased impetus to the ancient paradigm of the six Non-Naturals and thus to efforts to manage lifestyles and living environments. As a consequence, an array of ordinary domestic practices were charged with medical significance, and women and *paterfamilias* with new health-related duties were now seen as key to the wellbeing of householders.

However, even the most medically active and health-aware households were very rarely entirely self-reliant in their management and prevention of sickness. Most often they combined their own expertise and the individual presumption to know what was best for one's body with the advice and services of professionals. The relationships between lay and professional, domestic and commercial practice of medicine have long been conceptualized in oppositional and conflictual terms, but they were far less antagonistic and filled with tension than previously thought. Not only was domestic and professional medical knowledge used concurrently by sufferers but often officially qualified practitioners also incorporated the observations and medical wisdom of their patients into their practice.

Recent studies have also questioned the persistent association between women and domestic medicine. The evidence from Italy concurs in presenting a more balanced picture of men's and women's contribution to medical knowledge and practice, pointing in particular to the role of entire 'medical households' in the market for paid medical services. The Italian case has also suggested that the involvement of women in medicine might have taken different forms in different countries. For example, Italian gentlewomen did not engage in manufacturing their own medicinal remedies, instead instructing pharmacists to produce them, nor did they compile medicinal manuscripts like their English and German counterparts but had alternative ways of keeping track of efficacious recipes. These findings invite us to avoid easy Europe-wide generalizations and indicate the need to adopt more systematically a comparative perspective of study. Italian women also seem to have maintained their expertise in reproductive knowledge, which remained specifically if not exclusively feminine, and likewise on child care. Actually, at least as the upper classes are concerned, the period even witnessed an expansion of women's competence in this area. As wet-nurses were integrated in the infant's household, mothers acquired a greater role in their children's early growth. This transformation has been overlooked in the literature,

which normally associates the reinforcement of maternal roles with the demise of mercenary breastfeeding in the late eighteenth century.[99] Long before then, even if they still did not breastfeed their babies, patrician mothers became the first responsible for their care, while the wet-nurse was relegated to the purely mechanical role of suckling them.

Notes

1 Two important surveys on the role of women in health are Mary Fissell, "Introduction: Women, Health and Healing in Early Modern Europe", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, 1 (2008), pp. 1–17; and Sharon Strocchia, "Introduction: Women and Health Care in Early Modern Europe", *Renaissance Studies* 28, 4 (2014), pp. 496–514.

2 Peregrine Horden and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *The Locus of Care: Families, Communities, Institutions* (London: Routledge, 1998).

3 Montserrat Cabré, "Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, 1 (2008), pp. 18–51; Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

4 On the expansion of the medical marketplace see Marc Jenner and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450–c.1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

5 For a synthesis of the main arguments see the recent Anne Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

6 Ian Mortimer, "The Rural Medical Marketplace in Southern England c. 1570–1720", in Jenner and Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market*, pp. 69–87; Katharine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

7 Gianna Pomata, *Contracting a Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 100–03. This practice is testified for example in the diary of Claver Morris (1684–1726). See Edmund Hobhouse (ed.), *The Diary of a West Country Physician* (Rochester: Stanhope Press, 1934), pp. 25–26.

8 On England Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations, and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 79–102; on municipal medical provisions in Continental Europe Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and their Motives in Turin 1541–1789* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 40–41, 75–80, and the bibliography cited there.

9 Seth Stein Lejacq, "The Bounds of Domestic Healing: Medical Recipes, Storytelling and Surgery in Early Modern England", *Social History of Medicine* 26, 3 (2013), pp. 451–68 (458).

10 Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chapter. 3.

11 Pioneering works in this regard were Lucinda M. Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, *In Sickness and in Health: The English Experience, 1650–1850* (London: Fourth Estate, 1988).

12 Troubled by an upset stomach, signora Lorenza did not get up in the morning but stayed in bed: "she suffers from this every now and then, and by staying in bed all day she hopes she will recover", in Archivio di Stato di Roma, Fondo Spada Veralli (henceforth ASR, FSV), B.619, 3.10.1651. Middling sort people such as the painter Pontormo also regularly adopted this preventive measure. See Iacopo da Pontormo, *Diario fatto nel Tempo che Dipingevo il Coro di San Lorenzo 1554–1556* (Rome: Gremese, 1998). It would seem, by contrast, that in England sick people only retired to their bedchamber in case of severe illnesses. See Hannah Newton, "Inside the Sickchamber in Early Modern England: The Experience of Illness Through Six Objects", *The English Historical Review*, forthcoming. I thank the author for sharing her work with me before publication.

13 ASR, FSV, B.1115, 8 Sept. 1658, 7 May 1659, 30 March 1661, 21 March 1662, 16 and 23 April 1662, 16, 26 and 30 July 1662.

14 ASR, FSV, B. 448, 'Ricettario', c.321.

15 ASR, FSV, B. 410, 18 Oct. 1656 and B. 1115, 25 April 1662.

16 ASR, FSV, B.619, 12 Sept. 1642.

17 ASR, FSV, B.1115, 26 and 30 April 1662.

18 For similar examples see Lejacq, "The Bounds of Domestic Healing".

19 See for example ASR, FSV, B. 619, 10 April 1647.

20 ASR, FSV, B.1115, 31 May 1662.

21 On this point see Michael Stolberg, "Empiricism in Sixteenth-Century Medical Practice: The Notebooks of George Handsch", *Early Science and Medicine* 18, 6 (2013), pp. 487–516 (487–88, 509–11).

22 Michael Stolberg, "'Learning from the Common Folks': Academic Physicians and Medical Lay Culture in the Sixteenth Century", *Social History of Medicine* 27, 4 (2014), pp. 649–67.

23 Annemarie Kinzelback, "Women and Healthcare in Early Modern German Towns", *Renaissance Studies* 28, 4 (2014), pp. 619–38.

24 Elizabeth W. Mellyn, "Passing on Secrets: Interactions Between Latin and Vernacular Medicine in Medieval Europe", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16, 1 (2013), pp. 289–309.

25 José F. Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus", in Thomas F. Glick, Steven Livesey and Faith Wallis (eds.), *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 389–92; Isabelle Draelants, *Le Liber de Virtutibus Herbarum, Lapidum et Animalium (Liber Aggregationis): Un Texte à Succès Attribué à Albert Le Grand, Micrologus Library 22* (Florence: Sismel, Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2007).

26 Examples include for England, Thomas Elyot's *The Castle of Helth*; for Italy Castore Durante's *Tesoro della sanità*; for Germany Eucharius Rösslin, *Der Rosengarten*, not to mention the herbals by Fuchs and Mattioli, which were translated into several European languages.

27 On these practices see Cavallo and Storey, *Healthy Living*, pp. 31–37.

28 On the role of letters and non-medical publications Cavallo and Storey, *Healthy Living*, pp. 37–46, 55–61; on oral transmission Alun Withey, "Crossing the Boundaries: Domestic Recipe Collections in Early Modern Wales", in Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, c.1500–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 179–202; on street songs Tessa Storey, "*The Lament of the Melons*': Extracting the rules of Healthy Living from Cheap Print in 16th- and 17th-Century Italy and France", *Nuncius* forthcoming.

29 Alisha Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughter: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013), p. 15 and, more generally, chapter 1.

30 Sabrina Minuzzi, *Sul Filo dei Segreti: Farmacopea, Libri e Pratiche Terapeutiche a Venezia in Età Moderna* (Milan: Unicoph, 2016), part II, chapter 4.

31 Others used this trade to integrate the income derived from their occupation as scribes, notaries, soldiers, merchants, musicians, shoemakers, colour-sellers, distillers. See Minuzzi, *Sul Filo dei Segreti*, part I, chapter 3.

32 Leonardo Fioravanti, *Dello Specchio di Scienza universal: Dell'eccellente dottore e Cavalier M. Leonardo Fioravanti Bolognese, libri tre* (Venezia: Heredi di Melchior Sessa, 1567), p. 36r. Fioravanti also explicitly praised the opportunities opened for medical learning by vernacular print specifically: "and since this blessed print has appeared, books have multiplied in such numbers that everyone can study, even more so as the great majority are printed in our mother tongue", in ibid. p. 36v.

33 The literature on this topic is vast, among the many titles Peter Dear, "The Meaning of Experience", in Lorraine J. Daston and Katharine Park (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3: *Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 106–31; Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siriasi (eds.), *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000); Gianna Pomata, "A Word of the Empirics: The Ancient Concept of Observation and its Recovery in Early Modern Medicine", *Annals of Science* 68, 1 (2011), pp. 1–25; Stolberg, "Empiricism", pp. 487–516.

34 Among the many studies: Sara Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes, and Knowledge in Early Modern England", in Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 237–55; Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, "Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace'", in Jenner and Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market*; Elaine Leong, "Making Medicine in the Early Modern Household", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82,1 (2008), pp. 145–68; Pennell and DiMeo (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

35 For example Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughter*, chapter 3; Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewomen, Lady Grace Mildmay 1552–1620* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993); Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 107–08.

36 Alisha Rankin, "Exotic Materials and Treasured Knowledge: The Valuable Legacy of Noblewomen's Remedies in Early Modern Germany", *Renaissance Studies* 28, 4 (2014), pp. 533–55; and Alisha Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner: Court Experimentalism and the Medical Skills of Anna of Saxony (1532–1585)", *Isis* 98, 1 (2007), pp. 23–53.
37 Tessa Storey, "Face Waters, Oils, Love Magic and Poison: Making and Selling Secrets in Early Modern Rome", in Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin (eds.), *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500–1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 143–63.
38 Alix Cooper, "Afterword: Science and the Domestic Sphere in the Long Durée", in Donald Opitz, Staffan Berwik and Brigitte van Tiggelen (eds.), *Domestic in the Making of Modern Science* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 281–87.
39 Jane Stevens Crawshaw, "Families, Medical Secrets and Public Health in Early Modern Venice", *Renaissance Studies* 28, 4 (2014), pp. 597–618. The case is also analysed in Minuzzi, *Sul Filo Dei Segreti*, pp. 119–24, 129–30.
40 Crawshaw, "Families", p. 607.
41 Crawshaw, "Families", p. 608. Marieta was required by the health authority to instruct her son-in-law in the production and manipulation of the remedy and to be his assistant in exchange for maintenance until her death. See Minuzzi, *Sul Filo Dei Segreti*, p. 120.
42 Sabrina Minuzzi, "'Quick to Say Quack': Medicinal Secrets from the Household to the Apothecary Shop in Eighteenth-Century Venice", *Social History of Medicine* 32, 1 (2019), pp. 1–33.
43 See Ågren in this volume.
44 See the many cases unearthed by Minuzzi, *Sul Filo dei Segreti*, Part III, chapter 4.
45 Pelling, for example, dismisses as insignificant the phenomenon of women working in partnerships with other members of the family. See Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), chapter 6, esp. pp. 214–20.
46 Minuzzi, *Sul Filo*, p. 120.
47 Minuzzi, "Quick to Say Quack", pp. 14–15.
48 Kinzelback, "Women and Healthcare", pp. 632–33.
49 Stolberg, "Learning from the Common Folks", p. 13.
50 Kinzelback, "Women and Healthcare", p. 633.
51 Celeste Chamberlain, "Partners and Practitioners: Women and the Management of the Surgical Household in London 1570–1640", *Social History of Medicine* 24, 3 (2011), pp. 554–69.
52 Fissell, "Introduction", p .14; see also works cited in note 3.
53 Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy: Identities, Families, Masculinities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
54 See Sarti in this volume.
55 Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, p. 108.
56 Estienne's work was however translated into Italian and the translation had at least six editions in the seventeenth century.
57 Storey, "Face Waters", p. 147.
58 See for example the flying sheets and letters of medical content now bound in the Ricettario Spada. ASR, FSV, B. 448, 'Ricettario', cc.321, 322, 323, and others, unnumbered.
59 Sheila Barker, "The Contribution of Medici Women to Medicine in Grand Ducal Tuscany and Beyond", in Alessio Assonitis and Brian Sandberg (eds.), *The Medici and Their Archive. Power and Representation in Early Modern Tuscany* (Turhnout: Harvey Miller/Brepols, 2016), pp. 101–116.
60 Lisa Smith, "'The Relative Duties of a Man': Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca. 1685–1740", *Journal of Family History* 31, 3 (2006), pp. 237–56.
61 Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household", Centaurus 55, 2 (2013), pp. 81–103.
62 Monica Green, *Making Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 308–10.
63 See, among others, Michelle DiMeo, "Authorship and Medical Networks: Reading Attributions in Early Modern Manuscripts", in DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, pp. 25–46.
64 This was also the case of the Spada men. See Cavallo and Storey, *Healthy Living*, pp. 52–54, 83.
65 Bruce Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Princeton: Harvard University Press, 2005); Tessa Storey, "Cosmetics, Remedies and Alchemy: Making and

Selling Secrets in Seventeenth-Century Rome", in Portia Prebys (ed.), *Early Modern Rome 1341–1667* (Ferrara: Edisai, 2011), pp. 149–55.
66 Roy Porter, "Lay Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the Gentleman's Magazine" *Medical History* 29 (1984), pp. 138–68.
67 Alun Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600–1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 145–46.
68 Giovan Battista Assandri, *Della Economica overo Disciplina Domestica* (Cremona: Belpiero, 1616), p. 308. For further examples of this textual genre see Sandra Cavallo, "Health, Air and Material Culture in the Early Modern Italian Domestic Environment", *Social History of Medicine* 29, 4 (2016), pp. 695–715, pp. 702–03.
69 For a wealth of examples see Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
70 See Maria's letters to Cardinal Bernardino Spada, her husband's uncle, ASR, FSV, B.619, 5, 15 and 29 Sept. 1642; to her husband: B.618, 21 Sept. 1678, 21, 28, 31 Dec. 1678, 15 March 1679; to her son Fabrizio: B.410, fasc. 6, 29 Oct. 1679, and 5, 9, 12 and 30 Oct. 1680.
71 ASR, FSV, B.619, 5 Sept. 1642; B618, 26 March 1678, 5 Oct. 1678, 9 March 1679; B.410, fasc. 6, 27 Sept. 1679.
72 ASR, FSV, B.619, 7 Sept. 1642 and 15 Oct. 1654.
73 ASR, FSV, B.618, 26 March 1678 and 2 April 1678
74 ASR, FSV, B.618, 30 April 1678, 4 May 1678.
75 ASR, FSV, B.607, 18 May 1660.
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25

FOOD PREPARATION AND MEALS IN A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE

Raffaella Sarti

Introduction

The chapter analyses food preparation and meals in Western Europe between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, focusing on their gendered dimension.[1] Thanks to a variety of sources, three main variables are considered: social stratification, geography and time. Others, such as religion, will only be mentioned in passing.[2]

After providing a survey of the topic and synthetic information on the state of research, the chapter first illustrates that not every house had a kitchen or a fireplace. Many poor, especially in cities, could not afford a dwelling where one could cook. In certain regions, however, particularly, it seems, in Mediterranean Europe, eating on the streets, in taverns or at open-air working places such as fields or construction sites was widespread and not necessarily a sign of poverty. Furthermore, even families which usually cooked at home occasionally bought a proportion of the food they ate from a market.

In lower- and middle-class families that prepared meals at home cooking was generally a female task, performed by family members or by servants. Things were different in upper-class households. This chapter argues that in early modern times, the cooks employed at the courts and by the aristocracy in Italy, Spain and France were generally men; a feminization of the preparation of food started in France from the eighteenth century onwards. In central and northern Europe, upper-class women were much more involved in the preparation of food, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the popularity of French cuisine led to a growing recourse to male cooks. This contribution attempts to explain these differences and trends over time and discusses the role of nurturing and cooking in the definition of female identity in different contexts.

A brief outlook on breastfeeding will show that particularly upper-class women entrusted their babies to wet-nurses, increasingly abandoning this practice from the eighteenth century onward, and probably earlier in Northern Europe. At the same time, it became more common among the lower classes, especially factory workers. Finally, the chapter addresses meals in a gendered perspective, arguing that they were not necessarily occasions for families to meet. In upper-class families each member could eat in their own rooms while lower-class and peasant families often lacked a sufficient number of tables and chairs. When they came together, not all family members had the right to eat sitting around the table, women and

children often being prevented from being seated. In any case, places around the table generally displayed age and gender hierarchies within families, and servants were often not allowed to eat with their masters' families.

A variety of different food cultures emerges from this analysis. While gender proves to be crucial anywhere and at any time, its actual role depended on specific social, cultural, historical and geographical contexts.

State of research

This chapter builds upon several scholarly approaches about food,[3] the history of food and food-ways[4] as well as women's and gender history. Economic history was and still is particularly interested in types and quantities of food produced, traded and consumed, addressing issues such as changing techniques of production, preservation and cooking, auto-consumption, short- and long-distance trade, costs and prices, economic and fiscal policies involving food as well as the role of food in economic development, living standards, well-being and even changes in physical height.[5] Research on trade overlaps with the history of geographical explorations, colonization, imperialism and globalization – we need only think of the expeditions of the late Middle Ages which sought new routes to the spice trade or the role of sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco in colonization and globalization.[6] While the boundaries between different disciplines and approaches are far from clear-cut, social historians have mainly focused on issues such as differences in access to food and the diets of people belonging to different classes and social groups, and/or on food and health.[7] These questions have also been addressed by historical demographers, who have explored topics such as food and population growth.[8] On the other hand, historical anthropology and cultural history are particularly interested in the meanings attributed to certain foods, cooking cultures, rituals linked to preparation and consumption and the role of certain foods and drinks within specific cultures[9] such as the religious restrictions on the consumption of pork amongst Jews and Muslims, the procedures related to kosher and halal food, the role of bread and wine in the Christian Holy Communion, the importance of tea in British culture or of pizza in the Italian one, to mention but a few examples.[10]

Unsurprisingly, women and gender studies, too, have addressed the issues of food and food-ways,[11] investigating the female role in food production, food trade and cooking, the religious, symbolic and cultural value of food for women, whether or not female and male newborns were breastfed in the same way, whether men were privileged when food rations were shared within families, etc.[12] Initially, scholars focusing on women and gender had to deconstruct stereotyped assumptions that associated women with food preparation, for instance the claim that cooking was the 'natural' consequence of breastfeeding. In fact, both anthropological and historical studies have shown that the practice of breastfeeding differs substantially depending on region and time period. It was (and still is) a culturally constructed practice to the point that some cultures and/or social groups did or do not consider maternal breastfeeding to be obvious. Once such stereotypes were deconstructed, the research showed a rich variety of different gender arrangements related to breastfeeding, food preparation and food consumption, with new studies expanding our knowledge of the field every day.[13]

Cooking at home: a gendered perspective

Poverty was a common experience for many of our ancestors. At the bottom of the early modern social ladder there were people too poor to own a house and/or who lived from

hand to mouth or on charity, alms and/or petty thieving. Even among those who could afford a dwelling, particularly in the cities, numerous people did not have a kitchen and sometimes not even a fireplace. Even though the early modern era witnessed a growing specialization of rooms and an enrichment in the equipment of pots, pans and crockery,[14] in seventeenth-century Rome being able to cook at home was almost a luxury.[15] In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris, a sample of 3,000 households showed that 55 percent had neither a kitchen nor a room to cook.[16] Those who could not cook at home bought ready-made food (such as bread and pancakes), fruit, vegetables and others from shops or street sellers (who were mainly women)[17] and/or ate in taverns (if they could afford it).[18] Having said that, those who could cook at home also bought part of their food from the market. Eating in taverns, on the streets or at open-air working places such as fields or building sites was widespread not only due to poverty. Apparently, this was particularly common in Mediterranean Europe, not only among the poor but also among people of other social groups.[19] These social and geographical differences must be kept in mind to avoid misleading generalizations when, in the following, the focus will be on food preparation within the domestic sphere, particularly on gender differences.

Let us begin with a quotation from one of the most important Italian Renaissance cookery books, by Cristoforo Messisbugo. He stated:

> I will waste neither time nor effort describing different soup [*sic*] made from vegetables or pulses or teaching how to fry a tench or cook a pike over a griddle and such like, which can be done excellently by any vile woman. … But I will only speak of the most notable, most important food.[20]

Thus he distinguished between daily cooking, as practised by women, and refined cuisine, which was (implicitly) assumed as masculine. In Renaissance Italy, the authors of cookery books who provided instructions and recipes mainly (but not only)[21] to the noblest and richest households were men, and their books were for and spoke of men: carvers, trimmers, larder-keepers, cellar-men, bottlers, pastry-chefs, cooks, assistant cooks, kitchen boys and pursers.[22]

So what about women? Messisbugo showed a complex attitude towards them: on the one hand, despising them ("any vile woman"), on the other, appreciating their ability to prepare certain, albeit simple, dishes "excellently". Many sources confirm that in palaces of the Renaissance Italian elite cooks were generally men, whereas in middle- and lower-class families, food preparation was entrusted to women, be they mothers, daughters or servants. Although fiction is by definition imaginary, it often describes situations that are verisimilar. Interestingly, female characters who prepared food occur rather frequently in fiction. "The bread I bake is liked by all" and "my cooking is tasty and delicate", declared the "woman, who, by outlining her skills, tries to find a master". Her story is told in *La fantesca* (*The Maid*) by the comic poet Bastiano di Francesco from Siena. The text dates from the first half of the sixteenth century and is full of sexual innuendoes weaved around actual activities performed by female servants.[23] Similarly, the protagonist of *La massera da be'* (*The God Housemaid*), a poetic text by Galeazzo degli Orzi (1554), is a poor woman from the Brescia countryside who, while offering her services, listed the dishes she could cook.[24] Another type of fictional source, a printed game by the Bolognese engraver Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718) entitled *Il gioco delle donne e sue facende* (*The Game of Women and Their Chores*) lists, despite its facetious style, a completely plausible number of (lower middle-class) women's activities, including feeding their babies, preparing food and setting the table.[25]

Moving on to archival sources, we find further confirmation of the female role in preparing food. This is the case of a 1626 trial involving a country servant, Sabbatina Masini, accused of infanticide. "And on the following Tuesday morning, I helped them make bread",[26] she told the Bolognese judges who were questioning her. Of course, we cannot know whether Sabbatina was telling the truth; however, it is certainly fair to assume that what she was saying had to sound verisimilar, that is, had to mirror a maid's common activity in order to convince the judges of her innocence. In the trial for the beatification and canonization of the Sicilian Capuchin monk, Bernardo da Corleone (1605–1667), a witness testified that she had benefited from a miracle thanks to a relic of Bernardo's. While many of us would not believe in the miracle, we have no reason to doubt that Sebastiana Rigogliosa, the witness in question, was actually preparing bread with her two daughters when she decided to resort to the supernatural help of the Capuchin friar to cope with her accidental loss of yeast.[27]

Cooking is not only a matter of repeating received knowledge. Interestingly, Ortensio Lando, in the *Breve catalogo de gli inventori delle cose che si mangiano e beveno* (1548) (*Brief catalogue of the Inventors of Food and Drink*) presented a long list of women who had invented new dishes, including Libista, a farmer from Cernuschio (Lombardy), who had been the first to "make ravioli wrapped in pasta", and Meluzza from Como, the "inventor of lasagne, macaroni with garlic, spices and cheese".[28] Source material of a different kind confirmed female inventiveness, such as the recipe book by Sister Maria Vittoria della Verde, compiled between 1583 and 1607, that contained as many as 170 recipes.[29] Nuns prepared delicacies that often travelled beyond their enclosed walls.[30] The convents' cuisine linked the lower-class tables to the noble ones.[31] Sister Maria Vittoria's recipe book, however, remained a manuscript, whereas those by great male cooks were published and often had numerous editions. In Italy, as in other countries, women's recipes were popularized differently to men's recipes. In Spain, along with classic texts such as the one by Montiño,[32] non-professional cookbooks known as women's recipe books were available, all of them as unprinted manuscripts during the early modern era.[33] In France, too, the authors of cookery books published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were men.[34] But this was not the case everywhere else.

The first printed German cookery book written by a woman, *Ein köstlich new Kochbuch* [*A delicious new cookbook*] by Anna Wecker, dates back to 1597. Anna, married to the well-known doctor Johann Jakob Wecker, was concerned about her readers' health, providing recipes for elaborate dishes, daily cooking, quick dishes and instructions for the poorest families.[35] In Germany, even previously high-ranking women had ventured into writing cookery books, but without publishing them. The oldest one attributed to a woman is *Das Kochbuch der Philippine Welser* [*The Cookbook of Philippine Welser*], probably from 1545. The manuscript undoubtedly belonged to Philippine, daughter of the Augsburg nobleman Franz Welser and wife of Archduke Ferdinand II Hapsburg (1557), but maybe she was only the author of a final addition.[36] However, Philippine certainly supervised the cooking in her castle in Ambras (Innsbruck) very closely, experimenting with and disseminating new dishes, some of them even prepared with products from the New World (her family had grown richer not least thanks to the spice trade and was involved in the colonization of South America). Another contemporary manuscript, *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin* (1553) [*The Cookbook of Sabina Welserin*], is likely to have been written entirely by the woman to whom it is attributed.[37] In sum, in the German-speaking world, some women wrote cookery books in as early as the sixteenth century, as did many others in the following centuries,[38] which confirms that in these areas cooking had a markedly feminine trait. Maria Sophia

Schellhammer, the author of two cookery books (1692 and 1699), in the first explicitly addressed her female readers, which illustrates she expected it to be read mostly by women.[39] Interestingly, male German authors of cookbooks from the sixteenth century addressed both male and female readers, as is shown not least by the titles of the books by Balthasar Staindl von Dillingen[40] or Marx Rumpolt.[41] Later, some male authors addressed their books exclusively to women.[42] German women, with Hildegard of Bingen's (1098–1179) dietary texts leading the way, are credited with having forged the public consciousness of cooking earlier and with greater success than women in other countries.[43]

In Britain, too, women played an important role, although initially perhaps less markedly than in the German-speaking world. Furthermore, writing and collecting manuscript recipes involved entire families over several generations.[44] However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "collections of secrets" were published that were written by or attributed to women, and addressed to ladies to instruct them in the duties their rank required. These also contained recipes.[45] *The treasurie of commodious conceits & hidden secrets* (1573), reprinted several times in extended versions, was addressed mainly, albeit not exclusively, to women.[46] Furthermore, the poet and translator, John Partridge, presented as the author of the book,[47] claimed he had written it at the request of a noble woman. He also stated that he had included medical and cookery recipes hitherto unknown, 'secrets', which he had collected. Where had he got them from? Some recipes were taken from the book *De' secreti del reverendo donno Alessio Piemontese* (*The Secrets of the Reverend Alessio Piemontese*)[48], a book generally attributed to the Italian polygraph Girolamo Ruscelli, that was extremely successful throughout Europe and translated into many languages.[49] However, Partridge probably also sourced recipes from unpublished manuscripts and from the women of his and his friends' families.[50] Many English recipe books were actually based on hand-written collections belonging to noble women. While their names initially remained unknown, from the 1630s onwards, entire collections or single instructions were attributed to them, which proves that cooking activities were considered increasingly respectable. Furthermore, the fact that according to *The treasurie of commodious conceits & hidden secrets*, a noble woman had encouraged its publication means that women, at least upper-class ones, had sufficient authority to initiate the publication of a book of secrets. Some women even acted as guarantors not only of the value of the knowledge passed on but also of the legitimacy of publishing information that had remained 'secret' up to then. This applies to *The Widowes treasure*, a book of medicine, veterinary science and cookery, also attributed to John Partridge[51] and presented as containing the knowledge of a noble woman with great healing skills.[52]

In *The treasurie of commodious conceits & hidden secrets*, "virtually all of the recipes for edibles are for sweets".[53] Sugar played an important role in boosting the importance of the books of secrets, owing to its prestige which was transferred to activities involved in its use.[54] This may have been one of the reasons why upper-class men also participated in collecting cookery recipes.[55] The feminization of cookery books that took place in England was intertwined with the rise and transformation in the consumption of sugar, initially administered as a medicine and later used as a confectionery and cooking ingredient.[56] Moreover, the central role of *conceits* made with sugar, marzipan and other pastes reflected the idea of nature as controllable by art and of art as "a form of making that produces knowledge", which even anticipated the seventeenth-century understanding of nature as a repository of secrets to be discovered by science and natural philosophy.[57] Thus, recipes and books of secrets that were inspired, read and written by women contributed to the transformations that led to the development of experimental science.[58]

Books such as *The Good Huswifes Jewell* (1585) by Thomas Dawson[59] and *The English Hus-wife* (1615) by Gervase Markham were also based on hand-written collections of recipes

belonging to noble women.[60] They were in fact house-keeping handbooks rather than books of secrets, but the boundaries between the various genres were not always clear-cut. These books, addressed to ladies in their roles as housekeepers and featuring fairly simple cookery, and often also medical, recipes, continued to be printed in the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Instruction manuals for the lady of the country-house multiplied and some were very successful, such as *The Queen-Like Closet*, by Hannah Wolley (1670).[61] Whilst their authors were not always women, from the mid-eighteenth century the writing of cookery books was mainly dominated by female authors who suggested simple and wholesome dishes. These women wrote for other women, usually ladies or female servants employed by the middle classes, gentry and small noble households.[62] In 1747, Hannah Glasse, with her book *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, for the first time aimed explicitly to teach servants. Thanks to her book, "every servant who can but read" would "be capable of making a tolerable good cook", whereas "those who have the least notion of Cookery" could not "miss of being a very good one".[63] As for professional male chefs, they did not begin to publish before the middle of the seventeenth century, producing cookery books similar to French and Italian ones, namely providing instructions for the preparation of refined food addressed primarily to other male chefs. These books written by professional male chefs were never published in large numbers and vanished from the book market around 1730.[64]

Intersections between gender, class and nation

In France and Italy, gender was linked to social status: elite cuisine was dominated by male cooks; in all other families where food was being prepared, cooking was entrusted to women. In England, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the difference between male and female cooking on the one hand, and elite and 'common' cooking on the other both corresponded with the difference between French and English cuisine. The overwhelming majority of the population ate English dishes prepared by women (family members or maids and female cooks). Cooking was considered a female task, and some skills in the kitchen were expected even of middle- and upper middle-class women.[65] At the top end of society however, French cuisine was the norm and cooks were male servants. Jonathan Swift, in his biting *Directions to the Servants*, probably written in 1731, addressed a female cook, outlining very clearly the complex relationship between class, gender and nationality that characterized the way English kitchens operated:

> Although I am not ignorant that it hath been a long Time, since the Custom been among People of Quality to keep Men Cooks, and generally of the *French* Nation; yet because my Treatise is chiefly calculated for the general Run of Knights, Squires, and Gentlemen both in Town and Country, I shall therefore apply myself to you, Mrs. Cook, as a Woman: However, a great Part of what I intend may serve for either Sex.[66]

But while, during the eighteenth century, French cuisine was only common for a narrow elite, it would find greater favour between the end of the Napoleonic wars and the mid-nineteenth century.[67]

In England, as in the German-speaking world, kitchen work was considered less menial than in France, where (rather paradoxically) the cuisine was more sophisticated. It appears that high-ranking French ladies did not bother with kitchen work at all, at least personally.

The same is true of Italy.[68] "A virtuous mother must not disdain to sometimes set her hands to work", the poet Torquato Tasso explained in the late sixteenth century. But "not in the kitchens or in any other sordid thing that may sully her body", he hastened to add.[69] "Each woman should know how to cook", Agnolo Pandolfini (1360–1446) had written long before, yet adding: "Not that the woman should cook, but let her direct, instruct and show the maids who are not as well educated how to behave in the most advantageous fashion and how to prepare whatever dishes are required" when there were no professional cooks in the house.[70] Ludovico Dolce (1508–1568), although claiming that the girls had to be taught "the way to cook and to order food", seemed aware that it was perhaps a difficult or losing battle: "I know that some delicate Madonnas will make fun of me, and they will scoff that I want to engage their daughters in kitchen work".[71] How can we explain this difference between England and the German-speaking world on the one hand, and Italy and France on the other?

Maybe we can venture a link with ancient Roman traditions enduring in the Romance areas of Europe.[72] Perhaps, instead of resorting to such distant roots, more contingent reasons can be found. Maestro Martino da Como, the fifteenth-century author of a very influential cookery book, presented himself as a former cook of the "Most Reverend Monsignor Camorlengo and Patriarch of Aquileia".[73] Bartolomeo Scappi, whose *Opera* is considered the top of Renaissance cuisine, was the popes' secret chef.[74] The papal and cardinal courts were certainly important role models – and they employed male staff.[75] Furthermore, in Italy and in France, cooking played a greater 'public' role than in England, although, in the English context, hospitality and food were also important in political circles.[76] In England, particularly after the seventeenth-century revolutions, the court had neither the power nor a role as *arbiter elegantiarum* comparable to those of the magnificent French or the refined Italian Renaissance ones. In such contexts, banquets were 'public' and 'political' means to show and consolidate a prince's or the king's power. Statues of butter and fountains of wine expressed and underlined political power, and nobles competed in hosting banquets with a hundred courses and amazing inventions.[77] In England, particularly in the eighteenth century, food and feasts were less important as arenas of socio-political competition, which helps explain why English cuisine had more distinctive domestic features compared to France and Italy, where professional chefs and other specialized staff played a much greater role since banquets had important public and political value.[78] Illustrating the domestic features of German cuisine, Peter Peter explains how this resulted in a particular valorization of female cooks and the widespread involvement of women in the writing of cookery books.[79] However, the fact that German and English women – unlike Italian and French ones – published cookery books between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is probably also due to their higher literacy levels.[80]

Long-term changes

According to Giuseppina Muzzarelli,[81] mainly referring to Italy, cooking in the Middle Ages was a predominantly feminine skill. Masculinization would take place concurrently with the growing importance of banquets as opportunities to flaunt power and wealth. The masculinization of kitchen staff in the transition between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age is consistent with the outcomes of some studies on the gender composition of domestic staff as a whole.[82] Research has shown, for instance, that in cities such as Florence and Venice a masculinization of domestic staff took place from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century.[83] Regarding the sixteenth century, this trend has been interpreted as

a consequence of changes in the labour market, due to demographic growth during this period[84] and of the aristocratization of society. The latter explanation is consistent with the reasons suggested to explain the masculinization of cooking among the elites.[85]

In the seventeenth century, Vincenzo Tanara, in his book *L'economia del cittadino in villa* (*The Economy of the Ccitizen in the Countryside),* noted that

> at the time of our ancestors, and still when I was a child, there was in this city [Bologna] a school of women who, and with much usefulness and comfort, were skilled in serving in the kitchen, but nowadays quite the opposite is true.

He advocated a preference for male cooks, advising against hiring female cooks. He described women as "excessive wine drinkers, cursed or witches", thieving, wasteful, stupid and dirty:

> Who does not know that the dirtiest man is usually cleaner than the cleanest woman? A female cook places the pot on the fire, styles her hair, and then, while the food is cooking, with fingers covered in spit, she spins.

"Having to compare the ordinary intelligence of a man to that of a woman is a great insult to our gender", he declared.[86]

In Bologna, the city Tanara was speaking about, a study conducted on about one tenth of the population shows that at the end of the eighteenth century the proportion of men among servants was 45 percent. About 20 percent of male servants worked with food and wine: they were cooks, assistant cooks, larder-keepers, cellar men, kitchen boys. On the contrary, none of the female staff were referred to as cooks, kitchen maids or any other food related job.[87] If Tanara was right in arguing at the time of his childhood (around 1600) female cooks were common, this had changed substantially by the end of the eighteenth century, with Bolognese kitchens being dominated by men – almost as if Tanara's misogynous suggestions had been taken seriously or they had expressed shared opinions.

In France, the masculinization of kitchens in upper-class families, apart from those of the *très grandes maisons*, possibly occurred rather late, if we are to believe Charles Duclos (1704–1772). In his memoirs, he denounced an increase in luxury from the end of the reign of Louis XIV (1715) onwards, which also applied to kitchens. Until then there were "male cooks only in the houses of the first class. More than half of the magistrates only employed female cooks".[88] Yet, other sources support the hypothesis of an earlier masculinization of French kitchens. Analysing a source from 1695 Toulouse, Cissie Fairchilds found evidence of 68 male and two female cooks. On the other hand, there is also data that suggest an earlier feminization in comparison with Bologna: in 1789, 52 male and 173 female cooks were registered in Toulouse.[89] Information on both France and Italy confirms fluctuations in gender of those who cooked in middle- and middle upper-class families (while lower-class and elite cooking were clearly dominated by women and men respectively), even though the precise chronology of such changes must be pinpointed in any specific context.

Studies on French cuisine also show that it began to develop a taste for elegant, sober and delicate dishes from the Regency Period (1715–1723). In the 1730s and 1740s, people began to talk about modern cuisine[90] and *nouvelle cuisine*.[91] A new preference for natural and simple food resulted in the serving of less elaborate dishes, even at large banquets, and to an appreciation of 'bourgeois cuisine', traditionally prepared by women and their female servants. The first French cookery book, addressed to women, though written by a man, (Menon), *La Cuisinière bourgeoise* (1746), was published in this context. The title implied

a contrast between bourgeois, female cooking and courtly, aristocratic, male cuisine. This difference was made explicit in the preface of the book which, by proposing an imitation of the cuisine of the elite, marked the departure from it: simplified recipes would be less eye-catching than the original ones, but this would be an advantage to both health and budget.[92] Thus a concern for costs, absent in the earlier French tradition (in contrast to the rather budget-conscious English cookery books)[93], started to emerge. Talking about the female cooks (*cuisinières*) that the book aimed to instruct, the author took for granted that bourgeois kitchens, for which the recipes were written, were staffed by female, waged cooks, or, at most, by people preparing their own meals.

The publication of *La Cuisinière Bourgeoise* not only reflected a major transformation of the relationships between social groups in eighteenth-century France but also contributed to such changes. They were probably also made possible by an improvement of the literacy levels of kitchen staff, who showed a familiarity with paper, pen and numbers.[94] The sensational success of *La Cuisinière Bourgoise* – a real bestseller – also raises the question of whether this implied better chances for female cooks in the labour market. As mentioned, at the dawn of the Revolution, Toulouse kitchens were staffed by many more women than in the previous century. With all likelihood, this was also true for the rest of France, the revolutionary years probably accentuating this trend.[95] Female cooks often replaced male ones,[96] in contrast to what happened and would happen with other male specializations that, from the late eighteenth onwards, either passed on to professionals or institutions outside the domestic sphere or simply disappeared without being replaced.[97] However, such replacements did not imply a perfect interchangeability between male and female cooks: rather, they probably expressed and reinforced new ways of perceiving the kitchen and its roles. The fact that female cooks earned lower wages than male ones was undoubtedly an important factor during a period when saving money became more important or, at least, had more legitimacy.

In Italy, the oldest printed book addressing female readers was only published in 1771. The title page of *La Cuciniera Piemontese* (*The Piedmontese Female Cook*) showed an illustration of a woman standing near a stove and carrying a dish to four people sitting at a table.[98] Referring to the success of the earlier *Il Cuoco Piemontese* (*The Piedmontese Chef*) (1766), the publisher's preface praised Italian cuisine compared to French cooking, but did not explain why the new book was a sort of feminine version of the previous one. However, at the time, people were beginning to think it was advisable to instruct their female kitchen staff. Addressing his readers, Antonio Nebbia, chef from Macerata and author of a successful cookery book, explained:

> do not be at all surprised, my reader, if I have ventured to put together this cookery book, as I had no other wish, no other aim, but to benefit many male and female servants, who claim, or at least believe they can cook well for their masters, while they are almost completely ignorant about that task [...] Which will certainly represent not only a saving for their masters, but also give great satisfaction.[99]

The intention to instruct servants who also worked in the kitchen, with an eye to saving: these were topics similar to those Hannah Glasse had dealt with in her *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* more than 30 years before (but she addressed female servants, Nebbia both female and male).

"My method is simple, proper and far from expensive", we read in *La cuoca cremonese* (1794) (*The Female Cook from Cremona*). The author declared she had learned from

Piedmontese and French chefs, therefore presenting herself as an authority.[100] The number of books presented as written by and addressed to women was increasing. In 1801, a booklet appeared dedicated to mothers with families: *La cuoca di buon gusto con economia e pulizia* (*The Tasteful Female Cook with Economy and Cleanliness*).[101] Leafing through the *Giornale Italiano* (*Italian Newspaper*) from 5 December 1815, readers would have found an advertisement announcing the publication of an almanac for the following year, 1816, entitled *La serva cuciniera e credenziera* (*The Female Servant Cook and Larder Keeper*).[102] The almanac became highly successful. After initial copies sold out, a new, improved edition was printed.[103] Clearly a winning formula and lasting success: almanacs with the same or similar titles were still in circulation many years later.[104] However, the female servant cook of the almanacs had to struggle to gain independence: in the late 1820s, one of them still presented her as "instructed by the Piedmontese chef".[105]

Two women featured on the lithograph of the Milan edition of the 1845 almanac, with the caption *The Lady of the House in the Kitchen*. While in Germany the image of two women without any male presence had already appeared in the book by Anna Wecker, printed at the end of the sixteenth century, this was one of the first images, if not the very first, in Italian cookery books.[106] Moreover, the first proper cookery book written and signed by a woman to be printed in Italy was *Come posso mangiar bene* (*How I Can Eat Well*) by Giulia Ferraris Tamburini, published in Milan by Hoepli as late as 1900 (manuscripts, as we have seen, existed much earlier).[107] At the time, there were already many books written by women on home economics and cooking.[108] In Italy, 'home' cooking had been officially recognized and accepted, owing to publication of the first edition of *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene (Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well)* (1891) by Pellegrino Artusi, the result of collaboration between Artusi, his chef Francesco Ruffilli and his female cook Marietta Sabbatini, and dialogue with the ladies in his acquaintance and, particularly in later editions, his female readers.[109] Therefore, Italian cookery books written by women were published relatively late, despite being plentiful ever since they started to appear.[110]

On the other hand, the data on Bologna shows that in this northern Italian city the feminization of kitchen staff took place much later than in Toulouse. As shown above, documents of a 1796 census, relating to about one tenth of the population, do not mention a single female cook. In the *status animarum* of the Bolognese parish of San Giovanni in Monte, rather densely populated and with many nobles among the locals, one female cook was registered in 1810, but none in 1820 or 1830. This situation changed only decades later. In 1850, female cooks accounted for two percent of servants working with food and wine; in 1857, this figure increased to ten percent and in 1899 to 48 percent. In 1902 there were 48 percent of female cooks in the nearby parish of San Bartolomeo, which had a slightly more 'bourgeois' social mix. It is fair to assume that here feminization took place earlier precisely due to this social composition: in 1840, female cooks already constituted 11 percent of food workers. However, even in San Bartolomeo none were mentioned in 1810, in 1820 or in 1830.[111] In Bologna, the process of specialization of female servants and replacement of male cooks by their female counterparts seems to have started rather late in comparison to other European contexts. The fact that many of the annual reports as well as several other sources did not record female cooks does not mean there were no female servants who cooked. In Bologna, as elsewhere, in the houses with servants but without a cook, one of more ordinary female servants prepared the meals, too. However, it is one thing to prepare food in addition to other tasks and another to be only in charge of the cooking.

In Spain, the publication of cookery books addressed to women began even later than in Italy. The first is probably *La cuynera catalana*, an anonymous text initially published in 1835

and reprinted several times in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.[112] A slightly earlier book features a woodcut print of a woman serving a dish, giving the impression that she has also cooked it.[113] Subsequent books also explicitly addressed female cooks, for example, *El practicón* by Ángel Muro (1894) with illustrations of women cooking.[114] However, it was not before 1913 that a cookery book written by a woman was printed: *La cocina española antigua* by Emilia Pardo Bazán, a writer who started to publish a series of books significantly titled *Biblioteca de la Mujer* (Woman's Library) in 1892.[115]

Conclusion

Due to class and cultural differences, during the early modern age women's relationship with the preparation of food was far from straightforward. In the lower-class and middle-class households throughout the whole of Europe women generally cooked. But this did not apply to the upper social strata. In England and Germany, middle- and upper-class women were probably engaged in food preparation to a greater extent than their counterparts in France, Italy and Spain, where professional cooks were mostly male and ladies were generally not involved in food preparation. Over time, however, the latter countries witnessed an increase of female cooks and the growing involvement of ladies.

It should also be noted that, as far as we know, wet-nursing in England was never as widespread as in Italy and France, and its decline occurred earlier.[116] "Even quality women breastfeed their babies", a foreign traveller noted in 1784, referring to British families.[117] Significantly, Pietro Verri, one of the first Italian noblemen whose wife did not breastfeed, was accused of "wanting to behave like an Englishman".[118] From the late eighteenth century, breastfeeding, albeit with some resistance, would also become popular among the Italian and French elites. This raises the question whether there was a link between the more widespread and earlier practice of breastfeeding among the English upper classes and the engagement of English women in various tasks related to food preparation.

Bearing in mind the aforementioned differences, upper-class women all over Europe increasingly breastfed their children from around the eighteenth century onwards. At the same time, male chefs and cooks started to disappear from kitchens, which increasingly became staffed by a growing number of female cooks in France, Italy and, presumably, Spain. There was also a feminization of cookery books. From that time, women of all social classes throughout Europe shared a tendency to engage in various tasks related to 'nurturing', which became a vital part of the definition of femininity. Even more noble and wealthy women breastfed their babies when they became mothers. At the same time, women were increasingly expected to be able to cook, whether they prepared the food themselves or delegated this task to their servants.

It might be objected that, with the development of industrialization, growing numbers of working-class women were forced to resort to wet-nursing, that many female factory workers found preparing food increasingly difficult and, in a sense, moved away from their kitchens. While upper-class women were getting more involved in breastfeeding and food preparation, many female workers were moving away from them. As women were increasingly associated with nurturing mothers,[119] the fact that many female workers entrusted their babies to wet-nurses and neglected the preparation of meals for their families was considered an aberration brought about by factory work. In contrast, for centuries it had been accepted as normal for upper-class women to entrust their babies to paid wet-nurses and leave the task of preparing meals to their male cooks.[120] In sum, breastfeeding and preparing food were not always closely associated with female identity. On the contrary,

they display surprising variability and flexibility, which encourages us to deconstruct stereotypes and attempt to identify, case by case, the relevant variables for the construction of genders in different social, historical and geographical contexts.

Thus, while breastfeeding and preparing meals for the family within the domestic sphere is often associated with women, this chapter has shown that this was not always and not everywhere the case. On the other hand, while the image of the family sitting around the table and eating together is often used as a representation of family values such as unity and solidarity, meals were in fact often consumed in different ways. In destitute families, particularly cities, each member often took it upon themselves to find the food necessary for their survival. In upper-class families, each member often consumed his or her meal in his or her apartments or rooms. Furthermore, when the family ate together, the places around the table and order of access to food usually mirrored family hierarchies. Certainly, however, not all those who lived under the same roof ate together. Servants generally (though not always) ate separately, and in families with large staff, lower and upper servants often ate different food in different places. Gender and generational hierarchies were often reflected and reinforced at meals in lower-class families, too. Especially where chairs were still rather scarce, children often ate standing up or sitting on the ground. Even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the women of some Italian peasant families did not eat sitting around the table. They served the men and then ate standing or sitting by the fireplace or elsewhere[121].

In sum, not only food preparation but also food consumption was (and is) a site to express and construct generational, social and gender differences and hierarchies. Far from being only a place of solidarity and ordinary life, the domestic sphere – where for many people, though not all, the large part of food preparation and food consumption took place – was also, and possibly mainly, a site of differences and hierarchies that were manifested and constructed in many ways, also through food.

Notes

1 English revision by Clelia Boscolo, University of Birmingham and Christine Brocks [translations of quotations not otherwise attributed by RS].

2 Food preparation was and is obviously important for health. Not surprisingly, the boundaries between medical and culinary recipes were often blurred. On domestic medicine see the chapter by Sandra Cavallo on "The Domestic Culture of Health in Early Modern Europe" in this volume.

3 Ken Albala (ed.), *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

4 Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (eds), *Food: A Culinary History* [1997] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

5 For instance Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", Prato, *Alimentazione e nutrizione, secc. XIII–XVIII*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.) (Florence: Le Monnier, 1997), with plenty of references to previous works; Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Industrious Revolution: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); John Komlos, *Nutrition and Economic Development in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy: An Anthropometric History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

6 A classical study is Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Vicking, 1985). Mintz was actually an anthropologist. An encompassing book is Kenneth Kiple, *A Moveable Feast: Ten Millennia of Food Globalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

7 Roberto Finzi, *La pellagra: un esempio di malattia da carenza* (Bologna: Clueb, 1984); David Gentilcore and Matthew Smith (eds.), *Proteins, Pathologies and Politics: Dietary Innovation and Disease from the Nineteenth Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

8 Massimo Livi Bacci, *Population and Nutrition: An Essay on European Demographic History* [1987] (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

9 Massimo Montanari, *Food is Culture* [2004] (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

10 Raffaella Sarti, "Cultura materiale e consumi in Europa e nel Mediterraneo", in Roberto Bizzocchi (ed.), *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo*, vol. 10: *Ambiente, popolazione e società* (Rome: Salerno, 2009), pp. 353–416; Raffaella Sarti, "Material Cultures of Living: European Attitudes to Novelties", in Alessandro Arcangeli, Jörg Rogge and Hannu Salmi (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Cultural History in the Western World, from 1250 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 217–38.

11 Arlene Voski Avakian and Barbara Haber (eds.), *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies: Critical Perspectives on Women and Food* (Amherst-Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); Carole Counihan, "Gendering Food", in Jeffrey M. Pilcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 99–116.

12 Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970); Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Parents de sang, parents de lait: La mise en nourrice en Florence 1300–1530", *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1983), pp. 33–64; Jane Humphries, "'Bread and a Pennyworth of Treacle': Excess Female Mortality in England in the 1840s", *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 15, 4 (1991), pp. 451–73; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Carole M. Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

13 For instance, Marjone L. DeVault, *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991). Some parts of this chapter are elaborated from my previous work, i.e. Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture 1500–1800* [1999] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 157–67; Raffaella Sarti, "Melhor o cozinheiro? Um percurso sobre a dimensão de gênero da preparação da comida (Europa ocidental, séculos XVI-XIX)", *Cadernos Pagu* 39 (2012), pp. 87–158, cf. (www.scielo.br/pdf/cpa/n39/04.pdf) last accessed 14 Sept. 2019; Raffaella Sarti, "Cucinare: La preparazione del cibo in prospettiva di genere (Europa occidentale, secc. XVI–XIX)", in Enrica Asquer and Paolo Capuzzo (eds.), *Genere e cibo: Pratiche quotidiane e scritture delle donne*, Special issue of *Genesis: Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche* 16, 1 (2017), pp. 17–41; among recent books on the issue: Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Nelle mani delle donne: Nutrire, guarire, avvelenare dal medioevo a oggi* (Rome: Laterza, 2013); Agnese Portincasa, *Scrivere di gusto: Una storia della cucina italiana attraverso i ricettari* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2016), esp. pp. 285–333.

14 Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 89–148; on the history of the kitchen that was largely "a multi-use space" see Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600–1850* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), pp. 112–13.

15 Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome* [2006] (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013), pp. 67–68.

16 Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* [1988] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 60.

17 See, for example, Andrzej Karpinski, "The Woman on the Market Place: The Scale of Feminization of Retail Trade in Polish Towns in the Second Half of the 16th and the 17th Century", in Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", Prato, *La donna nell'economia, secc. XIII–XVIII*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.) (Florence: Le Monnier, 1990), pp. 283–92; and, more generally, Anne Montenach, *Espaces et pratiques du commerce alimentaire à Lyon au XVIIe siècle: l'économie du quotidien* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2009); Deborah Simonton and Anne Montenach, *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640–1830* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", Prato, *Il commercio al minuto. Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale, secc. XIII–XVIII*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.) (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2015); Melissa Calaresu and Danielle van den Heuvel (eds.), *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Streets from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2016).

18 Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 95, pp. 162–63; Ago, *Gusto for Things*, ch. 4; Sandra Cavallo, "The Artisan's Casa", in Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (eds.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London: V&A Publications, 2006), pp. 66–75 (75); Tessa Storey, "Face Waters, Oils, Love Magic and Poison: Making and Selling Secrets in Early Modern Rome", in Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin (eds.), *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500–1800* (Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 143–63; Calaresu and van den Heuvel (eds.), *Food Hawkers*.

19 Melissa Calaresu and Danielle van den Heuvel, "Introduction: Food Hawkers from Representation to Reality", in Calaresu and van den Heuvel (eds.), *Food Hawkers*, pp. 1–18 (2).

20 Christoforo Messisbugo, *Libro nuovo nel qual s'insegna il modo d'ordinar banchetti… [Banchetti compositioni di vivande, et apparecchio generale* (Ferrara: Giovanni De Buglhat et Antonio Hucher compagni, 1549)] (Venice: Lucio Spineda, 1600), p. 39v. The book saw ten editions between 1549 and 1621. Many early modern books I refer to in this chapter were reprinted several times, even recently (and are also available online). In the following notes I refer to the first edition or give the first edition's date.

21 See, for example, Antonio Frugoli, *Pratica, e Scalcaria* (Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1631).

22 Maestro Martino da Como, *Libro de arte coquinaria* (mid 15th c.); Bartolomeo Sacchi (il Platina), *De honesta voluptate* (first edition possibly Rome, 1474); Domenico Romoli, called Panunto, *La singolar dottrina* (Venice: Michele Tramezino, 1560); Bartolomeo Scappi, *Opera* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1570); Vincenzo Cervio, *Il trinciante* (Venice: Eredi di Francesco Tramezzino, 1581); Frugoli, *Pratica e Scalcaria*; Bartolomeo Stefani, *L'Arte di ben cucinare* (Mantua: Osanna, 1662); Antonio Latini, *Lo scalco alla moderna* (Naples: Dom. Ant. Parrino e Michele Luigi Mutii, 1692).

23 Bastiano di Francesco, *La Fantesca […] Sopra d'una Donna qual narrando le sue virtù, cerca di trovar padrone. Di nuovo stampata …* (without place, press and year), p. 480*v* .

24 Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari, *Italian Cuisine: A Cultural History* [1999] (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 233.

25 A reproduction is available on www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/630969 last accessed 18 May 2020.

26 Ottavia Niccoli, *Storie di ogni giorno in una città del Seicento* (Rome: Laterza, 2000), p. 46.

27 Congregatione sacrorum rituum sive Eminentissimo, ac Reuerendissimo D. Card. Casanatta Panormitana, seu Montis Regalis. Beatificationis, & canonizationis ven. servi Dei fr. Bernardi à Corleone layci Ordinis Cappuccinorum. Positio super dubio. An sint concordandæ literæ remissoriales ad effectum conficiendi processum super virtutibus (Romae: ex typographia Reuer. Cam. Apostolicæ, 1676), pp. 19, 27–28, 201.

28 Ortensio Lando, *Commentario delle piu notabili & mostruose cose d'Italia & altri luoghi […] con un breve catalogo de gli inventori delle cose che si mangiano & beveno…*, Guido and Paola Salvatori (eds.) (Bologna: Pendragon, 1994), pp. 126–28. It is difficult to establish the value of Lando's statements; interestingly, however, he mentioned several female inventors of dishes, see Emilio Faccioli (ed.), *L'arte della cucina in Italia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), p. 275; Capatti and Montanari, *Italian Cuisine*, pp. 235–36.

29 Maria Vittoria della Verde, *Gola e preghiera nella clausura dell'ultimo '500*, Giovanna Casagrande and Giovanni Moretti (eds.) (Foligno: Edizioni dell'Arquata, 1988); Giuseppina Muzzarelli, "Il Medioevo e l'età moderna", in Muzzarelli and Fiorenza Tarozzi, *Donne e cibo: Una relazione nella storia* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2003), pp. 1–100 (72). According to Giuseppina Muzzarelli, the recipes were recorded both for the monastery and the outside world.

30 Mario Fanti, *Abiti e lavori delle monache di Bologna in una serie di disegni del secolo XVIII* (Bologna: Tamari, 1972), pp. 49 and 53; on the flow of goods from and to nunneries see Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 51 and 123.

31 Angelo D'Ambrosio, *Il cibo dei chiostri: Piatti e dolci della tradizione monastica* (Terlizzi: Ed Insieme, 2011).

32 The recipe book by Francisco Martínez Montiño, cook at the court of King Felipe III, titled *Arte de cocina, pastelería, bizcochería y conservería* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611) was the most important Spanish baroque recipe book.

33 Isabel Moyano Andrés, "La cocina escrita", in *La Cocina en su Tinta* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010), pp. 17–59 (24).

34 Philip Hyman and Mary Hyman, "Printing the Kitchen: French Cookbooks, 1480–1800", in Flandrin and Montanari (eds.), *Food*, pp. 394–402.

35 Anna Wecker, *Ein köstlich new Kochbuch* [1597] (Amberg: bey Michaeln Forstern, 1598).

36 Schloss Ambras Innsbruck (SAI), PA 1473, Koch und Arzneibuch der Philippine Welser, manuscript, sec. XVI [ca. 1543/44]; SAI, PA 1474, Kochbuch der Philippine Welser, ms, sec. XVI, I; see Klaus Dürrschmid, Eine Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Kochbuchs (Vienna, 2002), available online cf. www.klausduerrschmid.com/kochbuch/, last accessed 20 March 2020, chapter 3, pp. 7–9; the manuscript was published by Gerold Hayer (Leipzig: Ed. Leipzig, 1983).

37 Augsburger Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, signature 4° Cod. 137, *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin;* the text was published by Hugo Stopp, *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1980).

38 Dürrschmid, *Eine Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Kochbuchs*, chapter 4.

39 [Maria Sophia Schellhammer], *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch [Die wohl unterwiesene Köchin, 1692]* (Berlin-Potsdam: Rüdigern, 1732), p. 2r.

40 *Ein künstlichs und nutzlichs Kochbuch, vormahlens nie so leycht, Mannen und Frawnpersonen, von jnen selbst zulernen* (Augsburg: Stayner, 1544) p. 4.

41 Henri Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks in Europe, 1470–1700: Bibliography of Early Modern Culinary Literature* (Newcastle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010), p. 242 also mentions a 1576 edition; according to Peter Peter, *Kulturgeschichte der deutschen Küche* (Munich: Beck, 2008), p.54, the book was published for the first time in Mainz in 1581. I have consulted the following edition: Frankfurt: Johann Saurn, 1604.

42 See, for instance, [Johann Fr. J. Reichenbach], *Allgemeines Küchenlexicon für Frauenzimmer welche ihre Küche selbst besorgen* (Leipzig: Voss, 1794).

43 Peter, *Kulturgeschichte der deutschen Küche*, p. 9.

44 Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household", *Centaurus* 55, 2 (2013), pp. 81–103.

45 Allison Kavey, *Books of Secrets: Natural Philosophy in England, 1550–1600* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007). According to Jean-Louis Flandrin, "The Early Modern Period", in Flandrin and Montanari (eds.), *Food*, pp. 349–73, Italian and French books of secrets did not provide proper recipes but only recipes of jams, syrups and other preparations with sugar, then considered a medicament; according to Storey, "Face Waters", pp. 146–47, "Italian books of secrets appear to have developed principally with male users in mind".

46 S.R. Holman, "A New Introduction", in [John Partridge], *The Treasury of Hidden Secrets: 17th-Century Housewives' Handbook of Cookery, Herbals, and Medicine* (Cambridge, MA: Rhwymbooks, 2002), pp. 1–12 (2).

47 Holman, "A New Introduction", p. 2; Kavey, *Books of Secrets*, p. 79.

48 Venice: Sigismondo Bordogna, 1555.

49 Engl. transl. *The Secrets of Alexis* (London: printed for John Wright, 1558); Elizabeth Spiller, *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books: Cooking, Physic and Chirurgery in the Works of Elizabeth Talbot Grey and Aletheia Talbot Howard* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 14.

50 Holman, "A New Introduction", p. 1.

51 Holman, "A New Introduction"; Kavey, *Books of Secrets*, p. 95 and *passim*.

52 Kavey, *Books of Secrets*, pp. 4–8, 104–06.

53 Holman, "A New Introduction", p. 1.

54 Gilly Lehmann, "The Cook as Artist?", in Harlan Walker (ed.), *Food in the Arts: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1998* (Blackawton: Prospect Books, 1999), pp. 125–33 (p. 126).

55 Lehmann, "The Cook as Artist?", p. 126; Stephen Mennell, *Français et Anglais à table du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 1987) [*All Manners of Food. Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985)], pp. 130–32.

56 Lehmann, "The Cook as Artist?", p. 126.

57 Spiller, *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books*, pp. XIV–XVI (XVI).

58 Sara Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England", in Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* [2004] (London, Routledge, 2016), pp. 237–58; Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 209–55.

59 Cf. www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/texts/cook/1500s2/1550s2.html, last accessed 20 March 2020.

60 Lehmann, "The Cook as Artist?", p. 126; Michael R. Best, "Introduction", in Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife* [1986] (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), pp. XI–LVIII (XVII–XVIII).

61 Hannah Wolley, *The Queen-Like Closet* (London: printed for R. Lowndes at the White Lion in Duck-Lane, near West-Smithfield, 1670).

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PART XIII

Animals and plants

26

DOGS AS DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Aline Steinbrecher

Introduction

Liminal animals are suitable models to illustrate the polyvalent role of dogs in eighteenth-century urban contexts. For Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka, urban animals are prime examples of liminal animals, that is animals which exist between nature and culture and are neither wild nor domesticated.[1] Owing to the various roles in their relationship with humans, canines have always inhabited spaces in-between human and animal, culture and nature, wildness and domesticity and public and private life. They have been objects of prestige, status symbols, draught animals, protective animals, assistance animals, educational animals, substitutes for nature, objects of desire and relationship partners. John Berger postulates that, as liminal animals, dogs are intermediaries. Even though they are clearly part of the natural realm, they inhabit a cultured world. Berger highlights this dualism by stating "they belonged there and here".[2] The dog as a liminal animal not only demonstrates that the dualism of nature/culture cannot be maintained, but the dog also contributed to shaping human spaces.

Around 1800, dogs in cities turned into biographical participants, family members and relationship partners. They lived as pets in communities comprised of various species.[3] In order to comprehend the scope of urban dog ownership, it is important to explore both quantitative and qualitative aspects of this phenomenon. There is evidence of debates on the overpopulation of dogs in German-speaking cities. In 1756, an anonymous author estimated there was at least one dog for every family in Vienna, and surmised a dog population of 4,000 dogs for a city with 2,000 houses.[4] We can get a sense of the actual number of dogs by looking at records from the newly established municipal dog administration, according to which up to 30 to 40 dogs inhabited some Viennese town houses.[5] In Berlin in 1841, 4,499 dog tax tags did not suffice for the number of officially registered dogs, so that a further 1,000 had to be ordered. Thus, it is fair to assume that there were approximately 5,500 registered dogs in Berlin.[6] In 1843, the city ordered 6,000 tags, and the following year 7,000 tags were produced.[7]

Introduced on 19 December 1812, Zurich's dog tax was intended to curb the number of dogs, based on the expectation that not everyone would be able to settle the duty. Furthermore, the income from dog tax was used for dog control and a reduction in the number of dogs. However, a report from Zurich raised the concern of whether dog taxation was an effective tool as

> dog owners are known to be very affectionate towards their animals, and it would require a great deal of pressure to convince them to get rid of their pets, and some owners would choose to pay a fairly high tax before giving up their animals, even if they did not want to.[8]

As the above-mentioned examples illustrate, animals contributed to shaping the domestic sphere. This article will begin with an introduction on pet ownership in Europe, subsequently putting empirical examples of dog ownership in a broader context. While extant research on nineteenth-century dog ownership in London and Paris exists, the source material this paper draws on stems from German-speaking cities, which have hitherto been neglected by comparable research. The majority of the source material, predominantly from Augsburg, Bamberg, Berlin, Frankfurt, Tübingen and Zurich archives, has a trans-regional character as it was written for, or by, members of the bourgeoisie who exchanged ideas within a knowledge space which exceeded the confines of any one particular city.

State of research: pet ownership in Europe

Maren Möhring points out that histories of the 'home' or the 'family' rarely mention animals or pets. Archival source material, by contrast, paints a different picture.[9] It is full of references to dogs, cats, ferrets, birds and fish, to name only the most common ones. As early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a process of spatial diversification began to take place, giving farm animals their own enclosures such as stables, cages or menageries.

Animals become pets by a process of human categorization; therefore, they can be seen as social constructs.[10] As Kathleen Walker-Meikle succinctly put it: "Pets are animals kept by humans for companionship. An animal only becomes a pet because its human owner chooses to keep it as one. There are no pets in nature. A 'pet' is thus an artificial, man-made category".[11] Walker-Meikle's definition refers to the social construct of pets while simultaneously explaining that the spatial proximity of animals to humans is what turned them into companions.[12] Thus, the history of animal keeping and pet ownership should be viewed as a history of space,[13] for, in the words of Emma Power, "the question is as much about where species meet as when".[14] John Berger outlines the proximity of humans and animals during the pre-modern period using a metaphor of an inner circle: "animals constituted the first circle of what surrounded man".[15] The metaphor of the 'inner circle' or the concept of social proximity, as I like to call it, visualizes the spatial and emotional proximity of humans to their pets. Beginning in the eighteenth century, domestic animals were ones that slept under the same roof as their owners and thus became companions to their human housemates. Living within the same four walls meant sharing heated rooms, which in the pre-modern period only accounted for a small part of the total living space,[16] and to which pets had access, but servants did not. Marge DeMello thus points out that pets occupied a "social place" within the family structure.[17]

Sharing the domestic sphere with animals took on a new, intimate dimension when they were assigned specific spaces. Pet ownership had already fulfilled an emotional purpose to large circles of seventeenth-century urban inhabitants. In the words of Karen Raber, "pet love was invented as a social and cultural force in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries".[18] Especially in English aristocratic circles, dogs reached the status of companion animals by as early as the seventeenth century.[19] Katherine Rogers evidences this by naming numerous correspondences and ego-documents in which dogs are mentioned as central family members. British author Horace Walpole, for example, sold all of his family's hunting dogs, but spent his whole life with

Cocker Spaniels, about which he wrote regularly.[20] Birds and fish, kept in cages and aquariums, also represented status symbols in the semi-public privacy of the bourgeois apartment.[21] Julia Breittruck reveals that birds kept in bourgeois households were testaments to the successful domestication of wild animals. Small birds furthermore expressed grace, innocuousness and the need for protection. Since tending these animals entailed caring for them, they were included in the emotional practices of the bourgeoisie.[22]

In contrast to livestock, which had begun to vanish from cities in the mid-eighteenth century, the economically inferior birds, fish, cats and dogs held their positions, even expanding their reach. As Maren Möhring points out, the early eighteenth century marked the entrance of domestic animals into bourgeois circles and family life. Möhring believes that domestic animals became central elements of bourgeois family life during the course of this process, particularly with regard to the self-representation and emotional life of the bourgeois family.[23] Although urban pet ownership was a phenomenon that affected all social strata, the urban bourgeoisie took it on as an element of self-representation. Thus, the majority of source material from the period under investigation refers to bourgeois households. The history of pet ownership is therefore also a contribution to the history of the bourgeoisie, viewed, however, from a very specific perspective.

This article will show that recreational dog ownership, which fundamentally differs from aristocratic or agricultural dog ownership, was a key element in the newly established reference system of the socio-economically and no less culturally defined bourgeois class.[24] Until now, research on the bourgeoisie has found a variety of cultures and lifestyles by which various subgroups achieved and represented their common bourgeois identity, including individual achievements, work ethics, a tendency towards a rational way of life, independence, self-organization, education, an aesthetic relationship with high culture, family values and symbolic everyday forms such as table manners, clothing and social conventions.[25]

Pet ownership can certainly be added to that list. If the bourgeoisie is understood as shaped by a "cultural habitus", expressed in social behavioural norms and manners,[26] then pet ownership clearly belongs to the repertoire of common bourgeois forms of conduct. Historians do not know exactly when keeping animals as companions occurred in the urban European context.[27] There is, however, evidence that pet ownership for personal pleasure was already firmly established as a cultural practice in the nineteenth century, even turning into, to use Kathleen Kete's words, a "cliché of modern life".[28] In her book *The Beast in the Boudoir*, Kete reveals to what extent pets helped shape family lives and living spaces in nineteenth-century Paris. Harriet Ritvo, in turn, describes a growing interest in dogs in London during the same time.[29]

Thus, it does not seem convincing to date the beginning of European pet ownership to the nineteenth century,[30] as has often been the case; too many references to the practice of pet ownership stem from as early as the seventeenth century. By the end of that century, a transformation from rural aristocratic to urban bourgeois dog ownership took place. That said, there is evidence that dogs, for example, were already kept as companion animals in the Middle Ages. Thus, while pet ownership itself has been in existence for a long time, it has changed significantly in terms of quality and quantity. Moreover, numerous visual depictions of family life illustrate the increasing importance of pets as family members. Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch paintings show dogs, as well as cats and birds, as family members, interacting with the children of the family, which, according to Kathleen Kete, displays the innocence but also formability of both.[31]

Pet ownership was certainly no invention of the nineteenth century. Beginning at the end of the eighteenth century, keeping animals for personal reasons developed from a luxury that

was only available to a select few into a widespread and morally charged practice.[32] Scholars have tried to find reasons for the introduction of animals into the domestic sphere.[33] In the 1980s, geographer Yi-Fu Tuan initiated discussions on the motivations of pet ownership, claiming that most people seek affective relationships with their pets. He argued that in the context of industrialization and urbanization, people compensated 'human loss' with their relationships to pets. While interpersonal relationships have changed throughout social upheavals, pets represented an "ontological security".[34] Along a similar vein, Adrian Franklin interprets increased affection towards pets as a substitute for the dramatic change in interpersonal relationships brought on by modernization.[35] Both Tuan and Franklin's arguments, however, are rather simplistic. Their view of history is based on a clear nineteenth-century social fracture that led to the isolation of certain individuals and thus limited their abilities to indulge in their emotions. Both scholars assume that the human–animal relationship was intended to fill the gap in the interpersonal area of life, interpreting pet ownership, or the increasing popularity of owning pets, as a characteristic feature of modernization. In doing so, they regard pets as substitutes for humans rather than animals.[36] Furthermore, they emphasize the function of pets as representations of nature.[37] These assumptions are based on the view that the processes of industrialization and modernization alienated people from nature, and that growing cities have brought on a desire for the countryside.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries marked the beginning of spatial diversification, and of livestock increasingly being assigned to designated spaces such as stables, cages and menageries. While the distance between humans and farm animals increased, the distance between humans and all other individualized non-food animals gradually decreased, until they were assigned their own spaces within the human domicile.[38] By assigning specific spaces to animals, the phenomenon of humans sharing their living spaces with animals took on a new intimate dimension. Norbert Schindler, however, criticizes Keith Thomas's assumption that the practice of anthropomorphizing dogs can be attributed to processes of domestication and to the intimacy post-aristocratic bourgeois emotional culture of the eighteenth century. He argues that the human–dog relationship is significantly older and more ambivalent.[39] Pets took on the roles of imagined and yet living companions that served to substitute a nature that was believed to be lost, while simultaneously bringing a domesticated and trained version of nature into the home.[40] According to Raber, keeping domesticated, well-adjusted animals gave owners a feeling of control over nature.[41] Pets are thus expressions of a cultivated nature in which all things wild are tamed and transformed into symbols of civilized life; a thought shared by Dorothee Brantz.[42]

These ideas are based on the assumption that, to their owners, pets, including dogs, symbolized nature, even though they had been tamed and domesticated for millennia.[43] The aforementioned authors also convincingly consider pet ownership as an attempt to overcome a sense of alienation from nature and as another form of its control.[44] This interpretation equates domestication with dominance.[45] Tuan argues that the exercise of power over pets should not be seen as the opposite of affective devotion, rather that the simultaneity of dominance and affection is precisely what constitutes the human–pet relationship.[46] Completing the abovementioned definition that pets are non-human animals that have entered the domestic sphere, I would like to introduce an interpretation by Mary Douglas that views the private home as a space of control.[47] With regard to pet ownership, Kete focuses less on control and more on the escape from everyday life. She describes how owners entered an imaginary world when they interacted with pets, convincingly exemplifying this phenomenon through the lens of fish ownership in Paris. The aquarium equipment and selection of fish constituted the imaginary horizon of bourgeois life.[48] The furnishing of a bourgeois home, in particular the

rooms accessible to visitors, was a difficult undertaking. These spaces, such as living rooms, served as stages for the performance of visitation rituals.[49] A practised coexistence of humans and pets showcased the status of the host, which was amplified by the display of accessories associated with pet ownership. Humans allowing animals to enter their homes (*domus*), may also be interpreted as a show of human dominance over domestic animals,[50] since, according to Mary Douglas, the domestic sphere always constitutes a place of control.[51]

For Keith Thomas, the individualization of animals – as shown by the fact that they were given names and certain outfits – was a precondition for the establishment and development of pet ownership.[52] Interpreting the emergence of increasingly human-sounding proper names for dogs as a symbol for individualization,[53] however, is problematic, since people had been naming dogs long before all other animals.[54] Dog names show up in sources such as private household records and letters that go back as far as antiquity and the Middle Ages.[55]

In the Middle Ages, a dog's name either referenced their breed or some kind of physical characteristic.[56] A practical reason for naming dogs was the necessity to lead and command them, thus names primarily served as a means of communication.[57] This is certainly why dog training manuals recommended naming one's dog as the first step to train it. The emergence of the genre of dog manuals reveals how important the role of dogs was in the bourgeois context.

Clemens Wischermann, who studies the human–animal, specifically the human–cat relationship with a relational approach, also emphasizes the occurrence of a process of individualization of pets. He demonstrates how the distinctive status of pets is particularly discernible in the event of death.[58] Pet cemeteries, first introduced in the nineteenth century, institutionalized the emotional grieving process towards pets.[59]

Dogs as bourgeois domestic animals

Around 1800, dogs were the most popular urban pets. They began entering urban homes as companion animals during the course of the eighteenth century and became an important part of European bourgeois culture.[60] While the lower classes primarily valued dogs for their ability to protect and work, the bourgeoisie ascribed a variety of roles to dogs. They were companions, housemates, entertainment as well as social partners.[61] Apart from their utility, dogs or 'lap dogs' were viewed as the ultimate 'leisure animals.' As a 1705 diary entry by theologist Franz Phillip Florinus shows, these "doggies" were "small, subtle, delicate, and their only purpose is to serve the amusement of the lady's quarters and the children who pass their time playing with them". Florius also mentioned that men kept faithful four-legged companions of their own for "pure pleasure",[62] including hunting dogs that were acquired for anything but hunting.

Dogs qualified as companion animals primarily for their display of loyalty and affection, as well as their long-shared history with humans which shaped the evolution of different dog breeds. Eighteenth-century encyclopaedists described the fact that dogs had evolved side by side with humans as a natural occurrence, which, at the same time, had already been historicized. Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* begins its 1735 entry on the dog as follows:

> It is a tame carnivorous animal that provides some advantages for pleasure and labour. It is quite wonderous that, among all animals created by our great God, dogs are the only ones that live with humans, and that are willing to serve them because of their extraordinary loyalty, vigilance, obedience and love for their masters, of which countless examples could be named.[63]

The first purpose of the dog that Zedler mentioned was pleasure, however, he also mentioned the animal's utility. Zedler's remark that dogs were the only animals that lived with humans is noteworthy. This underscores the idea that dogs became companion animals because they entered the domestic sphere. Zedler furthermore referenced various kinds of animal ownership. Livestock and pets did not just fulfil different needs, they also occupied different spaces. Encyclopaedist Johann Georg Krünitz (1728–1796) went so far as to describe the dog exclusively as a companion animal:

> We cannot separate man's desire for pleasure from his desire for companionship. Dogs seem to suit the company of man before all other animals. They flatter their masters in all kinds of ways, and follow their every step.[64]

This entry also referenced life in the company of humans as characteristic of the dog. It furthermore assigned the canine with an active role in the formation of the human–dog relationship. In particular, their ability to flatter made them the ideal animal for companionship and entertainment. In an 1800 article about dog ownership as a hobby that appeared in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (Journal of Luxury and Fashions), an anonymous author, who identified himself as a dog owner, included pleasure as one of the many reasons to own a dog: "One keeps dogs for protection, to shepherd other animals, to hunt, out of necessity or for pleasure".[65] The author distinguished between necessity and pleasure, and further separated these two elements from the need for representation. In other words, the categories of utility and pleasure in his view did not cover all qualities of dog ownership. The article further underscored that it was a pleasure to own a dog "in the best, truest sense of the word". Coming home in the evening, getting away from the crowded streets, the dog owner was welcomed by his pet,

> which, happily wagging its tail, makes a sound similar to a bark, lies down, all four limbs stretched out, [...] and rests his snout on [your] shoe as if to say: "everything is fine now that we are back together again."[66]

The account continues with the description of a dog's loyalty and of dogs in general. As social agents, the article reads, dogs help shape the home, a place of peace and refuge. Following the description of his personal relationship to dogs, the author discussed the cultural technology of dog ownership in general, explaining that in many German cities it had become more fashionable than ever to own a dog.[67] The article portrayed dogs as intimate relationship and entertainment partners, and simultaneously for representational purposes.

In terms of dogs as status symbols, particular attention was paid to breeds and features.[68] The emerging cultural techniques of dog ownership required an affiliation with a certain social class, aggravated by the fact you could own a dog which did not make any contribution towards your income while costing you money to keep it alive. Furthermore, a new concept of idleness or leisure time developed which existed in contrast to the public sphere of work. From its very beginning, dogs were included in the design of this emerging leisure culture. Flaunting one's dog in public and being seen walking one's dog[69] were two central components of bourgeois self-representation.

City dwellers used dogs much like clothing; to indicate the social strata they belonged to.[70] Canines did not only symbolize luxury but also good taste, as the variety and expense of dog accessories from that period reveal. The dog as a mobile possession expressed what Norwegian-American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen has called "conspicuous

consumption".[71] In this sense, dogs became fashion accessories for bourgeois and aristocratic women in particular. Labelling women's dogs fashion accessories reveals that canines served both as symbols within certain social configurations and as tools for self-representation in the public sphere.

However, it seems necessary to move beyond the interpretation of dogs as a status symbols and lifestyle objects to include an understanding of dogs as relationship partners. Donna Haraway has done this from the perspective of agility sports. She concludes that the relationship between humans and dogs should be understood as the smallest tangible study unit.[72] Dogs participate in the interactive and reciprocal relationship between humans and canines, and thus inscribe themselves into the behaviour patterns of humans. Haraway believes that the actions and lives of dogs and humans are intertwined in so many ways that neither animal nor human can be regarded as isolated from one another, and we must therefore always begin from the perspective of a relationship history. Several historians have adopted the idea of the human and the canine as a duo of agents, which was originally developed by social scientists.[73] This relational approach has resulted in various concepts of interagency which emphasize the search for animalistic agency is not about the discovery of animalistic independence but rather about ascertaining the various ways individual creatures are dependent on other living beings. Excluding this particular thought model, agency is always also interagency.[74]

Living with animals

The home of an affluent seventeenth-century family was divided into a reception room, a study, and a bedroom. Spaces that were accessible to visitors, such as living rooms, fulfilled a need for self-representation and served as stages on which to optimally perform visitation rituals.[75] The design of these spaces was seen as a difficult undertaking, in particular the differentiation between private and public spheres that took place around 1800. Living rooms were decorated with ornate furniture, finely woven fabrics sewn into pillows and curtains as well as mirrors and paintings.[76] Nature, in the form of potted plants, which had been a new innovation, also entered the living room around this time.[77]

The purpose of these furnishings, including the living 'animal accessories', was to represent the social status of the host. The desire to display one's position in society was particularly discernible by aquariums, which became popular among the bourgeoisie in the 1850s, gradually replacing early modern glass goldfish bowls.[78] As early as 1860, the *Grande Encyclopédie* described aquariums as signs of progress and elegant living accessories. In 1861, French ornithologist Florent Prévost (1794–1870) noted that many Paris and London apartments featured aquariums.[79] Using the example of fish ownership in Paris, Kathleen Kete establishes that owning pets was predominantly about escaping everyday life rather than control. She describes how owners were able to enter into an imaginary world with their pets. The special features of aquariums and choice of fish constituted an imaginary cultural (mental) horizon of bourgeois life *en miniature*. Nineteenth-century aquariums were thus adorned with miniature models of Greek ruins or exotic plants. These small, meticulously crafted habitats revealed how the primary concern of pet owners was to bring tamed and cultivated forms of nature into the living room.[80] This occurred around the same time that birdcages became popular home accessories.[81] Keeping birds in the living room, especially canaries, had already been common in France during the eighteenth century. Julia Breittruck claims that owning canary birds complemented a certain Parisian affinity for exotic home accessories.[82] Birdcages became classic status symbols, and the singing of songbirds, moreover, lent the living spaces they inhabited an additional auditory dimension.[83]

Aquariums and cages were not only home accessories but also the (only) habitat of fish and birds that were kept in the home. This situation differs to some extent from that of the most popular pet, the dog, since in most cases humans shared their entire living spaces with their canine companions. However, dogs were still assigned specific areas within this shared space. Owners even purchased special accessories for their comfort, which were on offer from the eighteenth century onwards. Kete has found evidence that there were pet shops in Paris in the 1850s.[84] From then on, the well-furnished living room of a bourgeois pet owner would not have been complete without a sleeping cushion or dog bed (see Figure 26.1).

Books on rabies give some clues as to dogs' sleeping habits. Read against the grain, they not only reveal which sleeping places were considered the best but also where dogs actually slept in everyday life.[85] As part of rabies prevention it was recommended that dogs should sleep at assigned spots rather than be allowed to choose their sleeping places freely. Thus, dog manuals provided instructions how to train dogs to only use designated places to sleep,[86] recommending dog baskets, cushions or beds. Dog beds should protect from the cold, heat, wind and rain, and be free from those elements that are rabies-inducing.[87] To make a dog bed, owners were instructed to build a box the size of the dog, fill it with straw and place it at a moderately warm spot in the house.[88] The bed should be kept clean to prevent diseases.[89]

As heat was considered dangerous to dogs, it was advised not to let them lie close to stoves. Since in practice this was difficult, physician Carl Paulus suggested that dog owners build stove guards. Physicians were even more adamant when it came to dogs sleeping in

Figure 26.1 *Dog Bed*, detail from Sigmund Freudenberger (1745–1801), *The Ribbon Seller*

their owners' beds than they were about sleeping by sources of heat. The reason for this advice was rabies prevention: the warmth and excessive proximity to humans in the bed was thought to be harmful. This argument was echoed in pedagogical literature, which repeatedly warned against dogs sleeping in human beds. According to the *Geschichte des schlauen Pudels* ("The Story of the Clever Poodle"), which appeared in the *Journal fur Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher* (Journal for Children, Parents, and Teachers), the poodle, although capable of opening doors itself, was not welcome in its owner's bedroom and had to sleep in the living room.[90] There was a consensus that dogs should sleep inside the house, as was the case for numerous other pets. The outdoors was where they were expected to relieve themselves and exercise their urge to move: "A daily exercise of approximately one hour in the open air is good for all dogs, in summer, in the morning; in winter, at noon, and, if possible, by sunshine".[91] In training manuals, 'outside' was increasingly designated as a place where dogs were to relieve themselves while 'inside' was their living space. This corresponds with the bourgeois concept of family life, spending contemplative and harmonious time together in the living room, as depicted in numerous paintings.[92]

As companions to humans, dogs did not only share beds with their owners but also the table. Gradually, specially produced dog food was introduced. Around 1700, dogs were usually fed with so-called *hundsbrod* (dog bread), which, according to Johann Jacob Agricola, contained "rye bread, barley and semolina mixed with curdled milk".[93] Krünitz recalled that *hundsbrod* was a kind of bread made out of "semolina and rye flour",[94] specially made for dogs and given to them with a suitable drink.

It is safe to assume that not all dog owners were able to afford feeding their dogs two pounds of bread per day, but that many of them used scraps and household waste as dog food.[95] Then as now, dogs were considered omnivores, and, according to Julius Sichel, their "stomachs, being capable of digesting many kinds of foods", allowed them to follow humans wherever they went.[96] The 1848 *Handbuch der gesamten Hausthierzucht* (Complete Guide to Domestic Animal Breeding) stated that dogs were

> easy to nourish, which is why even people without the means are able to own one or more dogs, for they eat most kitchen and table waste. Some dogs can be fed meat of dead animals from the knacker's yard, and others bread, flour and grains, soup or mashed potatoes.[97]

However, according to an 1800 handbook for animal pharmacology, dogs kept as companion animals did not only eat waste. It advised against giving dogs cooked or baked pastries, even if they seemed to enjoy them,[98] and that dogs should drink water, milk or broth, and that they would not enjoy wine.[99] Since it was difficult to prevent dogs from eating scraps off the family table, the veterinary guide recommended to make sure one's meals were not too spicy so that they would be suitable for dogs.[100]

Meat was not a large part of a dog's diet, regardless if it ate *hundsbrod* or table scraps. The low-meat diet of dogs was not only a matter of economics but also a reflection of the contemporary scientific discourse on dog nutrition. Zedler, for instance, supported the claim that the healthiest way to raise young dogs was by feeding them bread and soup rather than meat.[101] Occasionally, veterinary literature questioned the predominantly vegetarian diet of domestic dogs around 1800. It was argued that dogs should get their "food from the animal world", instead of being fed "grains and vegetarian scraps", as was common practice.[102] "House and lap dogs", it stated, were spoiled but not well-nourished because dogs were not able to digest human food from the dinner table.[103]

Subsequent debates focused on dog nourishment from the perspective of resource conservation. Dogs did not only eat away the available bread, they also got the meatiest chickens and the biggest treats, which at the time included chocolate, as mentioned in the 1781 *Journal de Paris*. Women were particularly criticized, claiming that the same ladies who spoiled their dogs denied their help to the most destitute human beings.[104]

Conclusion

Critical voices of physicians warned against the humanization and domestication of dogs. This criticism was based on the belief that the healthiest habitat for dogs was their natural one, and that too much spatial and emotional proximity to humans made them soft and, in the worst case, ill. Furthermore, according to the widespread eighteenth-century medical discourse, dog food should be as natural as possible. A cautionary tale circulated in the medical journals of a decadent dog, who, eating chocolate in the warmth of a human bed, even shared physical proximity with its owner. The focus on these exaggerated excesses reveals to what extent pet ownership had developed from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Exploring pet ownership shows how the social coexistence between humans and animals helped create spaces. Martina Löw sees space as a "relational arrangement/order of living beings and social goods in space".[105] Regarding pet ownership, this arrangement/order was created primarily via a corporal understanding of the placement of animals and their accessories.[106] By focusing on animals in the household we can better understand how social agents actively helped to shape the socio-cultural construction of space, and in doing so created new arrangements while also disrupting such orders. Dogs were effective social agents due to their physical and social presence in the domestic sphere.[107] Three aspects underline this development: firstly, the emergence of home accessories that the coexistence of humans and dogs within the domestic sphere brought about; secondly, increasing expert advice on how to design the shared living space; and finally, the proximity of humans to dogs that manifested itself in the living rooms and bedrooms of the pet owners. Humans shared their resources of protection, warmth and food with their dogs. Thanks to the intimate emotional proximity of dogs to humans, dogs became housemates and, as companion animals, found their way into the living rooms and even bedrooms of their owners, which were typically not accessible to outsiders or even close friends. This coincided with a second development: bourgeois houses were increasingly divided into areas designated for humans and livestock, as well as for servants and masters. New visiting practices required the creation of private areas from which visitors were excluded. These private areas were solely reserved for the members of the bourgeois family – including their companion dogs.

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HOUSEPLANTS AND THE INVENTION OF INDOOR GARDENING

Sophie Ruppel

Introduction

Indoor plants have become such a familiar occurrence that we forget the cultivation of plants inside houses and homes is a relatively recent development. Although the domestication of animals as pets within households has become a major field of research,[1] not much is known about the history of indoor gardening and the introduction of plants into European homes. A closer look, however, reveals that houseplants – like pets – became part of middle-class domestic culture at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The cultivation of plants inside houses was a major element of middle-class urban activities and bourgeois lifestyle during the decades around 1800.

The following chapter explores the circumstances in which the cultivation of plants within bourgeois households emerged in the late eighteenth century and how it rapidly spread at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[2] Although the examples here are taken from German-speaking regions, the phenomenon itself appeared in other European countries as well. After a brief summary of existing research and source material, the context – that is the interest that Enlightenment society took in natural knowledge and medical discourses – will be explained. Where and how plants were cultivated inside homes and household raises questions about the status and functions of the houseplant, which was subject to change in the nineteenth century.

Research and source material: gardening and indoor gardening

The history of gardening in general has become a major topic within historical sciences, and the garden as a popular living space of bourgeois or middle-class families has particularly been ascribed to the eighteenth century.[3] The role gardens played for well-known poets such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller or Christoph Martin Wieland – or, generally speaking, the interconnection between gardening and art – is well known.[4] In contrast, however, we still lack information about the relation between homes, households and gardening of the urban middle class or lower classes. It is only recently that large plant markets and the 'cultures of botany', as Sarah Easterby-Smith puts it, have gained attention. For Britain and France she has shown how botanical knowledge spread amongst Enlightenment networks, how plant merchants conquered markets and how these networks worked throughout Europe during the

decades around 1800.[5] While gardening and the economy of plant markets have thus attracted more attention, there is hardly any in-depth study on indoor gardening.[6] Some researchers mention the history of indoor gardening in passing, in connection with questions of medical practices and households.[7] Tovah Martin, who describes the history of indoor gardening for North America, is one of the very few authors of popular gardening literature concerned with this topic.[8] Moreover, the invention of indoor gardening is almost never associated with socio-historical aspects of the eighteenth century. More often the introduction of houseplants is considered to be closely connected to architectural issues, such as the evolution of the front parlour, or to the history of famous architects and writers[9] as opposed to social or cultural changes. However, the history of indoor gardening gives fascinating insights into social history as well as the emergence of bourgeois lifestyle and identity. It can tell us about processes of self-fashioning, family life and the emergence of the bourgeois ideal of the 'home' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Evidence from the German-speaking countries shows that indoor gardening during the period was deeply intertwined with the formation of an urban middle-class culture and its values.

But how do we know about the invention of indoor gardening at all? From the late eighteenth century onwards, journal articles in garden magazines – emerging around 1780 – discussed plants and gardening. Manuals for floriculture were published and a special genre of advice literature for 'indoor gardening', the so-called *Stubengärtner*, swept the book market. These handbooks provided instructions on how to cultivate plants on windowsills, tables, shelves or in special glass boxes. They also explained how to prepare different kinds of soil, how to water houseplants, how to cut and clean them and recommended plants suitable for growing inside. One of the most influential advice books was written by members of a Berlin family of horticulturists. The Bouché family, who had been gardeners and botanists for many generations, set a trend and inspired many others. Their manual (first published by Carl Paul Bouché, subsequently by Peter Carl Bouché) appeared in various extended and improved volumes in at least 11 editions between 1808 and 1834. It was entitled *Der Zimmer- und Fenstergarten oder kurze und deutliche Anleitung die beliebtesten Blumen und Zierpflanzen in Zimmern und Fenstern ziehen, pflegen und überwintern zu können* (The Window Garden or a Short and Simple Manual on How to Grow, Care and Hibernate the Most Popular Flowers and Ornamental Plants in Rooms and on Windowsills).[10] Other books such as those written by Christian Friedrich Poscharsky or Karl Alexis Waller had similar tides and were also published in many editions.[11] These authors often referred to the Bouché family, who initiated a new genre of advice literature. As an important family of gardeners, botanists and scholars throughout the century, they were in close contact with other famous botanists of the time, such as Carl Ludwig Willdenow and Alexander von Humboldt.[12] The Bouchés did not invent new practices, rather picking up those that already existed. For example, in the first edition of the advice book from 1808, Carl Paul Bouché explained that he merely reacted to the demands of his customers, who had asked him frequently about indoor gardening until he finally decided to write an advice book for everybody's use. He commented:

> The love of flowers grows every day, and more and more windows are filled with delicate potted plants. Those who love luxuries display exotic plants to show their wealth. Many an ardent connoisseur uses a glass box in front of his window und enjoys the fruits of his efforts in silent pleasure. Others, more eager still, buy wallflowers, carnations etc. for a few pennies and spend time to care for them; they take them outside into the sun, in spring they let them breathe the mild winter air,

> protect them against the burning sun in summer and rejoice when they find the beloved plant still well after years.[13]

Bouché's remarks indicate that plants had already made their way into houses and homes. But are there any hints about how and why this development occurred?

Context and background

Popular botany and the history of natural knowledge

It is well known that as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the orangeries of the aristocracy contained exotic plants and botanists took delicate plants inside, particularly those brought to Europe from far away, in order to avoid damage.[14] However, for the majority of the population living plants inside the house remained an exception until the late eighteenth century. This also applies to middle-class homes, not to be confused with scholarly households of the early modern era, where indoor gardening was more common owing to the tremendous interest that Enlightenment society took in new natural sciences and botany.

While scholars were at the forefront of the new interest in botany, late eighteenth-century 'botanophilia' – the enthusiasm for botanizing, that is for collecting, drying and categorizing plants – was shared by many others. This should be distinguished from previous scholarly interests in botany. However, there was in fact a close connection between scholarship, the scholarly household and the introduction of plants into bourgeois homes. Both, botanists and 'botanizers' tried to grow certain sensitive plants inside to obtain specimens for their herbarium. David Heinrich Hoppe, one of the founders of the Botanical Society of Regensburg, described the botanizers' indoor activities: "In this way, he can cultivate even the rarest plants from the Alps. And here he can dry them and observe those plants he might otherwise never have seen in his entire life."[15]

When the study of botany became popular, it ceased being a lonesome activity that scholars pursued in their studies and developed into a movement that spread rapidly and brought people together. Discussing botanical issues, collecting new species, embarking on excursions and taking plants inside to 'botanize' and study the life of plants, became as fashionable as discussing new novels in literary circles or debating social and political issues in the salon culture. Thus, botanical manuals, textbooks on plant species and all kinds of introductions to botany were published at the turn of the century.[16] Botanical societies were founded and various magazines on botany (and gardening) were well received by the 'botanical public' (*das botanische Publikum*), as these publications put it. Some of the botanical periodicals, such as *Flora*, a magazine edited by the Botanical Society of Regensburg, were even published weekly in a similar way to newspapers. Not only did they offer articles on newly found species and treatises of well-known botanists on specific topics but they also provided information about planned excursions, places to buy rare species, newly founded clubs and societies and how to transport precious plants.

Thus, a large part of the educated middle class became genuinely interested in botanical issues of all kind – part of the general interest that Enlightenment society took in the new natural sciences. Both 'botanists' and 'botanizers' worked together and cannot, at least in the eighteenth century, be separated from each other. Those who 'botanized', such as physicians, apothecaries, teachers or people working for local authorities, went on botanical excursions together and spent their spare time studying and cultivating plants, visited each

other and cooperated. Many of them were proud owners of large herbariums or private botanical gardens. Gardeners, too, saw themselves as 'botanists'. Botanists such as August Batsch in Jena, on the other hand, were favourable towards the popularization of botanical knowledge and published various guidebooks and introductions to botany, including botany books for women.[17] Thus, for a few decades, indoor plants could mostly be found in studies or private libraries of those who took an interest in botany. But indoor plants soon conquered other rooms of houses and homes, adding aesthetic characteristics. This does not mean that previous botanists had ignored the aesthetics of plants. Rather, both elements – the widespread interest in botany and the growing importance of the interior décor of middle-class houses – equally contributed to what would become the triumph of indoor gardening.

England in particular was in this respect deemed to be the role model of Europe, where botanists and gardeners seemed to work hand in hand. Referring to England, a certain "Herr Welden", for example, argued in the botanical magazine *Flora:* "Why should it not be useful, if scholarship and practical issues go hand in hand; if scholars learn about cultivating plants and gardeners learn from books, they both benefit."[18] He particularly praised the conservatories that had been invented in England, the "glass houses" which the English middle class built "in order to interweave botanical studies and daily life."[19] Thus, botanizing and cultivating plants (subsequently especially exotic plants) in certain rooms of the house and increasingly in conservatories, became an integral part of life of the educated upper- and middle-class society around 1800.

In Switzerland, too, those who could afford it built conservatories as, for example, Victor Bonstetten described in a letter to his friend Friederike Brun in 1804. Not only did he tell his friend about the botanical excursions he had undertaken and the plants he had found but he also informed her that he had built a "conservatory [...] where you can read, talk and walk around under green trees in wintertime".[20] This letter illustrates that not only botanical aspects played an important role but that bourgeois sociability was an integral part of indoor gardening as well. While it might have varied from town to town when and to what extent people followed the newly established fashion of cultivating plants on windowsills and indoor gardening, it is highly probable that this middle- (and upper-)class habit spread all over Europe. A French magazine for architecture read in 1855: "In Belgium, in the Netherlands, in England and in many parts of Germany the stranger, who walks down the avenues of the big cities receives a complete lesson on floriculture only by looking into the windows".[21] Urban advertising papers, for example the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten aus dem Berichthaus zu Basel*, also documented the flourishing plant market. Plants, seeds, equipment for indoor and outdoor gardening as well as botanical guidebooks were on sale everywhere.[22]

Medical discourse

Initially, the emergence of indoor gardening in connection with botanical scholarship and the new sciences was also linked to the insight that plants played a vital role for the earth's atmosphere. The discovery of photosynthesis was the result of a series of experiments that involved many scholars and were accompanied by many discussions, hypotheses and assumptions. Today it is mainly related to the names of Johannes Baptista van Helmont (1580–1644), Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) und Jan Ingenhousz (1730–1799).

As early as the 1780s, experiments carried out by the English Enlightenment philosopher and natural scientist, Joseph Priestley, were widely discussed. Priestley, who published his observations in the well-known *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1772/73,

experimented with "different kinds of air".[23] He found out that plants "breathe" a "different kind of air" than animals, humans or candle flames. When he realized that "spoilt" air inside a jar, in which neither a candle flame could burn nor a mouse survive, could be "restored" by plants, he was certain he had made an important discovery. He wrote: "that I have accidently hit upon a method of restoring air which has been injured by the burning of candles, and that I have discovered at least one of the restoratives which nature employs for this purpose. It is vegetation".[24]

In the following years, the ability of plants to 'clean' the air was discussed further. In particular the Dutch physician Jan Ingenhousz continued to experiment on plants. He realized that sunlight was needed for the process of 'cleaning the air'. He also discovered that only the green parts of the plants were involved in this transformation. However, as Ingenhousz was a physician in the first place – he was Maria Theresia's personal medical councillor at the Viennese court – his main interest was to find medical treatments. Ingenhousz discussed in various publications how this discovery could be put to use and be applied for the benefit of public health. As he was convinced that plants cleaned the air only in sunlight but disseminated 'unhealthy air' at night or in the shade, he gave precise instructions on how to deal with plants inside houses: in a room's sunny spots or on windowsills they would refresh the air and contribute to a healthy environment, but he recommended to remove them from bedchambers at night. He warned:

> The most famous doctors recommend putting fresh twigs from trees or shrubs into the patients' rooms, but nobody has ever thought that this might also be dangerous. I am convinced however that this is very useful on a sunny day if there is a lot of sunshine in the room. [...] But I would be worried that it might cause harm if one did so in a small and dark chamber, especially overnight.[25]

As only the green parts of the plants 'refreshed' the air, he warned against putting flowers or fruit inside that could poison the air.

Originally published in English,[26] Ingenhousz' book was translated into German in 1780; a French and a Dutch edition followed soon afterwards.[27] During the next decades, fierce debates erupted over when and how indoor plants served to protect and restore health, and when they were in fact dangerous. Many treatises discussed at length how the air in towns and houses could be improved – or alternatively, 'damaged'. At the turn of the century, however, the assumption that houseplants improved the air inside and plants generally purified the stuffy air of towns gained ground. The 'dangers' that indoor plants were previously said to bring about were increasingly forgotten although some suspicions concerning the air in dark, shadowy forests or at night seem to have lived on.[28] Overall, from the eighteenth century onwards, most articles in magazines and advice books recommended cultivating plants inside. Physicians advised their patients to put potted plants wherever it was possible, apart from bedrooms.[29]

Some magazine authors even considered the advantages of plants to be underestimated and praised them as miraculous benefactors of society. Their qualities seemed to be extraordinary: in courtrooms, hospitals, post offices and prison cells, they were said to 'clean' the air from the so-called 'phlogiston', which was thought to be released in combustion and during the process of breathing. Human beings were in fact said to release a particularly toxic substance called 'anthropoxin'.[30] Plants, on the other hand, were deemed to have healing powers, illustrated, for instance, by the establishment of so-called *Pflanzenheilanstalten* (plant sanatoriums) with glasshouses and forest walkways. In 1886, Otto Hüttig, in an advice

book on indoor gardening, argued that he had written this book for those who suffered from lung diseases and could not go to a sanatorium, but who wanted to equip their rooms with plants instead.[31]

While these medical aspects remained under discussion, fashion was soon to change and aesthetic considerations increasingly gained ground, as seen in the various ways that plants were arranged in early nineteenth-century houses.

Where to cultivate plants: plants in homes and households

As early as 1838, Ernst Jakob von Reider, a specialist on indoor gardening and new trends of plants and flower markets, defined indoor gardening as follows: "Indoor gardening in general is nothing other than the transferral of the garden into the room in order to cultivate flowers".[32] Therefore, there was no real limitation to the indoor garden, apart from the questions of space available. Only plants too big to sit on windowsills or inside glass boxes were excluded.

Where, then, would one find houseplants within homes and households? First of all, from the late eighteenth century onwards, potted plants were placed on windowsills. Numerous contemporary paintings depict flowerpots in front of windows, opening into a landscape view, which became a frequent motif in the nineteenth century.[33] In many family portraits, too, the houseplant on the windowsill was as popular a prop as the dog or the cat in a basket.

Technical improvements in glass production changed the size of windows at the beginning of the modern era. While larger glass surfaces could be produced from the seventeenth century onwards, it was not until the late eighteenth century that large glass windows became affordable for the middle class and increasingly turned into status symbols among the urban upper and middle class.[34] Besides, eighteenth-century urban housing was increasingly equipped with heating tubes. While in previous centuries windows were usually small to stop the heat escaping, the size of windows was no longer as essential as before. The cold thermal bridge may not have been avoided completely, but it lost its significance. Thus, windows began to stretch from floor to ceiling, as glass became affordable, lending nineteenth-century upper- and middle-class townhouses their distinctive character. Plants would have been an obstacle in houses with small windows, minimizing the light in the room, but once glass and heating became affordable, plants conquered the space between the inside and the outside: the windowsill.

Windows were provided with internal or external sills or even both, so that plants could be placed outside or inside, weather depending. Apparently, inside sills beneath windows were not yet a standard feature at the turn of the century, as manuals provided lengthy instructions on how to construct them. The advice literature also recommended bigger glass boxes similar to small greenhouses that could be attached either on the outside of the window, expanding the room towards the street or, less frequently, inside, expanding into the rooms.[35] With the ongoing enthusiasm for indoor gardening, various kinds of 'plant furniture' such as extravagant cases and shelves were introduced to the market, as well as special brushes to clean plants or windowsills. Ernst Jakob von Reider, who published his advice book for indoor gardening *Stubengärter* in the 1830s, recommended different types of so-called *Stellagen*,[36] shelves for plants, which, "must be supplied with little wheels, so that they can be pushed to different windows depending on where there are sunny spots".[37] Elsewhere he described how to arrange 'plant tables', where the potted plants would be skilfully arranged according to height, colour etc. In the late nineteenth

century, a plant table and a dinner table might have even been combined. For example, a dinner table could have integrated cavities for living plants in the middle. Sofas were surrounded by plants, rooms divided by partition walls cloaked in ivy, armchairs or desks contained holes for potted plants. Protective equipment for precious plants reminded of canary cages (canaries were popular pets at the time).[38] Glass cases, similar to reliquaries, were designed to shelter plants and simultaneously exhibit richness and luxury. Judith Sumner, on North American 'household botany', describes so-called 'Wardian cases', which had originally been invented for explorers and were soon made into valuable cases to exhibit precious plants.[39] European museums today display such plant boxes.[40] Specific aquariums intended for aquatic plants instead of fish were on sale.[41] How sophisticated these installations and equipments could be in the late nineteenth century is shown in Otto Hüttig's *Illustrirte Zimmer-Flora* or in Edward Sprague Rand's *Flowers for the Parlor and Garden*, which was obviously very popular in the United States as the 1876 edition was already the twenty-fifth one.[42]

Whoever could afford it used one room in the house exclusively for plants or built a small glazed annexe to the house in order to grow plants. This annexe, originally invented in eighteenth-century England, was introduced to the continent in the early nineteenth century, becoming what we know today as conservatory (*Wintergarten*). The German word *Wintergarten* recalls what the glazed annexe was originally made for when it was invented: initially, it served as a winter storage space for exotic or subtropical plants that would not survive the cold outside. These glazed extensions became increasingly popular in urban surroundings after the 1830s. Specific manuals offered advice on how to build conservatories.[43] Contemporary paintings illustrate how families 'shared' rooms with plants and how intertwined gardening and family life could be. Eduard Gaertner's painting of the family of the Berlin manufacturer Wesfal (see Figure 27.1,) is a prime example. Urban families displayed exotic, expensive or extraordinary plants in their conservatories, visualizing their wealth, status and prestige as well as their sophisticated lifestyle and bourgeois ideal of family life. Thus, conservatories, like parlours in houses without separate conservatories, increasingly became rooms where people met, had tea, welcomed guests. Accordingly, their function as shelter for sensitive plants steadily decreased.

Aside from the question of where houseplants were placed, advice literature for indoor gardening also provides insight into the various species that were cultivated inside. As has already been indicated by the quotation from Bouché, in general all kinds of plants could be used for indoor gardening. Indeed, even plants that today would no longer qualify as 'houseplants' were recommended as suitable species, for example the cotton and the tobacco plant as well as beans of all varieties.[44] Sensitive plants in particular were thought to be suitable for cultivating indoors. Bouché himself favoured hyacinths of all sorts, and this seems to mirror a general trend, as numerous others recommend them as well and whole volumes about hyacinths were published.[45] Early writers on indoor gardening also appreciated flowers and plants that were archaeophytes and thus traditionally well known in their original region, such as the 'forget-me-not' or the evergreen myrtle, which formed an integral part of wedding ceremonies. Thus, initially not only exotic plants were recommended, although they soon became increasingly popular. According to articles in the *Stubengärtner*, lemon or orange trees (*Pomeranzenbäume*) were the most popular species, followed by cypresses or jimsonweed.[46] The cultivation of roses, too, was described in detail and seen as a long-lasting trend.[47]

The more easily exotic plants could be bought and sold, the more aesthetic values were foregrounded; the more plants were imported from other continents, the more indoor

Figure 27.1 Eduard Gaertner, *The Family of Mr. Wesfal in the Conservatory*, 1836, oil painting, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art

plants became a symbol of luxury. This trend underwent accelerating changes over the course of the nineteenth century. Randow, for example, observed in 1838:

> Whoever was content to put an orange tree, a myrtle, carnations [...] in his window fifteen or twenty years ago, turned to a sweet fuchsia, to a splendiferous hydrangea or a perennial rose. However, over time these plants also sank into oblivion and gave way to geraniums, alpine roses and camellias. This is how the love for plants has changed over time, and the amount of beautifully flowering plants has become so great that it is nearly impossible to talk about the most suitable ones.[48]

The love of plants and flowers and the interest people took in botanical issues went hand in hand with a growing popularity of gardens and gardening. Wealthy urban dwellers that could afford it bought or built garden houses, houses outside the town walls, where, as Andrea van Dülmen has shown, they spent the summer months.[49] Usually, eighteenth-century garden houses were smaller than town houses but still included servant rooms and a library or a study where the father could work when he was outside of town. Over the course of the nineteenth century, when the old town walls were removed, these became part of the new so-called *Villenviertel*, the exclusive residential areas in the city's outskirts.

Another development testifies to the contemporary popularity of botany, plants and exotic vegetation: the huge public conservatories that were built in cities such as Paris, London or Berlin in the nineteenth century, accompanying the establishment of zoological gardens. Their visitors could admire huge exotic plants. Impressive public glass palaces, such as the *Jardin d'Hiver* in Paris, the People's Palace in Glasgow, the *Frankfurter Palmengarten* and similar glass palaces showed the achievements of iron-glass architecture at the time. They were popular meeting places of urban social life – among the presence of plants.[50]

The perception of plants: plants as living creatures or as part of the interior décor?

Against this backdrop, the overall question that yet remains unanswered is: what is the significance of the immense interest Enlightenment society took in botanical studies? And what did cultivating plants inside really mean? How did people perceive plants in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and how did they communicate about them? Was the houseplant regarded as a living creature – like a pet – that had to be cared for, that became part of the daily routine in family life? Or was it, more or less, part of the interior like armchairs, candleholders, tableware and other 'objects' inside that became increasingly important in the nineteenth century?

These questions still have to be discussed in detail. However, there is some evidence that houseplants were at first regarded as living creatures, but throughout the nineteenth century, evolved into objects of home décor. For example, in the early advice literature from the turn of the century, large parts of articles covered the needs of the houseplant. The indoor plant had to be cared for as well as possible. Temperature, light, water and soil had to be adapted to what the plant 'was used to'; indoor conditions had to be adjusted to its original outdoor habitat. For instance, semiaquatic plants required a different kind of soil and a different watering scheme than those that grew in mountain areas. Different mixtures of soil were produced in complex procedures. Bouché, for example, argued that plants could be compared to animals in this respect: like animals, various plants differed profoundly and therefore required different types of nourishment.[51] Furthermore, the temperature of the 'garden room' had to match the requirements of the plants, rather than those of human inhabitants.[52] It was recommended to soak them in rain water, as this was what they would get outside, and to let them breathe fresh air on a regular basis. They were to be cleaned with fine brushes or soft sponges, vermin had to be collected, they had to be repotted, cut and attached to poles. The advice literature also recommended a balance between protecting them from the cold and heavy rain and spoiling or pampering them. Waller, for example, likened plant cultivation to the pedagogical ideals of the Enlightenment regarding the education of children and young adults:

> However, you spoil the plants if you keep them away from any fresh breeze, any drop of rain that might be a little cold. In all likelihood, those plants will not grow large and beautiful, just as human beings who have been spoilt cannot be expected to become brave and do heroic deeds. Those plants will vegetate in a deplorable condition, they will be sickly until their premature death brings grief to the plant lover.[53]

The flourishing plant, on the other hand, brings joy and delight to every member of the family, and the family gathers around it. Reider, for example, elaborated on this:

> How joyful is one's work when the charming hyacinths are on the table nearby, when one can constantly smell their fragrance, when one can, pausing, look into their bright and captivating eye. [...] And what a magnificent festival celebrated within the family circle when the *Cactus grandiflorus* blossoms and when this beautiful sight fills us with great admiration at night.[54]

Although references to the emergence of indoor plant culture and the love of plants are mainly found in normative sources such advice literature and guidebooks, private letters occasionally also point to these practices in bourgeois society of the early nineteenth century. For example, in the correspondence of the Grimm family (of the well-known collectors of fairy tales, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm) houseplants were frequently mentioned. Herman Friedrich Grimm (1828–1901) described in detail how the plants in his house grew and flourished. For him, the plant was a living creature that was part of his domestic household and something he took care of. "The *asclepia* continues to climb against the wall and is already beyond the middle of the window, I will support it with a little nail, otherwise it will no longer stay up."[55] In other letters he described how he took care of the plants of his friends when they were out of town.

Plants imported from overseas to Europe such as the *mimosa*, which folds up when touched, or the so-called telegraph plant, which permanently and visibly moves its leaves, particularly inspired the public's imagination. These plants were described as if they were pets. In the *Magazin für das Neueste aus Physik und Naturgeschichte*, a plant-loving botanist described his feelings towards it:

> This permanent movement of the plant [...], which happens without any exterior cause, cannot be observed without astonishment, without a certain feeling of empathy [...]. I was so deeply interested in this companion in my study room that I made use of any free moment to converse with it, and discovered ever more miracles. At night I saw how it fell asleep alongside me: the next morning the folding and resting of the leaves was exactly the same, then it woke up. And the more beautiful and sunny the morning, the more liveliness and commotion it expressed with its moveable parts [...]. If a cloud darkened the sun or if one removed it from the light, it quickly lost its cheerfulness, while a single sunray cheered it up.[56]

Although houseplants, unlike pets, have probably rarely been regarded as real companions, it seems that, at least at the beginning of indoor gardening, they were seen as living creatures that had been taken inside. They had to be integrated in the daily routine, nourished, cleaned and moved from one place to another. They brought joy to the whole family when they blossomed and grief when they faded. Houseplants played an important part in family life and daily routines. Thus, at least at the turn of the century, their significance went further than décor and interior design. They were creatures to be cared for that in return enriched the domestic sphere with beauty and joy. Plants even helped to enhance morality and virtues among the members of the household.

While early nineteenth-century botanists and plant lovers clearly regarded plants as members of the extended family, these ideas seem to have vanished over the course of the century. With indoor plants becoming an increasingly common feature in homes and households in the nineteenth century, they developed into an integral part of bourgeois home décor. New trends such as decorating parlours with exotic and luxurious plants, adding conservatories to

houses or putting potted plants into the cavities of armchairs and other furniture, as described above, testify to this development. Advice literature for indoor gardening during the second half of the nineteenth century also focused less on the 'needs' of plants or their 'nature', turning instead to aesthetic issues. At the same time, the house and its interior – furniture, tableware, equipment etc. – became an important part of bourgeois identity. Whereas animals inside acquired a certain status as 'pets', plants increasingly turned into 'objects' and became 'interiorized'.

Not only contemporary engravings (see Figure 27.2) illustrate this (modern) view of the indoor plant as a 'thing', as an object of a luxurious lifestyle; one of the most famous novels of the nineteenth century, *Bel Ami*, by Guy de Maupassant also vividly describes this development. The protagonist, the journalist Duroy, who desperately tries to become part of the Parisian upper class, enters the conservatory of one of the wealthy houses and describes this room with admiration:

> They had, in the meantime, reached the last drawing room, and before them lay the conservatory with its shrubs and plants. To their left, under a dome of palms, was a marble basin, on the edges of which four large swans of delftware emitted the water from their beaks. The journalist stopped and said to himself: This is luxury; this is the kind of house in which to live. Why can I not have one?[57]

Figure. 27.2 *Glasshouse*, copper engraving opposite the title page, M. Neumann's Grundsätze und Erfahrungen über die Anlegung, Erhaltung und Pflege von Glashäusern aller Art (Weimar: Voigt, 1852), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Sig. 4 Oecon. 268xc

Conclusion

In the decades around 1800, plants were brought inside. Indoor gardening – not to be confused with the scholarly interest in plants during previous centuries – became popular among middle- and upper middle-class urban society. Initially, indoor gardening went hand in hand with practices of knowledge and Enlightened ideas about the dissemination of botanical knowledge. It was closely connected to the emerging natural sciences, notably to contemporary experiments on air and its constituents. During the early stages of the introduction of houseplants, medical discourses played an important role. The discoveries concerning the process of photosynthesis gave birth to many treatises on the question of whether indoor plants 'cleaned' the air in houses.

Soon after the turn of the century, practical issues lost their significance. Instead, within a few decades around 1800, the cultivation of plants inside houses became a major part of urban bourgeois activities, lifestyle and domestic culture. Once plants were brought inside, aesthetic considerations gradually gained ground over the course of the nineteenth century, and botanic or medical aspects were increasingly abandoned. Exotic houseplants and rare species of plants demonstrated the wealth of the family. The bourgeois preference for indoor plants, and particularly exotic plants, became part of luxury and domestic consumption, displaying wealth and sophistication. People living in urban surroundings started growing plants on windowsills, tables and shelves, or hanging them from the ceiling. Extravagant furniture for the display of plants as well as special equipment and tools for indoor gardening mushroomed, a development that not only occurred in many European countries but also in North America. Thus, living plants were incorporated into interior décor, which is still the case today. Advertising papers and journals show that there was not only a market for plants but also for equipment and accessories. The genre of household advice literature specialized in houseplants, such as the *Stubengärtner*, swept the book market, and potted plants were discussed in magazines and private letters. This source material reveals why people took plants inside their homes, what daily practices were involved in the maintenance of these plants and how the fashion of domestic horticulture developed.

As a result, 'nature' was increasingly integrated into houses and homes. Contemporary texts and paintings show that pot plants and pets became part of urban middle-class households. New types of furniture for showcasing plants and new architectural design of conservatories hosting various indoor plants illustrate the increasingly important role that houseplants played for the architecture and lifestyle of the bourgeois home. It is fair to assume that plants, to some extent, lost their status as 'living creatures'. Bringing plants inside seems to have turned them into 'objects' of interior décor. In other words, as the philosopher Matthew Hall has argued, western thought increasingly excluded plants from its discourse and rendered them into passive objects and 'resources'.[58]

Notes

1 See the article by Aline Steinbrecher in this volume.
2 In parts this article is based on a more detailed study, see Sophie Ruppel, *Botanophilie. Mensch und Pflanze in der aufklärerisch-bürgerlichen Gesellschaft um 1800* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2019).
3 For a survey see Matteo Vercelloni and Virgilio Vercelloni, *The Invention of the Western Garden: The History of an Idea* (Glasgow: Waverley, 2010); for the history of flowers see Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Andrea van Dülmen, *Das irdische Paradies: Bürgerliche Gartenkultur der Goethezeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999).
4 See e.g. Igor Polianski, *Die Kunst die Natur vorzustellen: Die Ästhetisierung der Pflanzenkunde um 1800 und Goethes Gründung des botanischen Gartens zu Jena im Spannungsfeld kunsttheoretischer und botanischer Diskussionen der Zeit* (Jena: König, 2004).

5 Sarah Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce: Cultures of Botany in Britain and France, 1760–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Easterby-Smith has published a number of articles on this topic.
6 For the German-speaking countries see Christel Köhle-Hezinger, "Wie kam das Grün ins Haus? Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis Mensch – Haus – Pflanze", *Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung = Neue Folge der Hessischen Blätter für Volkskunde* 34, (1998), pp. 11–34; re-edited in: Christel Köhle-Hezinger, *Alltagskultur: Sakral – profan* (Münster: Waxmann, 2011).
7 See e.g. Judith Sumner, *American Household Botany: A History of Useful Plants 1620–1900* (Portland: Timber Press, 2004).
8 See e.g. Tovah Martin, *Once Upon a Windowsill: A History of Indoor Plants* (Portland: Timber Press, 1989). Only few of these books are based on source material and take into consideration eighteenth-century society and its social structure. In Martin's interpretation Andrew Jackson Downing, the editor of the magazine *The Horticulturalist*, was of major importance for the invention of indoor gardening because he believed that people who were surrounded by beauty were necessarily ethically superior to those who dwelt in unadorned residences. See ibid. p. 13.
9 See Martin, *Once Upon a Windowsill*, p. 13.
10 The following refers to the sixth edition from 1833: Peter Carl Bouché, *Der Zimmer= und Fenstergarten oder kurze und deutliche Anleitung die beliebtesten Blumen und Zierpflanzen in Zimmern und Fenstern ziehen, pflegen und überwintern zu können (...)*, 6th edn (Berlin: Nauck, 1833).
11 Christian Friedrich Poscharsky, *Der Stuben=Gärtner oder deutliche Anweisung zur Kenntniß, Behandlung und Wartung derjenigen Blumen und Ziersträucher welche in Töpfen vor Fenstern und in Zimmern erzogen und gehalten werden können, nebst genauer Anweisung dieselben zu Durchwintern (...)* (Pirna: Friese, 1810); Karl Alexis Waller, *Der Stubengärtner, oder Anweisung die schönsten Zierpflanzen in Zimmern und Fenstern zu ziehen, und auf leichte Art zu durchwintern*, 2nd edn. (Nordhausen: Nitzsche, 1812).
12 See Alexander Wimmer, "Die Berliner Gärtnerfamilie Bouché 1705–1933", in Erika Schmidt, Wilfried Hansmann and Jörg Gamer (eds.), *Garten – Kunst – Geschichte* (Worms: Werner, 1994), pp. 44–53.
13 "Die Blumenliebhaberei wächst mit jedem Tage; immer mehr füllen sich die Fenster mit zierlichen Blumentöpfen. Der Luxus stellt da manche ausländische Prachtpflanze zur Schau auf. Mancher eifrige Liebhaber derselben läßt sich einen Fensterkasten oder ein Treibhäuschen vor seine Stubenfenster bauen (...). Ein anderer noch eifrigerer kauft sich für einige Groschen einen Goldlak, Nelkenstock u. dgl., pflegt sie und zertändelt sich damit, trägt sie im Frühling an die Sonne, giebt ihnen bei milderem Winterwetter Luft, schützt sie im Sommer gegen die brennende Sonnenhitze, und freut sich, seine Lieblinge oft nach Jahren noch in einem Zustande von Wohlbefinden zu sehen", in Carl Paul Bouché, *Der Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, p. 9.
14 Mark Häberlein and Michaela Schmölz-Häberlein, "Transfer und Aneignung außereuropäischer Pflanzen im Europa des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Akteure, Netzwerke, Wissensorte", *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 61, 2 (2013), pp. 11–26.
15 "Ja, mancher kann auf diese Art die seltensten Alpenpflanzen erziehen, einlegen und beobachten, die er sonst vielleicht in seinem Leben nicht gesehen hätte.", in David Heinrich Hoppe, "Ueber das Erziehen der Pflanzen", in David Heinrich Hoppe (ed.), *Botanisches Taschenbuch für die Anfänger dieser Wissenschaft und der Apothekerkunstauf das Jahr 1798* (Regensburg: Montag- und Weissische Buchhandlung, 1798), pp. 40–48, quote p. 46.
16 To quote only a few examples: Albrecht Wilhlem Roth, *Anweisung für Anfänger Pflanzen zum Nutzen und Vergnügen zu sammlen und nach dem Linneischen System zu bestimmen* (Gotha: Ettinger, 1778); Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Koch, *Botanisches Handbuch zum Selbstunterricht für deutsche Liebhaber der Pflanzenkunde überhaupt (...)* (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen, 1808); Christian Ferdinand Hochstetter, *Populäre Botanik oder faßliche Anleitung zur Kenntniß der Gewächse (...) Zum Gebrauch und Selbstunterricht der Erwachsenen (...)* (Reutlingen: Mäcken, 1831). All these publications were re-edited, completed or amended in one way or the other over the years.
17 See for example August Batsch, *Botanik für Frauenzimmer und Pflanzenliebhaber welche keine Gelehrten sind (...)* (Jena: Industrie-Comptoir, 1795).
18 "Warum sollte nicht auch die Wissenschaft mit der Anwendung Hand in Hand gehen; wenn der Gelehrte sich auch mit der Kultur, der Gärtner etwas mit der Literatur beschäftiget, müssen sie beide nur gewinnen." This report about England appears under the headline "Correspondenz", in David Heinrich Hoppe and August Emanuel Fürnrohr (eds.), *Flora oder Botanische Zeitung*, 23, 1 (1840), pp. 9–10.

19 He reported on the "Glashäuser der wohlhabenderen Mittelklasse (...) um das Studium der Gewächskunde in das tägliche Leben (zu) verweben", in Hoppe and Fürnrohr (eds.), *Flora oder Botanische Zeitung*, pp. 10–11.
20 "Da hab' ich ein Treibhaus gebaut, wo Du im Winter unter grünen Bäumen lesen, schwatzen, spazieren kannst (...)", in Friedrich von Matthisson (ed.), *Briefe von Karl Viktor von Bonstetten an Friederike Brun, Erster Theil* (Frankfurt: Schaefer, 1829), Letter from 24 January 1804, p. 190.
21 "En Belgique, en Hollande, en Angleterre et dans plusieurs parties de l'allemagne, l'étranger qui parcourt les rues des grandes villes n'a qu'à regarder aux fenetres pour faire un cours complet de floriculture." In César Darly (ed.), *Revue générale de l'Architecture et des travaux publics*, vol. 13 (1855), column 22. (This letter was addressed to the editor.)
22 *Wöchentliche Nachrichten aus dem Berichthaus zu Basel* (Basel: Burckhardt); between 1810 and 1830. Many florists and private sellers offered plants, seeds etc..
23 Joseph Priestley, "Observations on Different Kinds of Air", *Philosophical Transactions*, LXII (1772), pp. 1–120.
24 Priestley, "Observations", pp. 22–23.
25 "Die berühmtesten Ärzte empfehlen zwar frische Baumzweige oder Stauden in die Krankenzimmer aufzustellen, und man hat niemahls davon die geringste Gefahr gemuthmaßet. (...) Wollte man aber in einer kleinen düstern Kammer, und besonders die Nacht hindurch sehr viele solcher Zweige setzen, so würde ich einer übeln Wirkung wegen besorgt seyn", in Jan Ingenhousz, *Versuche mit Pflanzen, hauptsächlich über die Eigenschaften, welche sie in hohem Grade besitzen, die Luft im Sonnenlichte zu reinigen, und in der Nacht und im Schatten zu verderben (...)*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Wappler, 1786), p. 64.
26 Jan Ingenhousz, *Experiments Upon Vegetables, Discovering their Great Power of Purifying the Common Air in the Sun-Shine, and of Injuring it in the Shade and at Night (...) By John Ingen-Housz, Counsellor of the Court and Body Physician to their Imperial and Royal Majesties (...)* (London: Elmsly, 1779).
27 Johann Ingenhousz, *Johan Ingenhousz, Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofraths und Leibarztes, der Königl. Gross-brittanischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Mitglieds, Versuche mit Pflanzen wodurch entdeckt worden, dass sie die Kraft besitzen, die atmosphärische Luft beim Sonnenschein zu reinigen und des Nachts über zu verder-ben (...)* (Leipzig: Weygand, 1780).
28 See for example Jon Mathieu, "Das offene Fenster: Überlegungen zu Gesundheit und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert", *Annalas da la Societad Retorumantscha* 106 (1993), pp. 291–309.
29 See for example F.A. Klockenbring, "Von der Verbesserung der Luft in Städten und Wohnzim-mern", *Hannoverisches Magazin* 13 (1775), col. 903–06.
30 See also Christiane Holm, "Bürgerliche Wohnkultur im 19. Jahrhundert", in Joachim Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), p. 244.
31 Otto Hüttig, *Illustrirte Zimmer=Flora (...)* (Oranienburg: Freyhoff, 1886), pp. III–IV.
32 "Die Stubengärtnerei ist im Allgemeinen nichts anders, als die Verlegung des Gartens ins Zimmer, um hier bequem Blumen zu ziehen." In Ernst Jakob von Reider, *Der vollkommene Stubengärtner oder Anweisung die schönsten Blumen im Zimmer und vor den Fenstern zu ziehen, um das ganze Jahr über Blumen zu haben* (Leipzig: Rein'sche Buchhandlung, 1838), p. LXIII.
33 See Rolf Selbmann, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Fensters von der Antike bis zur Moderne* (Berlin: Reimer, 2010).
34 See for example Harald Giess, *Fensterarchitektur und Fensterkonstruktion in Bayern zwischen 1780 und 1910* (Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1990).
35 See for example Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, p. 17.
36 Ernst Jakob von Reider, *Der vollkommene Stubengärtner oder Anweisung die schönsten Blumen im Zimmer und vor dem Fenster zu ziehen (...)* [1832] (Leipzig: Rein'sche Buchhandlung, 1838).
37 Reider, *Der vollkommene Stubengärtner*, p. 2.
38 See for example *Allgemeines Teutsches Gartenmagazin oder gemeinnützige Beiträge für alle Theile des prak-tischen Gartenwesens* (Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, 1809), engravings following page 420.
39 See Sumner, *American Household Botany*, p. 333.
40 See Ruth-Maria Ullrich, *Glas-Eisenarchitektur: Pflanzenhäuser des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Worms: Werner'sche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1989), p. 33.
41 Hüttig, *Illustrirte Zimmer=Flora*, p. 111.
42 Edward Sprague Rand, *Flowers for the Parlor and Garden*, 25th edn (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1876). Tovah Martin has hinted to this influential book, see in *Once Upon a Windowsill.*

43 How to install such conservatories was explained in specialized books such as M. Neumann, *Grund-sätze und Erfahrungen über die Anlegung (...) von Glashäusern aller Art* [1845], 2nd edn (Weimar: Voigt, 1852).
44 Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, pp. 124, 178, 196.
45 Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, pp. 15–16.
46 Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, pp. 72, 88, 92.
47 Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, pp. 212–13.
48 "Wer ganz früher damit zufrieden war, eine Orangen= oder Myrtenbäumchen, einige Nelken und ein paar Muskatstöckchen auf seine Fenster zu stellen, der zierte vor 15 bis 20 Jahren die Zimmer mit der niedlichen Fuchsia, prächtigen Hortensia und der immerblühenden Rose. Aber auch diese ist im Laufe der Zeit vergessen worden, und haben nunmehr den Pelagonien, Alpenrosen und Camellien weichen müssen. So wechselt die Liebhaberey mit ihren Pfleglingen fortwährend, und die Zahl der schön blühenden Gewächse ist jetzt so ungeheuer groß geworden, daß es schwer, ja fast unmöglich wird, aus dieser Menge das Beste zu wählen", in R. von Randow, *Nützlicher Rath-geber für Stubengärtner bey der Auswahl der schönsten Gewächse und deren zweckmäßigster Behandlung* (Leipzig: Baumgärtners Buchhandlung, 1828), p. 1.
49 Andrea van Dülmen, *Das irdische Paradies: Bürgerliche Gartenkultur der Goethezeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999).
50 See Stefan Koppelkamm, *Gewächshäuser und Wintergärten im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1981).
51 Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, p. 3.
52 Bouché, *Zimmer= und Fenstergarten*, p. 20.
53 "Aber man kann auch die Pflanzen verzärteln, wenn man jedes kühle Lüftchen, jeden kalten Regen-tropfen sorgsam von ihnen abhält. Solche Gewächse geben dann eben so wenig große und schöne Blumen, so wenig sich von einem verzärtelten Menschen große und schöne Handlungen erwarten lassen. Sie vegetiren jämmerlich, und hören nicht auf zu kränkeln, bis sie durch einen frühzeitigen Tod den Pflanzenfreund in Betrübnis versetzen", in Waller, *Der Stubengärtner*, pp. 17–18.
54 "Wie freudig arbeitet sich's nicht, wenn auf dem Tische so recht nahe die lieblichen Hyazinthen stehen, dass man unausgesetzt deren Wohlgeruch in sich ziehen, dabei in den Ruhepunkten den anmuthigsten Aurikeln in das helle, anziehende Auge blicken kann? (...) Und welches grosse Fest ist nicht im häuslichen Kreise, wenn der Cactus grandiflorus erblüht, dessen wunderschöner Anblick dann in der Nacht alle mit hinreissender Bewunderung erfüllt", in Ernst Jakob von Reider, *Mode-Blumen oder Kultur der Camellien, Azaleen, Hortensien, Nerium Oleander, Vollkommenen, Balsaminen, Aster, so wie aller Arten Basilikum* (Nuremberg: C. H. Zeh'schen Buchhandlung, 1829), pp. 5–6.
55 "(...) die Asclepia rankt sich weiter an der Wand und ist schon über die Mitte des Fensters hinaus, ich will ein Nägelchen einschlagen sonst hält sie sich nicht mehr in der Höhe", in Holger Ehrhardt (ed.), *Briefwechsel der Brüder Grimm* (Kassel: Verlag der Brüder Grimm-Gesellschaft, 1998), p. 245.
56 ".. man konnte diese noch bey keiner Pflanze bemerkte, fortwährende und ohne alle äußere Ursach erfolgende Bewegung nicht ohne Erstaunen, nicht ohne ein gewisses Gefühl der Theilneh-mung betrachten (...). Mich interessierte diese liebe Stubengesellschaft so, daß ich jeden freyen Augenblick nutzte, mich mit ihr zu unterhalten, und dabey immer neue Merkwürdigkeiten entdeckte. Abends sah ich sie mit mir einschlafen, denn das gänzliche Zusammenfallen und Ruhen der Hauptblätter läßt sich mit nichts beßer vergleichen; früh mit dem Tage erwachte sie, und je schöner und heiterer der Tag war, destomehr Lebendigkeit und Anstrengung zeigte sich in allen beweglichen Theilen. (...) Zog nur eine Wolke vor die Sonne, oder man sezte die Pflanze vom Licht weg, sogleich verlor sie das muntere Ansehen; ein einziger Sonnenblick heiterte sie wieder auf.", in Anonymous, "Ueber die Bewegungen des Hedysarum gyrans und die Wirkung der Elek-trizität auf dasselbe", *Magazin für das Neueste aus Physik und Naturgeschichte* 3 (1790), pp. 6–7.
57 Guy de Maupassant, *Bel Ami, or, the History of a Scoundrel* (Ohio: St. Dunstan Soc. 1903), pp. 176–77.
58 Matthew Hall, *Plants as Persons: A Philosophical Botany* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), see introduction p.1.

PART XIV

Images and identity constructs

28

DUTCH PAINTINGS OF INTERIORS AND THE INVENTION OF A BOURGEOIS IDENTITY

Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat

Introduction

In the visual arts, the representation of the domestic sphere is connected with paintings of interiors. The term 'interiors' refers here to the inner space of the home as distinguished from public interior spaces, such as those of churches.[1] The first steps taken towards enabling this genre to evolve can be seen in Giotto's *Annunciation to Saint Anne* in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua: in 1306, for the first time in the painting of post-antiquity, Giotto replaced the abstract, golden or coloured background with a box-like space. However, it was only with the Netherlandish painters of the fifteenth century that the view from the (fourth) outer side was done away with and the very illusion of an inner space was created. In Netherlandish manuscript illumination, as early as the so-called *Turin-Milan Hours*, illuminated by Jan van Eyck (?), dated 1417, the birth of John the Baptist takes place in a profane interior. In the Mérode Altarpiece, dated 1422, Robert Campin set the scene of the Annunciation to Maria in a furnished domestic interior. Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*, dated 1434, can be said to mark the birth of the profane – and therefore modern – interior: not a religious motif, rather, a portrayal of the Italian merchant Giovanni Arnolfini presenting himself with his spouse, Giovanna Cenami. The viewer is made to feel that he himself is in the room. Van Eyck managed to achieve this effect by placing on the rear wall a mirror in which two figures are reflected: one the artist himself, the other an imaginary viewer. In Renaissance Italy, the private interior did not acquire the importance that it did in the Netherlands. In Italy, as in antiquity, greater importance was attributed to public space: *res publica* as opposed to *res privata*. Indeed, the meaning of 'private', *privatus*, ultimately refers to being 'deprived' of something – deprived of the public. The painted interiors of the Italian Renaissance – Annunciation scenes, for example – are first and foremost (empty) architectural spaces constructed with particular attention to perspective, not cosy, furnished rooms filled with objects. To a large extent, sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings of interiors also remained devoted to religious subjects such as the Annunciation, the Birth of John the Baptist, or Madonna and Child.

The painting of interiors as a genre in its own right both emerged and reached its apogee in the northern Netherlands in the seventeenth century. This is closely connected with

urban-bourgeois society, which had developed furthest in the Dutch Republic. Similarly, with Erasmus (*Encomium matrimonii*, 1518; *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, 1526) and Jacob Cats (*Huwelijk*, 1625), among others, books dealing with good governance of the household and matrimonial guidance began to make their appearance in humanist and Calvinist literature.

In the eighteenth century, the focal point of interior painting shifted to France. On the one hand, however, pompous interiors now predominated in court society – things public were exhibited in private space, as it were. On the other hand, female nudes were presented to the voyeuristic eye in the intimacy of boudoirs and private chambers. As a result of industrialization in the nineteenth century, the world of work and the world of private home life drifted apart. The interior acquired a new significance. German Romantic and Biedermeier artists such as Georg Friedrich Kersting drew on Dutch interior painting. Somewhat later, in 1893, the painter Félix Vallotton referred to the Dutch as "the absolute and perfect masters".[2] However, in contrast to the interiors of Dutch painting, which were open and suffused with light, the private room was now hermetically sealed off from the outside world. The polarization of the sexes was carried to an extreme here: the sealed-off interiors were now inhabited almost exclusively by female personages, who had been reduced to their embroidery or needlework or directed their gaze wistfully towards the outside. To the extent possible, they were cut off from the world and were to represent the epitome of virtue. In the late nineteenth century, artists such as Edgar Degas, with paintings such as *Le Viol* (1868), deconstructed the dream of the undisturbed harmony of the interior.

Essential characteristics of the depiction of privacy and intimacy already began to define themselves in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings of interiors, characteristics that did not acquire relevance in literature until the eighteenth century in Germany, England and France. This is generally overlooked, because the medium of painting, compared to literature, is not taken seriously enough as a medium that generates meaning. One also frequently fails to notice that in the seventeenth century, the little Dutch Republic was a 'world power' that possessed many colonies. Against this background, Dutch painting acquires special significance as having played a part in the making of cultural history.

State of research

The immense significance of the notion of 'home' with regard to human identity, relations between the sexes as well as between adults and children, social hierarchies and the relationship between the individual and society is unquestionable. 'Home' stood and, to a certain extent, still stands for the private (and the feminine). It is all the more striking that in art history research so little scholarly interest has been devoted to these questions. It was not until 1999 that *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* was published, an interdisciplinary volume in which anthropologists, sociologists, historians of architecture and design and art historians collectively enquired into the meaning of 'home'.[3] Not until the 1990s did art history concern itself with the significance of paintings of interiors. A first critical analysis of paintings of interiors, which is still fundamental, was the 1998 exhibition catalogue *Innenleben: Die Kunst des Interieurs – Vermeer bis Kabakov* with contributions by Sabine Schulze, Wolfgang Kemp and Norberto Gramaccini.[4] The authors see in paintings of interiors places of intimacy, refuges for finding one's self, psychograms. This initial conception is further differentiated and the scope expanded to include contemporary art and film in the volume *Interiors and Interiority*, edited by Ewa Lajer-Burcharth and Beate Söntgen, published in 2016.[5] In their introduction, the editors proceed from Walter Benjamin's analysis of nineteenth-century

interiors: "In Benjamin's highly influential interpretation, the 19th-century interior became the privileged site of bourgeois self-definition: it was both the space and the figure of a new, socially specific subjective formation".[6] A completely different approach was opened up by Victor Stoichita with a book on 'meta-painting', which attracted considerable attention. Elements of interiors such as windows, doors, frames, vistas are interpreted as self-reflective possibilities available to painting.[7] In 2009, in connection with a small exhibition in Vienna's *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Karl Schütz published a richly illustrated volume on the evolution of paintings of interiors from their beginnings to the twentieth century, albeit purely from the perspective of art history, without addressing questions from an interdisciplinary point of view.[8] Currently, theoretically and methodologically innovative research with a cultural-studies orientation devoted to the topic *wohnen/ausstellen* (habitation/exhibition), in the form of lectures, conferences and publications, is being carried out at the University of Bremen's Mariann Steegmann Institut. The period of focus, however, is that of modern and contemporary art.[9]

A fundamental work on Dutch seventeenth-century interior paintings is that published by Mariët Westermann in 2001 entitled *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*. In her contribution to the volume, Westermann describes its underlying intention:

> It is a central argument of this essay that these new definitions and practices of home arose under historical circumstances specific to the new Dutch Republic, and another that visual artists were as responsible as writers, theologians, and politicians for shaping the new home in its ideal, as well as its material, aspects.[10]

In the introduction to the *Netherlands Yearbook for Art History* for the year 2000, Mariët Westermann provides a good survey of research concerned with the context of household culture, family, architecture and interior furnishing, including, in particular, anthropological studies and studies relative to gender theory.[11]

A first critical reflection on the subject from a gender perspective was provided by Heidi de Mare, who, focusing on the motif of the 'threshold' in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, discussed the relationship between indoors and outdoors, between private and public, and between feminine and masculine.[12] Elizabeth Alice Honig further differentiated the gender issues related to private and public space.[13] Matha Hollander, in her book *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, not only described the painted interiors from an aesthetic point of view, she also interpreted them semantically with regard to their respective structure, the separation of rooms, visual perspectives and the relations between indoors and outdoors. She was able to show how social relations, communication and questions related to gender are represented in the structure of interior spaces.[14] Kar Leonhard, for her part, explored the relationship between Vermeer's paintings of interiors and contemporary theories of perception, such as those of Descartes and others.[15]

Seventeenth-century Dutch interior paintings

Dutch interior paintings can be understood only against the background of urban-bourgeois society in the Dutch Republic.[16] In the seventeenth century, the Republic of the United Netherlands occupied a unique position: whereas the surrounding states were under absolutist rule, here the economic, political and, consequently, cultural power lay with the urban bourgeoisie. The nobility – the princes of Orange in The Hague – played a minimal role. Between 1650 and 1672, there was no sovereign at all: the Netherlands

were an autonomous republic, a confederation of cities with Amsterdam as its centre.[17] In a relatively short period of time, that is, by the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Netherlands had advanced to become Europe's greatest colonial power, with colonies in India, Indonesia, Australia, Africa, North and South America. In the predominantly Calvinist Netherlands, the new locus of art was no longer the church or the court of the nobility; it was the bourgeois interior. However, the art of painting interiors did not merely consist in mirroring this social context; it itself contributed considerably to creating a collective conception of home, family, privacy, bourgeois identity, that is, the domestic sphere. In the first half of the century, the *gesellschapies* predominated – paintings of joyful company making music and conversation, such as those by Pieter Codde or Anthonie Palamedesz, and crude, rustic scenes in inns and seedy taverns, such as those painted by Adriaen Brouwer. After 1648, that is, after the peace treaty of Münster, artists such as Gerard ter Borch, Gabriel Metsu, Pieter de Hooch, Jan Vermeer and others concentrated on representing few figures in stately, bourgeois interiors.

Real and imaginary spaces

The typical urban nuclear family consisted of four or five members, including a maidservant. Forty-five percent of the population lived in the province of Holland, the majority in cities. Urban residential architecture evolved over the course of the seventeenth century, especially for the patriciate. A style of living emerged that was particular to the patrician class, one that sharply contrasted with the lifestyles of the urban lower classes.[18] The *voorhuis*, or entrance area, which essentially constituted a transition from the outside that was public to the private living quarters and originally fulfilled the function of workshop and shop, was made smaller so that more rooms could be accommodated; the kitchen was separated from the other rooms by a corridor. A greater number of separate rooms made for more privacy. The furnishings became cosier, a development that would not be observed in England and France until the eighteenth century.[19]

However, Dutch paintings of interiors do not mimetically represent social reality. Emmanuel de Witte's *Interior with a Woman at the Virginals* gives the impression that it is a true representation of a bourgeois dwelling (see Figure 28.1). In de Witte's painting, one sees an enfilade of three rooms. However, suites of rooms of this kind did not exist in bourgeois dwellings in Holland in the first half of the seventeenth century: there were no rows of three large living spaces opening one into another. Inlaid marble floors were the absolute exception in private rooms; if they existed, it was primarily in the *voorhuis*, that is, in the entrance area, but not in all the rooms. Brass chandeliers were intended for churches and public buildings and only very rarely for the private elite. It is therefore a fiction: a dream home for the social elite.[20] However, the illusionary character is not recognizable as such due to the realistic style of painting. Even many scholars have been taken in by this 'real' effect of Dutch painting and have seen in the paintings a true representation of social reality. But pictures are pictures, systems of signs that produce meaning, (ideal) representations, fictions, which nevertheless have a definite impact on people's emotions and consciousness.

The aesthetics of these paintings of interiors played a significant role in fostering a positive attitude towards one's identification with the private home, particularly in the case of the female inhabitants. In this painting by de Witte, as in comparable paintings by Pieter de Hooch or Janssen Elinga, the private home is of matchless beauty. A profound stillness and harmony pervade the rooms, as does the light, which structures the painting. The painting owes its order to the structure of the interior space, the almost exclusively rectangular

Figure 28.1 Emanuel de Witte, *Interior with a Woman at the Virginals*, 1665–1670, oil on canvas, 77,5 x 104,5 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen

objects, the floor pattern, but above all the light. The structure emerges to a considerable extent as a result of the natural light that shines in from the outside, magically creating a geometrical, almost abstract light/dark pattern on the floor due to the arrangement and separation of the windows. It is thus possible to experience in this private microcosm the order and beauty of the world.

Gender

Paintings of Dutch interiors of the second half of the seventeenth century carry a female connotation. One sees mothers with children, housewives and maidservants, women at the window, women reading, less frequently women writing letters (see Figures 28.2 and 28.4). Male protagonists are rather the exception, appearing in the house mostly as messengers or as visitors (see Figure 28.3).

The example of the letter motif should shed more light on this phenomenon.[21] Between the 1630s and 1670s, the love-letter motif became a favourite subject in Dutch painting. Women (almost exclusively) are shown in interiors reading or receiving letters or, less frequently, writing them themselves. Dirck Hals, Willem Duyster, Pieter Codde, Gerard ter Borch, Pieter de Hooch, Frans van Mieris, Jan Steen and, not least, Jan Vermeer all treated this subject extensively (see Figure 28.4). The frequency of the letter motif in the paintings produced in this period can only be understood in the context of the great significance of written or printed texts in the cultural practice of seventeenth-century Holland. It is a fact that the culture of letter

Figure 28.2 Pieter de Hooch, *Interior with Two Women beside a Linen Cupboard*, 1663, oil on canvas, 75,5 x 70 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

writing reached its first apogee in Holland in the seventeenth century, rather than in the eighteenth century, as it has generally been maintained in the research.[22] Letters, characteristically, serve as a means of communication. One writes letters; one receives letters; one responds to responses. In the private sphere, especially where matters of love are concerned, it may occur that one of the persons (male or female) only writes the letters and the other person (male or female) only reads the letters. However, this sort of imbalance is undoubtedly more the exception than the rule. With certainty, the assumption can be made that someone must have written the letter if there is someone else who is reading it. Nevertheless, looking at Dutch genre painting, one can get the paradoxical impression that only women received and read love letters, rarely writing any, whereas men seem never at all to have received love letters and practically never to have written one. There are only four surviving paintings by ter Borch in which men are shown writing letters or, in one case, reading one.

The world of correspondence was dichotomous. Men communicated by means of letters in regard to all imaginable matters of science, education, religion, economic and political organisation, and, definitely, in private matters as well. By contrast, women's letters were restricted to the private, domestic sphere.[23] In art, the letter was a popular male attribute

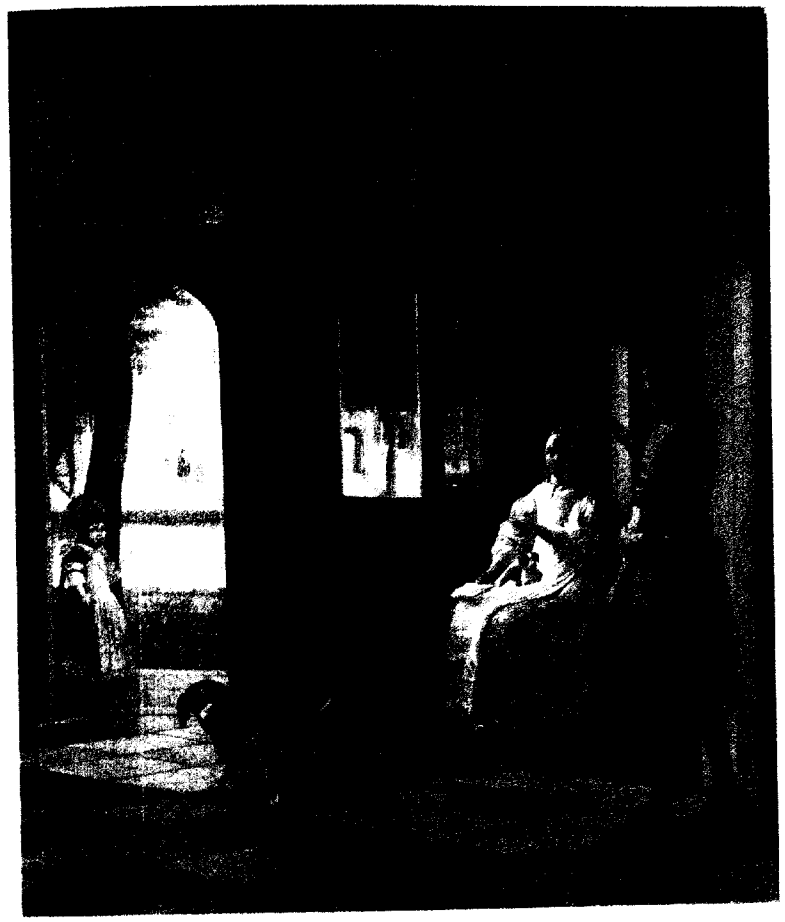

Figure 28.3 Pieter de Hooch, *Messenger Delivering a Letter to a Young Woman*, oil on canvas, 68 x 59 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

both in genre paintings and in portraits. Letters marked out the men in the paintings as being well-read, educated and generally of importance. However, where letters in paintings are associated with female personages, they convey a different meaning: they are to be understood as love letters. Significantly, while letters are absent in female portraits, there is no shortage of them in genre paintings showing women in interiors. Nevertheless, except for the few exceptions already mentioned, the male authors of the letters remain unseen. And yet, they must have existed; otherwise, communication in this form would not have been possible.

The seventeenth century marks the beginning of a discourse in Dutch painting on the level of the visible, a discourse that became firmly established in conceptual terms over the course of the eighteenth century defining letter writing as a genuinely female genre. In social practice – at least in seventeenth-century Holland – this was demonstrably not yet the case. Eminent men such as Constantijn Huygens, poet and secretary at the court of the Princes of Orange, the Dutch poet Pieter C. Hooft and others were brilliant in their private correspondence, which included love letters.[24] The dividing line between private and public correspondence had not yet been clearly drawn. The author of the present essay is also unaware of any written source from Holland of this

Figure 28.4 Jan Vermeer, *The Love Letter*, 1669–1672, oil on canvas, 44 x 38,5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

period in which the letter genre is labelled feminine. It can thus be shown not only that, but also how, the 'genuinely' feminine activity of letter writing was a notion gradually produced initially by means of images, and then later by means of texts. Subsequently, in the eighteenth century, letters did in fact become a domain for women – and women were quite productive here. The whole discourse emerged to a certain extent as a result of the painted fictions. Dutch 'realist' paintings of the seventeenth century were not a reproduction of the social reality of the times. Nevertheless, it is precisely this painted realism that gives the asymmetries specific to gender the appearance of being the natural order rather than social constructs. The paintings thus contributed to producing specific gender identities as if they were reality.

Private/public

Individuals are also formed by spaces – by being assigned to specific spaces or by being excluded from specific spaces, but also by the way in which space is staged and, in representation, the symbolic way in which space is filled.

Men are rarely seen in Dutch paintings of interiors of the second half of the seventeenth century, although it is clear that these are rooms in which they lived. This begs the question: what or who, in a given context, does *not* become a subject of representation?[25] Just as the private home was to a great extent identified with the female world, public space was

male-coded.[26] On the walls of nearly all the public buildings hung group portraits of the male elite: in the civic guards' clubhouses, which were of such great social importance, in the guildhalls and in the merchant buildings. The group portrait, of which Rembrandt's famous *Night Watch* is also an example, is one of the specific features of Dutch art. Group portraits representing female personages are found exclusively in social institutions such as almshouses and orphanages. Not even at the guardsmen's fairs were women present – one need only think of the paintings by Frans Hals that are relevant in this respect. In what was Amsterdam's town hall, built by van Campen between 1648 and 1655, the actual and symbolic seat of power in the republic, hung historical paintings by Ferdinand Bol, Govert Flinck, Jan Lievens and others, featuring subjects connected with antiquity or local history. Female figures cannot be found here either; they are not even present as onlookers or allegories, which, at that same time, was always what they were in court Baroque painting.

Thus, the bourgeois domestic sphere was represented as being cut off from the public sphere. However, this was not the hermetic isolation that can be seen in nineteenth-century German Romantic and Biedermeier art.[27] The interiors painted by Pieter de Hooch, one of the most significant Dutch painters of interiors, are always open rooms offering glimpses through numerous doorways and windows, in most cases with a view of the outside (see Figures 28.2 and 28.3). A connection between the interior space and the outside world is established particularly due to the light. The transition from the inside to the outside – the threshold – is frequently accentuated by the presence of children or dogs. In the painting *Interior with Two Women beside a Linen Cupboard*, the little girl, who is moving, contrasts with the static pose of the two women standing upright. In the spatial perspective, the child overlaps the boundaries of the rooms; her diagonal tilt is reiterated by the angles of the two leaves of the outside door. The viewers look through the private room into the *voorhuis* and beyond, across the canal at the house façades opposite, which form a delightful pattern with their red bricks ornamentally framed in white. The suggestion of a staircase leading to the upper floor indicates the existence of rooms that are more intimate; these, however, are shielded from view. In the painting *Mother Lacing Her Bodice Beside a Cradle*, dated 1660, de Hooch created a variation on the theme of inside and outside, the domestic sphere and the outside world (see Figure 28.5). The mother, who is seen lacing her bodice – an indirect reference to breast feeding – is facing the cradle in which her child lies, a child, however, that remains invisible to the viewer. Bright light is falling onto the woman's lap; behind her is a bed. Beate Söntgen has pointed out that this profane mother continues the religious tradition of *Maria lactans*.[28] Only the resplendent light shining in through the open door allows one vaguely to imagine the world outside. Here again it is the little girl who establishes the link between the inside and the outside; her fascination is expressed by her pose with one foot slightly on tiptoe. The dog, which is turning towards the mother, serves an intermediary function between the mother and the baby, on the one hand, both of whom belong completely to the private sphere, and, on the other hand, the little girl, who has broken away from her mother and is looking out into the light of the world. The outside world is also suggested by the landscape painting hanging over the door; the red coat possibly symbolizes the husband, who is absent.

The interior is the private realm. Nonetheless, the private realm is put on display, even where it is very private: a quiet moment of prayer, for example, shown as a sign of Protestant piety (see Figure 28.6). However, in the painting by Nicolaes Maes referred to here, the seriousness of quiet prayer is facetiously disrupted by the action of the little cat, which is taking advantage of the moment of inner concentration – and, consequently, lack of attention – to steal food from the table. The private realm was also very much a public place in which the

Figure 28.5 Pieter de Hooch, *Mother Lacing Her Bodice beside a Cradle*, c. 1660, oil on canvas, 92 x 100 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

family's standards are showcased. Within the house there were varying degrees of privacy. The wealthy merchant Willem van Heythuysen had his portrait painted twice by Frans Hals. In the *voorhuis*, which could be accessed by all, he is seen as an elegant man, ostentatious, in a full-length pose with a sword – an attribute that by no means befits him as a member of the bourgeoisie. In private chambers, he is portrayed quite differently: casual, leaning back on a chair with his legs crossed. It is important to note that both works are by Frans Hals; the choice of nuances in the representation of privacy was therefore quite deliberate.

Social relations and hierarchies in the house

The painting *The Eavesdropper* by Nicolaes Maes, dated 1657, offers multiple glimpses of a house's interior (see Figure 28.7).[29] The interior architecture here does not correspond to that of any house that was actually built; it is an imaginary theatrical stage that reveals to the viewer the complex social structure that governed the house's inhabitants. The boundaries between classes and sexes become visible here, as do ways in which they overlap. A double archway on the intermediate floor directs the viewer's gaze upstairs, where distinguished company has gathered

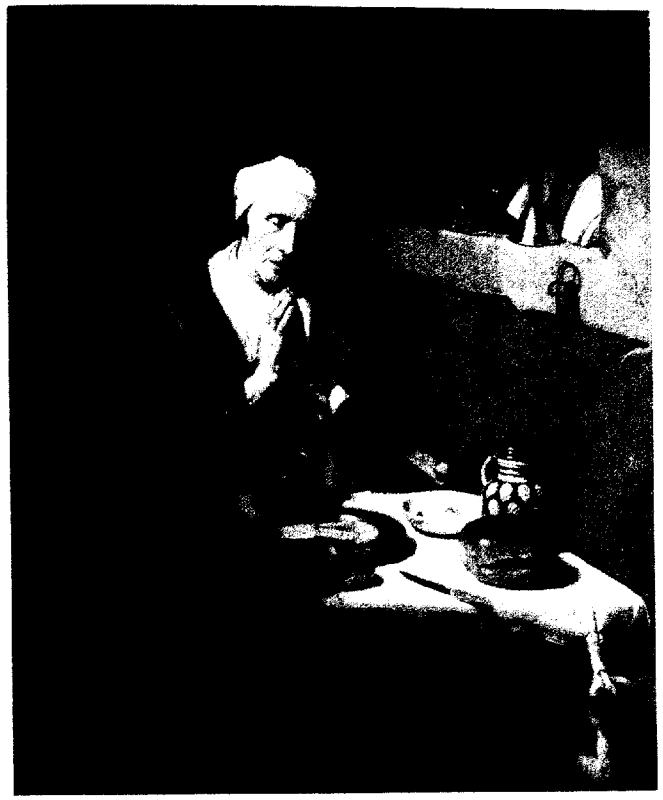

Figure 28.6 Nicolaes Maes, *Old Woman Saying Grace*, c. 1656, oil on canvas, 134 x 113 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

around the table for a meal – one of the figures is seen raising his glass for a toast – and at the same time downstairs, into the *voorhuis*, the kitchen area and out into the open. On the landing that separates the lower and upper floors – 'lower' and 'upper' being understood here not only in the spatial but also in the social sense – stands a woman, most likely the lady of the house. Her descending motion is indicated by the position of her right foot, which is hanging over the edge of the bottom step. In her left hand she is holding an empty wine glass. The gesture of her right hand, with its pointing index finger, indicates that her function is to attract attention to something, to comment on something; but it can also be interpreted as a 'Hush!' signal. Her way of looking straight at the viewer, her faint smile, pulls the viewer into a kind of complicity. What she only hears – and the viewer only sees – is the young maidservant standing at the entrance to the kitchen with a man who is making advances at her and, in doing so, is keeping her from her duty of serving the guests at the table. The red coat, the hat and the sword left in the hallway in the foreground identify this male guest as a member of the military. An attempt is therefore being made to seduce the maidservant. Judging from her stoic pose, her reaction remains an open question. In any case, a consequence of the 'disturbance' is that the cat in the kitchen is stealing food from a bowl, food that has been prepared for the meal upstairs.

The world map hanging on the wall brings the world into the private home, but it is also a reminder of worldly pleasures and serves as a companion piece to the bust of Juno on top of the pilaster – Juno standing for orderly domestic relations.[30] On the one hand, there is a separation between high and low, between the elite party gathered upstairs and the

Figure 28.7 Nicolaes Maes, *The Eavesdropper*, 1657, oil on canvas, 93 x 112 cm, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum

maidservant downstairs. However, the boundary between upper society and the lower social strata does not coincide here with clearly defined moral boundaries; rather, these boundaries are being alluded to precisely *as* boundaries and are being put in question. The lady of the house, who has come downstairs to refill her empty wine glass, having apparently waited in vain to be served by the servant – is she really the guardian of morality? The wine glass is hardly an attribute of feminine virtue. In terms of colour, the red of her skirt and jacket link her closely to the red coat and the maid's red blouse. The look on her face seems to express amusement more than moral indignation. The morality of the household is being threatened by a male visitor – who is not a commoner. There is altogether a comic, humorous touch to the painting. The painting's complex structure raises the issue of relations between the classes and sexes without moralizing. This sets this art apart from the misogynist rhetoric of the so-called literature for housewives and the didactic treatises on marriage, such as that of Jacob Cats. Rather, connections are to be found in contemporary comedies in which forbidden love, secrecy, seduction and adultery, with all their possible entanglements, were put on stage – and with libidinous relish.[31] The figure of the eavesdropper corresponds to the commentator in theatre, who hushed the audience and, at the same moment, revealed secrets.

Nicolaes Maes created a number of variations on the theme of the eavesdropper: six paintings have survived. In one of these variations Maes reverses the relationship between the lady of the house and the maidservant. The maidservant secretly listens to the lady of the house, who, judging by her gestural pose, is in the act of scolding someone. However, this someone is hidden from the viewer's eye by a curtain in the foreground. Here Maes is

playing with what can be seen and what cannot be seen but also with what can be heard and what can be seen, and, by the same token, he is playing with the viewers' imagination and the specific nature of the pictorial medium. It is no coincidence that Wolfgang Kemp demonstrated the reception-aesthetics approach in art history using precisely these paintings by Nicolaes Maes as examples.[32] In Maes's paintings, the eavesdropper is to be interpreted as a figure who gives instructions to the viewer, a function analogous to that of the commentator in theatre. The painting calls on the viewer not to contemplate but to communicate. One can assume that contemporary viewers standing in front of the painting discussed their interpretations and evaluations and imagined narratives that differed considerably.[33] In the course of their dialogue, the painting's complexity may well have inspired them to reflect on household structures, orders, hierarchies, inclusions and exclusions and morality, in other words, on what constitutes the domestic sphere.

In social practice, maidservants were in a precarious position. On the one hand, they were often integrated into the household and served as confidant of the lady of the house. At the same time, however, they had no real rights; they were often sexually abused by the man of the house or by male visitors and eventually ended up as prostitutes.[34] These relationships of power and abuse are not evident in the paintings; at best, they are suggested, as they are in the case of Maes's painting. Often, it is even difficult to decide, on the basis of clothing, whether one is looking at the lady of the house or at the maidservant: housewives also wear aprons; maidservants in the paintings sometimes even wear jewellery. However, clothing made of silk satin or jackets with fur trimming clearly point to the bourgeois elite. The maidservants' closeness to the children was emphasized in the works of Pieter de Hooch. Gerard ter Borch and Jan Vermeer depicted them as secret confidants of the lady of the house; they are involved in what is going on and are the lovers' messengers (see Figure 28.4).

Social differences

Even though a general shift towards representing elegant upper-class interiors can be seen after the first half of the seventeenth century, that is, after the peace treaty of Münster in 1648, there were artists who continued to specialize in painting rustic homesteads, such as Adriaen van Ostade from Haarlem. However, a distinct change can be observed within the rustic genre itself. Adriaen Brouwer (ca. 1605–1638) was the first painter to depict peasants no longer outdoors but indoors.[35] The interiors are mostly those of taverns; the peasants drink, smoke and brawl. Base instincts, excesses, aggressiveness and unseemly emotionalism were projected onto the lower classes and in this manner were more likely to be absorbed by the bourgeoisie. Emotions that one may personally have experienced but were not *comme il faut* could thus be viewed with a certain distance, with amusement and certainly an appropriate amount of moral denigration as well. The fascination exercised by these paintings may have been due to this ambivalence between emotional fulfilment and, at the same time, the possibility of keeping distance and disparaging others. Adriaen Ostade had learned a lot from Brouwer; his paintings of peasant scenes from the 1630s and 1640s take the viewer into taverns frequented by objectionable peasants. It is worth pointing out that the peasants are not shown at work. After the mid-seventeenth century, it was certainly not the peasants who changed, rather, it was the way in which the painter saw and represented them. Indeed, Ostade now depicted peasants that were civilized, seldom in the interior of the home, mostly sitting together in the tavern, well behaved. Domesticity was now shown in the peasant milieu as well. A striking feature of Ostade's peasant interiors is the inclusion of male figures in the domestic atmosphere. An etching by Ostade shows a simple peasant interior with a husband and wife and two children

before the fireplace; in the background, an open curtain allows the viewer to see the unmade bed (see Figure 28.8). It is the father who is holding his little child on his lap and feeding it, while the mother dries the nappies in front of the open fire. Depicting this form of fatherly care was simply unthinkable in the bourgeois milieu.

Jan Steen (1626–1679), in his painting the *Dissolute Household*, decidedly depicted, in his turn, the urban elite, but in an uncivilized, chaotic state (see Figure 28.9).[36] The interior itself can clearly be identified as belonging to the upper class: the furniture, an expensive rug as a table covering, a gold-framed painting hanging on the wall, silk bed curtains. However, an excess of wine has made the lady of the house fall asleep – her head is resting on her arm on the table. In the meanwhile, her husband, the master of the house, is enjoying the company of one of the ladies, a lady of easy virtue, his red-stockinged leg nonchalantly lain across her knee – an unequivocal allusion to sexual contact. He is smoking a pipe and turning his head towards the viewer, seeming to wink with a roguish smile. The buxom lady, characterized by her jacket trimmed with ermine as being upper class, but by the feather in her hair as a prostitute, is turning towards him with a wine glass in her hand. In the background, a young man is fiddling away; in front of him, the dancing maid appears to be stealing something from the cupboard. A little boy is also taking advantage of the housewife's slumber to pilfer money from her purse. No one is looking after the children, or the dog, which is licking the pasty on the silver platter

Figure 28.8 Adriaen van Ostade, *Father with a Child on His Lap in an Interior*, 1648, etching, 12,7 x 9,5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Figure 28.9 Jan Steen, *The Dissolute Household*, 1661–1664, oil on canvas, 81 x 89 cm, London, Apsley House, The Wellington Collection

that has been set down on the floor. Various objects seem to have been carelessly scattered over the floor: a hat, playing cards, empty oyster shells – oysters were considered to be aphrodisiac. A monkey on top of the canopy bed has stopped the clock. Conspicuously, Jan Steen has given his own facial features to the master of the house. On the one hand, this can be seen as enhancing the painting's authenticity; at the same time, it identifies the whole ambience as being a work painted by the artist. It would be a mistake to interpret this and similar works by Steen – as many art historians have done – merely from a didactic, moralizing point of view. The painting very much straddled the line between awareness of the norms of household order and the desire to upset this order – at least in the imagination.

Work

Paintings can make the invisible visible; but as has already been seen, they can also make the visible invisible. Thus, with only a few exceptions, work in the home is not seen in these paintings. Where work is treated as a subject, such as in de Hooch's *Interior with Women beside a Linen Cupboard*, the work itself has the appearance of a sacred act (see Figure 28.2).

In de Hooch's exceedingly elegant interior, with its fluted pilasters as door and window trimmings, expensive paintings, a copy of the Florence statue of Perseus over the doorway and an inlaid linen cupboard, stand two nobly dressed women whose ages visibly differ. The expensive quality of the clothing worn by the younger of the two excludes the possibility of her being a maidservant; rather, she is perhaps the daughter. Her upright posture in no way suggests exertion. The resplendent golden yellow colour of her clothing echoes the golden frame of the painting on the wall and the colour of the door and window frames; colour and light enhance the scene's aura-like quality. Heavy housework is hardly ever shown, although even the housewife was not idle. This is worth pointing out due to the sheer volume and variety of Dutch genre paintings. In some paintings, housewives or maids are seen effortlessly sweeping the floor; the cleaning is certainly not to be read simply as a mundane activity but also as a metaphor for an orderly, clean and virtuous household.[37] In many cases, the broom is simply leaning against the wall (see Figure 28.13). Women are often shown making lace, embroidering or spinning yarn; this textile work later becomes, in the nineteenth century, the epitome of feminine virtue and modesty.[38] The five graphic works by Geertruydt Roghman, dated ca. 1650, constitute a rare exception. It is certainly no coincidence that very little is known about this woman artist, who, significantly, worked in the graphic medium and not in that of panel painting (see Figure 28.10).[39] One sees

Figure 28.10 Geertruydt Roghman, *Woman Working in a Kitchen*, c. 1650, engraving, 21,3 x 17,1 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

a woman in very simple dress, most likely a maid, in a kitchen atmosphere equally marked by simplicity, and she is seen from behind. The hard work that she has to do can be sensed in her bent back.

Family

It is noteworthy that family portrayal is not a theme in Dutch genre and interior paintings. Male protagonists appear in the domestic context mostly as guests, messengers (see Figure 28.3), doctors, playing musical instruments or in amorous contact, rather than as the paterfamilias surrounded by a family with children. Male protagonists can be seen together with the family in the paintings by Jan Steen, although here the focus is on the 'disorderly household' and giddy merrymaking. This striking phenomenon deserves to be studied in greater detail, particularly in light of the fact that, as has already been seen, in the peasant milieu – in the works of van Ostade, for example – male figures are unquestionably integrated into the family context (see Figure 28.8). A clear distinction must be made between genre paintings and family portraits. In the Netherlands, family portraits existed since the 1530s in works by painters such as Maerten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris or Pieter Pietersz. Only well-to-do families could afford to commission a family portrait. The exhibition catalogue compiled by Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, is still a fundamental source in this respect.[40] The families usually had themselves portrayed in the open, in a landscape and less frequently in an interior. More often than not, if the family posed in an interior, less importance was given to the interior than to the posing figures. The family often had itself portrayed participating in a shared activity, such as taking a stroll, having a meal, saying grace or playing music. Over the course of the seventeenth century, there is a noticeable tendency towards narrowing the focus down to the nuclear family: father, mother, children. The display of a lifestyle, moral integrity and harmony dominated and was meant to show the family as being an ideal community. Strict attention was paid to moral codes and etiquette and only limited attention to things private and intimate. Splendour, wealth and ancestry – all marks of nobility – gave way to individuality and the importance of belonging to a family. The father is always on the left side of the picture (in 'true life' on the right) it is usually he who establishes eye contact with the viewer. The mother, almost always wi the smallest child on her lap, is turned towards her husband or the children. The boys a often associated with the father, the girls with the mother. In spite of a certain equality, th hierarchy of the sexes is maintained.

Rembrandt embraced another possibility of depicting the domestic atmosphere. In paintings and engravings, he continued the religious tradition of portraying the Holy Family.[41] In the Kassel painting of the Holy Family, which is exemplary in this respect, Rembrandt managed, in spite of the sacred nature of the subject, to create the impression of an intimate domestic atmosphere and an intimate relationship between mother and child, the paternal role being included in the scene in the figure of Joseph cutting wood in the background. Rembrandt produced only one profane portrait of a family, a later work, dated probably around 1668 (see Figure 28.11).[42] It was presumably not a portrait commissioned by an actual family but more likely represents Rembrandt's ideal conception of the family. In contrast to the pictorial tradition, he eliminated all elements of genre or allegory and refrained from concretising the space surrounding the figures. The family ties are not established by a unifying activity, such as a meal, the playing of music or a stroll. Nevertheless, this is not an incoherent juxtaposition of individual portraits, such as can be seen

Figure 28.11 Rembrandt, *Family Group*, c. 1665–1668, oil on canvas, 126 x 167 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich- Museum

in other contemporary family portraits. The display of a lifestyle, which, precisely in portraits of married couples and family portraits of the second half of the seventeenth century, was a central concern of the bourgeois elite, hardly plays a role here at all. In the dark, non-representational space, nothing can be seen but this family. The hierarchy of the sexes has been attenuated. However, even Rembrandt has placed the man on the left side of the picture, somewhat larger than the woman, who is seated; it is the man's eyes, not the woman's, that look outwards from the painting, although the look in his eyes is vague. The woman is looking at her youngest child, who is sitting in her lap; but the woman's gaze also seems to be turned inwards. This lively little child is the only figure that is looking out of the picture directly at the viewer. In Rembrandt's version too, man and woman are decidedly differentiated in terms of gender: she standing out in splendid, colourful garments, he practically bodiless, the black of his clothing merging into the dark background.

The head of the family is holding a red flower in his hand – a carnation or a rose. There are more flowers in the basket that the eldest daughter is presenting to her mother. Since the Middle Ages, carnations and roses have been symbols of love and faithfulness. In several Dutch family portraits, flowers and flower baskets are associated with the fertility of nature, a feature reminiscent of the pastoral genre. In most cases, however, flowers are seen only in association with children and persons of the female sex and rarely connected with the male protagonists. What binds the family together in Rembrandt's painting are not external constraints, not a logic of family hierarchies based on descent, not an extended family, apparently not even a common home or activities being enjoyed in common. It is love and love alone: the gazes, the figures touching each other tenderly, turning towards each other,

emerging from and sinking into a common dark background; the warm colours blending together and making it almost seem as if the bodies have merged into a single entity. One sees in this work by Rembrandt a depiction of the quintessence of this new, bourgeois conception of love and marriage: the utopian – if not illusory – ideal of the perfect, harmonious unity of love, marriage and family.

Interior and interiority

Pictures of interiors do not merely reproduce real interiors. They delve into family and social relations in the household. They have also contributed in great measure to forming an idea of privacy, intimacy and individual imagination.[43] A considerable part in this evolution was played by Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681). In his paintings of interiors – for the most part closed interiors without windows or vistas through doorways – the focus is on a small number of figures. One is tempted to decipher a story linking the figures portrayed, but there is no clear narrative. Hints and ambiguities lead the viewers to imagine individual, subjective stories of their own. This can best be illustrated by the example of ter Borch's so-called *Paternal Admonition* (see Figure 28.12).[44] Concrete titles for these paintings were not available at the time; they were treated as *gesellschappies* or *conversaties*. In 1765, the German engraver Johann Georg Wille produced a copy of the work for the king of France, titling the engraving *Instruction paternelle*, which Goethe and his contemporaries translated as *Väterliche Ermahnung*.[45] Thus, until as late as the 1930s, ter Borch's painting was interpreted as an anecdotal portrayal of propriety and the family. Then, however, research with an iconological orientation saw in the work a moralizing warning against the purchasability of love. The family became a brothel: the father mutated into an officer, the daughter into a harlot and the mother into a procuress. One imagined a gold coin between the man's fingers, a coin that never existed. The most diverse interpretations followed. How can such different readings of the same painting be explained? It is the ambivalence of the painting itself, the aesthetic staging of the subject that provokes these subjectively diverse reactions. The quintessence of ter Borch's female figures lies in their ambiguity. Alison McNeil Kettering characterized ter Borch's female figures dressed in white satin as the principal ideal of feminine behaviour.[46]

In their beauty, passivity and dignified self-effacement they conformed to the moralizing books of manners and also to the Petrarchist poetry in fashion at the time. The white satin dress, which in its turn is a sign both of purity and of wealth, covers and, in fetish fashion, replaces the naked female body. In sum, an ideal *Weiblichkeitshülle* (covering for femininity). Today, even assuming the male figure with the sword is an officer shown at a moment during which he is speaking, there is no way of knowing what he is saying; no more than there is a way of knowing how the young woman is reacting. The rear-view figure does not show herself to the viewer; her attitude, the way she is standing calmly with her head slightly tilted, reveals nothing of her emotions. A story is hinted at but not told; there is no narrative. Above all, there is no (written) text – nor is there a pictorial tradition – that could assist in interpreting the painting. Even for ter Borch's contemporaries, this form of profane scene lacking thematic definition was something completely new. The quality of being ideal in combination with this lack of definition opened up for the rear-view figure a career until then unparalleled. No other figure in Dutch painting was copied or paraphrased so often. Precisely due to the fact that no specific narrative defined her, she could be variously contextualized. Thus, in a number of paraphrases by other artists she is seen alone in an interior, attending to her toilette, playing music or reading a letter.[47]

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Figure 28.12 Gerard ter Borch, *The So-Called Paternal Admonition*, c. 1654, oil on canvas, 71 x 73 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

A small number of Dutch artists evoked conceptions of the domestic sphere solely by representing an interior without human figures. A prominent example is Samuel van Hoogstraten's painting *The Slippers*, dated ca. 1658–1660 (see Figure 28.13).[48] From a threshold, the viewer looks into three successive rooms, each with a door wide open that allows the viewer's gaze to penetrate it. In the first room, a broom is leaning against the wall opposite the viewer; next to it a large towel is hanging from a wooden shelf; flax has been hung along the sides of the doorframes – all signs of female household diligence. Through an open door hinged on the right, the viewer looks into a hallway; the light beaming in from the right indicates the presence of a fourth door that cannot be seen and which evidently leads outside. In this brightly lit hallway nothing can be seen but a round mat on which there are two wooden clogs of a greenish colour. The viewer 'stumbles' over these shoes. As one looks into the room, it is as if one is forced to stop and think about what they signify. Shoes that have been taken off can frequently be seen in Dutch genre paintings. Iconological analyses have produced conflicting results: countless figures of speech, myths, fairy tales and marriage rites serve as evidence that they can be interpreted as an erotic allusion.[49] In contrast, the motif of shoes that have been

Figure 28.13 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *The Slippers*, c. 1658–1660, oil on canvas, 103 x 70 cm, Paris, Louvre

taken off has also been interpreted – with reference to Plutarch – as a symbol of virtue.[50] The only conclusion that can be drawn is that this shoe symbol, in Dutch genre pieces, is semantically charged but can conjure up, simultaneously, various associations. The shoes in Hoogstraten's painting are not lying in the first room, not alongside the unmistakable attributes of female diligence, nor are they in the third room, the intimate chamber. Their place is in the space in between. The fact that the semantic significance of the shoes is not to be pinpointed could not be made clearer than by their being placed between the rooms. This hallway has no other purpose than to serve as a space in between. The shoes and the space in between can be interpreted as jointly signifying open-endedness, indeterminacy.

A third door with a massive bunch of keys hanging from the lock opens into the last room, where the aura-like light is intensified by the golden damask cloth spread over the table and the chair upholstered in the same cloth. Hanging on the wall next to the painting is a mirror, in which, significantly, nothing is reflected. The view of the rearmost chamber through the open doors is a view of an intimate, feminine realm. The gaze of the viewer is allowed to penetrate

this place of intimacy, privacy and seclusion. The bunch of keys, which sharply contrasts with the bright background, is hanging in the lock situated directly underneath the female figure in the painting. The key is an allusion not only to the domestic responsibility and privilege of access associated with women but also, since the Middle Ages, to a form of sexual symbolism. However, the key also has the function of *clavis interpretandi*. In seventeenth-century Holland, the key (*sleutel*) was a common metaphor for the deciphering of the truth.[51] The key opens the door (the picture), but what one sees is merely another picture. The actual story, the actors, are found solely in the painted picture on the wall. Hoogstraten makes the picture-in-a-picture motif – treated by his contemporaries as one pictorial element among others – the actual subject of the painting. The painting on the wall shows a standing female rear-view figure in a silver satin dress, whom the viewer recognizes from ter Borch's *Peternal Admonition*, seen here standing in front of a red canopy bed. It also shows a little boy, also dressed in red, behind a chair, holding a large hat. Hoogstraten was quoting one of the many paraphrases after ter Borch in which the satin-clad female rear-view figure had already mutated into a woman reading a letter, namely, a painting by ter Borch's pupil, Caspar Netscher.[52] Hoogstraten adhered very closely to the work quoted, changing only one detail: he made the letter disappear, the letter which, in Netscher's painting, in spite of the rear-view angle, was visible as a small, white corner. How can one be so certain that the woman is reading a letter? One 'sees' that she is because one knows the motif from tradition; one knows it without actually seeing it. It is no coincidence that Hoogstraten neither invented a new picture nor copied Gerard ter Borch's well-known original; rather, he quotes a paraphrase. In doing so, he is playing with pictorial quotes, with visual memory but also with the viewer's imagination.

The whole way in which the picture has been staged also stimulates the viewer's imagination. One projects one's own thoughts and emotions onto these empty rooms and onto the picture in the picture. According to how one sees the three rooms relating to each other and how one interprets the objects depicted (shoes, closed book,[53] extinguished candle,[54] etc.), various complex semantic axes emerge. One can sense a kind of dangerous tension between the first room – the room of household work – and the last – the room of love, seduction and desire; the visible segments of the rooms and the objects in each can be read antithetically. However, the rooms can also be interpreted as representing real rooms, as a middle-class home in which a painting with an erotic subject is hanging on the wall, a painting that gives the interior a new meaning. Yet another way of reading the work is as a step-by-step initiation that takes the viewer from the room where he is standing into the world of art, a progression from the banal to the 'noble' and to love. The viewer's fancy might tempt him to suspect that the 'actual' scene is taking place behind the door, perhaps in a bed – something the painting on the wall suggests one might expect; but this cannot be seen, it cannot be known. Perhaps the painting is about an act of seduction, seduction not by a man who is physically present, but by a letter, that is, seduction by means of a text, by means of words. In the painting, a woman is being courted; at the same time, however, the viewer too is being ensnared, not by words, but by the picture.

Hoogstraten went to great lengths to evoke diverse associations. At the same time, employing pictorial means, he reflected on the imaginary and affective power of painting. Victor Stoichita has characterized the door as a symbol for Dutch interior painting reflecting on itself. Both in painting and in art history, the *doorkijkje* became a metaphor for painting.[55] Hoogstraten's painting shows that the art of painting opens the doors; it allows the invisible to become visible. What the viewer sees, however, is 'just' another painting. The viewer, looking into the depth of the picture from the threshold, is both inside the picture and outside the picture. Moreover, due to the fragmentation of nearly all the objects, the viewer realizes that

he cannot see everything. The painting also reflects its own 'outside'. The light beaming in from outside the picture points to a reality that exists beyond the canvas.

All these artistic strategies make the viewers aware of the fact that they are indeed looking at a picture and that whatever they imagine is, consequently, in their own imagination. The mirror next to the painting reflects nothing; it is the viewer who supplies it with a meaning. Hoogstraten was perfectly capable of this kind of reflection on the artistic medium. He was one of the few Dutch artists to write a treatise on painting: *Inleyding tot de hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst, anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (1678).[56] In the first book of his treatise, in a chapter devoted to the aim of painting (what it is and what it produces), he defined painting as follows: "Painting is a form of knowledge that aims at depicting all the ideas or mental images that the whole of visible nature can conjure up, and at deceiving the eye with contours and colours".[57] Hoogstraten did not speak of all the manifestations of nature or of all the things present in nature; he spoke of ideas and mental images.

The work is also a reflection on the new locus of art: the private home. However, it is not merely one more painting of an interior like so many others. By reducing his composition to rooms devoid of people and a panel painting on the wall, Hoogstraten treated the new locus of bourgeois painting as well as its very function thematically. The panel painting in the private room made a new quality of reception possible: reception that is totally individual. This kind of reception is quite comparable to a reader's reception of a novel. In reference to the literature of the eighteenth century, Albrecht Koschorke has demonstrated how the practice of immersing oneself in a novel – which he characterizes as the most private, the most individual but also the most isolating form of reading – brought about an enhancement of the faculty of imagination.[58] A painting of this kind, which has the appearance of being so mimetic, opens up the realm of the psyche, of fantasy and of the imagination. In an interior devoid of people, Hoogstraten depicted essential elements of the domestic sphere. At the same time, he made one aware that painting contributed in no small measure to generating the conceptions one might have of the domestic sphere.

Conclusion

Pictures do not merely illustrate texts or portray social reality. Like language and other social practices, they participate in the production of meaning and, consequently, social reality. Thus, seventeenth-century Dutch paintings of interiors contributed significantly to the evolution of a conception of the domestic sphere. In these paintings, the complex web of relationships between the sexes, social strata and the private and the public becomes thematic material. The paintings depicted mental concepts, ideals but also conflicts. It is worth remarking that genre paintings in which families are portrayed are connected only with the peasant milieu, not with the bourgeoisie, which, in this context, is in most cases represented only by female protagonists.

A finding of the study is that conceptions of domesticity, privacy, intimacy and interiority, which, in the study of literature and history, can for the most part be dated to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, were already being represented visually in Dutch paintings of the second half of the seventeenth century. For a long time, research concentrated on England and France, neglecting this little country – Holland. Art history, in its turn, had until recently ignored, to a great extent, the overlapping semantics of paintings of interiors, which can fully be grasped only from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Due to its military, economic and political successes over the course of the seventeenth century, Holland had become an imperial power. In contrast to its neighbouring states, where the Counter-Reformation and feudal,

absolute power had prevailed, here the defining of culture was the prerogative of the urban bourgeoisie, for which a specific visual conception of the domestic sphere became an important factor of cultural identity.

Notes

1 Karl Schütz takes the notion of interior in a broad sense and includes all pictures of interior spaces, such as churches, taverns, brothels, artist ateliers, prison cells, etc. See Karl Schütz (ed.), *Raum im Bild: Interieurmalerei 1500 bis 1900*, exhibition catalogue, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Munich: Hirmer, 2009).
2 Sabine Schulze (ed.), *Innenleben: Die Kunst des Interieurs – Vermeer bis Kabakov*, exhibition catalogue, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje, 1998), p. 10.
3 Irene Cieraad (ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999).
4 Sabine Schulze (ed.), *Innenleben: Die Kunst des Interieurs – Vermeer bis Kabakov*, exhibition catalogue, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje, 1998).
5 Ewa Lajer-Burcharth and Beate Söntgen (eds.), *Interiors and Interiority* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).
6 Lajer-Burcharth and Söntgen (eds.), *Interiors and Interiority*, pp. 3–4.
7 Victor I. Stoichita, *Das selbstbewusste Bild: Vom Ursprung der Metamalerei* (Munich: Fink, 1998).
8 Schütz (ed.), *Raum im Bild*.
9 See, among others, Irene Nierhaus, *Arch 6: Raum, Geschlecht, Architektur* (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 1999).
10 Mariët Westermann (ed.), *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, exhibition catalogue, Denver Art Museum and The Newark Museum (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), p. 15.
11 Mariët Westermann, "Wooncultur in the Netherlands: A Historiography in Progress", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2001), pp. 7–33.
12 Heidi de Mare, "Die Grenze des Hauses als ritueller Ort und ihr Bezug zur holländischen Hausfrau des 17. Jahrhunderts", *kritische berichte* 4 (1992), pp. 64–79.
13 Elizabeth Alice Honig, "The Space of Gender in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting", in Wayne Franits (ed.), *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidererd* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 187–201; Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Desire and Domestic Economy", *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001/2), pp. 294–315.
14 Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
15 Karin Leonhard, *Das gemalte Zimmer: Zur Interieurmalerei Jan Vermeers* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2003).
16 Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective I: 1650 – Hard-Won Unity* (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004).
17 Individual cities, especially Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague, Delft, Leiden, Dordrecht and Rotterdam, each had very specific pictorial traditions. However, these will not be considered here. See in this respect Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
18 Helga Möbius and Harald Olbrich, *Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1990), p. 53.
19 Westermann, *Art and Home*; Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Viking Press, 1986), esp. pp. 25–43, 50–75; Heidi de Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute: A Reconsideration of Sources", in Cieraad, *At Home*, pp. 13–30.
20 C. Willemijn Fock, "Semblance or Reality? The Domestic Interior in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting", in Westermann, *Art and Home*, pp. 83–101.
21 For a thorough discussion see Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, *Das Sichtbare und das Unsichtbare: Zur holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 219–58; English version: *The Visible and the Invisible: On Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 219–57; Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, "Der Brief in der darstellenden Kunst", in Eve-Marie Becker et al. (eds.), *Handbuch Brief* (Berlin: De Gruyter, projected publication date 2020); Peter C. Sutton, Lisa Vergara and Ann Jensen Adams (eds.), *Love Letters: Dutch Genre Paintings in the Age of Vermeer*, exhibition catalogue, Bruce Museum of Arts and Science, Greenwich, National Gallery

of Ireland, Dublin (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003); Sabine Schulze (ed.), *Leselust: Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer*, exhibition catalogue, Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt: Gerd Hatje, 1993).
22 In the research on letter writing, Holland has practically been ignored.
23 To date, few studies have concerned themselves with the number of literate women in seventeenth-century Holland. In comparison with other European countries, the level of literacy was certainly very high. However, it is fair to assume that many women could read without being able to write. See Ann Jensen Adams, "'Der Sprechende Brief' – Kunst des Lesens, Kunst des Schreibens: Schriftkunde und *schoonschrift* in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert", in Schulze, *Leselust*, pp. 69–92; Ann Jensen Adams, "Disciplining the Hand, Disciplining the Heart: Letter-Writing Paintings and Practices in Seventeenth-Century Holland", in Sutton, Vergara and Jensen Adams (eds.), *Love Letters*, pp. 63–76.
24 Peter C. Sutton, "Dutch Genre Paintings in the Age of Vermeer", in Sutton, Vergara and Jensen Adams (eds.), *Love Letters*, pp. 14–49 (14).
25 Hammer-Tugendhat, *Das Sichtbare und das Unsichtbare/The Visible and the Invisible*.
26 Over the course of the seventeenth century, the dividing line between the public and private realms increasingly became a subject of discourse in the Netherlands. In the writings of Jacob Cats, who carried the ideas of Erasmus and Vives further and significantly contributed to shaping the normative discourse concerning the rights and obligations of women, places and spaces were classified according to gender-specific norms. Cats never tired of repeating that the place for women was the home, the home, and only the home. See Agnes A. Sneller, "Reading Jacob Cats", in Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen and Marijke Huisman (eds.), *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-Century Holland, England and Italy* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), pp. 21–34; with regard to what follows, see Hammer-Tugendhat, *Das Sichtbare und das Unsichtbare/The Visible and the Invisible*, pp. 118–34.
27 De Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute".
28 Beate Söntgen, "Mariology, Calvinism, Painting: Interiority in Pieter de Hooch's *Mother at a Cradle*", in Lajer-Burcharth and Beate Söntgen, *Interiors and Interiority*, pp. 175–93.
29 For the following remarks see Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes*, pp. 103–48.
30 Regarding the significance and function of maps in Dutch paintings see Svetlana Alpers, *Kunst als Beschreibung: Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Dumont, 1985), pp. 213–86; in English: *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Stoichtia, *Das selbstbewusste Bild*, pp.173–223; Richard Helgerson, "Genremalerei, Landkarten und nationale Unsicherheit im Holland des 17. Jahrhunderts", in Ulrich Bielefeld and Gisela Engel (eds.), *Bilder der Nation: Kulturelle und politische Konstruktionen des Nationalen am Beginn der europäischen Moderne* (Hamburg: Hamburger Editionen, 1998), pp. 123–53; Bärbel Hedinger, *Karten in Bildern: Zur Ikonographie der Wandkarte in holländischen Interieurgemälden des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1986); Eddy de Jongh, "The Changing Face of Lady World", in De Jongh, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting* (Leiden: Primavera, 2000), pp. 59–82.
31 Maria-Theresia Leuker, *'De last van't huys, de uil des mans…' Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Regensberg, 1992).
32 Wolfgang Kemp, "Kunstwerk und Betrachter: Der rezeptionsästhetische Ansatz in der Kunstgeschichte", in Hans Belting et al. (eds.), *Kunstgeschichte: Eine Einführung*, 6th edn (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2003), pp. 247–65.
33 Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
34 Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1985).
35 Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, pp. 34–43, 135–39.
36 Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, pp. 203–14; H. Perry Chapman, "Jan Steen's Household Revisited", *Simiolus* 20 (1990–1991), pp. 183–96.
37 Wayne Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Foreign visitors were particularly struck by this proverbial cleanliness. As J. de Parival wrote: "They scrub and rub the benches, cupboards, chests, cabinets, stairs, tables, tea warmers, footstools, etc., as briskly as they can, so that they shine like mirrors – even the stairs; and everything is so clean and bright that one does not dare step into the room […] without first taking off one's shoes and putting on house slippers […]", in *De Vermaeckelijckheden van Holland*

(Amsterdam, 1661), pp. 3–33, quoted here according to Sylvia Jäkel-Scheglmann, *Zum Lobe der Frauen: Untersuchungen zum Bild der Frau in der niederländischen Genremalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: scaneg, 1994), pp. 59–60.

38 Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: Women's Press, 1984).

39 Geertruydt Roghman was born in Amsterdam around 1625 as the daughter of the engraver Henrick Lambertsz Roghman and died probably between 1655 and 1657. The five graphic works are the only known original works by her; otherwise, there are engravings of landscapes after sketches by her brother Roelant.

40 Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, exhibition catalogue, Frans Hals Museum Haarlem (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 1986); Möbius and Olbrich, *Holländische Malerei*, pp. 89–92; David R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: 17th-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982).

41 Wolfgang Kemp, *Rembrandt: Die Heilige Familie oder die Kunst, einen Vorhang zu lüften* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1986).

42 Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, "Liebe und Ehe: Bürgerliche Utopie in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts", in Doris Guth and Elisabeth Priedl (eds.), *Bilder der Liebe: Liebe, Begehren und Geschlechterverhältnisse in der Kunst der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012), pp. 129–46; Silke Gatenbröcker, *Familienglück: Rembrandt und sein Braunschweiger Meisterwerk*, exhibition catalogue, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig (Petersberg: Imhof, 2006).

43 For a thorough discussion see Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible*, pp. 219–57.

44 Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, "Tournez s'il vous plaît! Transkriptionen einer Rückenfigur Gerard ter Borchs", in Verena Krieger and Rachel Mader (eds.), *Ambiguität in der Kunst: Typen und Funktionen eines ästhetischen Paradigmas* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 73–91; Sturla J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch*, 2 vols (Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1959–60), vol. 1, p. 97 and vol. 2, cat. no. 110; Alison McNeil Kettering, "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin", in Wayne E. Franits (ed.), *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 98–115.

45 In his novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, Johann Wolfgang Goethe has guests at a soiree enact a *Lebendes Bild* ("living picture") after this work. See Johann Wolfgang Goethe, "Die Wahlverwandtschaften: Ein Roman", in Erich Trunz (ed.), *Werke*, 11th edn (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982), vol. 6, chap. 5 of part 2, p. 393.

46 Kettering, "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin", pp. 98–115.

47 Focus on the figures' interiority combined with vagueness also characterizes the paintings by Jan Vermeer that feature female figures. See Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible*, esp. pp. 278–84; Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, "Arcana Cordis: Zur Konstruktion des Intimen in der Malerei von Vermeer", in Gisela Engel et al. (eds.), *Das Geheimnis am Beginn der europäischen Moderne* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 2002), pp. 234–56.

48 Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible*, pp. 284–92; Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, "Kunst der Imagination/Imagination der Kunst: Die Pantoffeln Samuel van Hoogstratens", in Klaus Krüger and Alessandro Nova (eds.), *Imagination und Wirklichkeit: Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz: Zabern, 2000), pp. 139–53.

49 Eddy de Jongh (ed.), *Tot leering en vermaak: Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, exhibition catalogue (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 259–61; Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible*, pp. 225–26.

50 Franits, *Paragons of Virtue*, pp. 77–79.

51 Peter L. Donhauser, "A Key to Vermeer?", *Artibus et Historiae* 14, 27 (1993), pp. 85–101.

52 Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible*, Figure 138.

53 The book is not identified, neither as the Bible nor as a scientific work nor as light reading; what is more, it is closed. The author of the present essay has suggested (Hammer-Tugendhat, "Kunst der Imagination", pp. 148–49) interpreting it as a *paragone* between painting and poetry: the book remains closed and the letter invisible, whereas the picture is being opened up, the picture tells a story: *ut pictura poesis*.

54 Interpreting the extinguished candle exclusively as a *vanitas* symbol, as a reference to an unchaste lifestyle, seems questionable. The extinguished candle can be found in countless Dutch genre paintings that are certainly not to be read as allusions to unchaste moral conduct. The author of the present essay does not know of any examples of lit candles in paintings where the scene takes place in daylight.

55 Stoichita (*Das Selbstbewusste Bild*, esp. pp. 71–74) refers to the title page of Philip Angel's *Lof der Schilder-Konst*, dated 1642, where the personification of "Pictura" is seen holding a painted panel that shows a *doorkijkje* (Fig., ibid., p. 71).

56 Hans-Jörg Czech, *Im Geleit der Musen: Studien zu Samuel van Hoogstratens Malereitraktat Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt* (Münster: Waxmann, 2002); Hans-Jörg Czech, "Klassizismus mit niederländischem Antlitz: Fundierung und Propagierung im kunsttheoretischen Werk von Samuel van Hoogstraten", in Ekkehard Mai (ed.), *Holland nach Rembrandt: Zur niederländischen Kunst zwischen 1670 und 1750* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), pp. 97–118; Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: University Press, 2008).

57 "De Schilderkonst is een wetenschap, om alle ideen, ofte denkbeelden, die de gansche zichtbaere natuer kan geven, te verbeelden: en met omtrek en verwe het oog te bedriegen." See Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst, anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, book 1 (dbnl = digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren), chapter 4, p. 24.

58 Albrecht Koschorke, *Körperströme und Schriftverkehr: Mediologie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1999), esp. p. 169.

29

THE NATIONAL HOUSE AND HOME IN POLISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE

Monika Szczepaniak

Introduction

There was no independent Polish state between the years 1795 and 1918. However, there was a Polish nation and a flourishing Polish culture that, unlike other European cultures, was not aligned with processes of modernization and socio-economic transformations but instead with a large-scale project or mission: defending and preserving the existence of the nation. Against this backdrop, the subject of this chapter is the national discourse on the house and home in Polish literature and culture under the condition of foreign rule. Based on selected literary texts, the paper examines the creation of the national home as a cultural and patriotic 'centre', the role of material objects and emotionally charged environments, and discussions on destruction and loss using the characteristic motif of the 'suffering' and 'languishing' home. After the unsuccessful 1863 Polish January Uprising, the home as a national 'fortress' would increasingly become a place of repression and opposition. Consequently, any portrayals of homes in cultural texts of this time were dominated by a narrative of marred domestic bliss: the agents of the Russian partitioning power found their way into the privacy of the home and tried to destroy this sacred microcosm. From then on, national and patriotic ideas were only free to be developed in secret conspiracies. The First World War marked the end of Polish aristocracy and was the origin of many dramatic stories of loss that were 'told' in literary texts and iconographic depictions of people, buildings and things. The condition that the cultural aristocracy was represented by artists, reflects an important aspect of the history of Polish society, namely the aristocratic genealogy of the intellectual and artistic elite and its accompanying conservative attitude. For a long time, the bourgeoisie was not able to assert itself, and thus the main subjects of long nineteenth-century Polish literature were not middle-class homes but rather those belonging to the aristocracy and later to farmers. This paper will outline how these contexts and processes were represented in cultural texts.

The house and home as a fragile identity construction

The house and home as a space that has a specific geographic location and material form, and as an asset that is charged with meaning and value, plays an important role in how individuals perceive themselves within social, familial, generational and gender constellations. The house and

home is also charged with significance for its inhabitants in identifying with a culture as defined as national, or with an identity as imagined as national. In this context, identity is understood as a construct of belonging. Identity is historically and culturally variable and constitutes an aspect of the individual as well as collective self-image. Alternatively – in the sense of Brubaker and Cooper's postulation of using a more differentiated analytical language – we can use the terms identification, self-understanding, commonality, connectiveness or groupness.[1] In terms of its material value and symbolic potential, the relevance of the house and home to the individual's cultural integration into society, as well as to community building on the basis of social affiliation (for example aristocracy) and national affiliation (for example Polish), carried over into the modern age. That said, we can observe major transformations of the domestic sphere that took place in the context of industrialization and modernization. Instead of providing stability and a firm identity, houses and homes increasingly transformed into spaces of difference, uncertainty and conflict. What is more, the material dimension of houses and homes were destroyed, for example during the course of the First World War, which marked the end of the long nineteenth century. Against the backdrop of war atrocities, migrations, displacements and expropriations, the house and home could no longer serve as a guarantor for stability, seclusion, privacy or coherence of the self. In this unnerving context of the modernization processes, houses and homes often turned into objects of mythologization, objects upon which to project desires and yearnings, spaces that various social groups and communities attributed different meanings to for reasons that included the ability to represent, restore and newly imagine social structures.

As early as the mid-nineteenth century, conservative observers noted that traditional conceptions of the home, family, relationships and ways of life within the domestic sphere were threatened by various transformation processes. In his 1854 book *Die Familie* (The Family), German cultural historian Wilhelm Riehl focused on the home as a focal point of family identity and identified symptoms of the transformation process in the new bourgeois family "with increasing civilization".[2] In his eyes, this story of disintegration and loss manifested itself as an unravelling of the old so-called 'whole house' as well as an individualization of the domestic setting. Riehl criticized the unravelling of family ties, the decline of old customs and traditional patriarchal gender relations as well as the retreat into private spheres. According to Riehl, it was primarily the emerging bourgeois class and the spirit of the capitalist economy that was responsible for these modern adverse individualistic developments. And conversely: he attested the highest moral qualities (the "blessing of the family relationship") to the traditional 'whole house',[3] for the traditional home was a place of peaceful and harmonious coexistence of the various generations (grandparents, parents, children).

In the twentieth century, the fragility and vulnerability of the home as an identity-building dimension became the topic of theoretical discussions that could not be classified as being 'conservative'. In 1960, young and later famous social anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu also wrote about the home in the context of a dramatic story of loss: the mass destruction of Kabyle houses by French colonial troupes during the Algerian War. It was not least Bourdieu's intention to commemorate the sacred microcosm of the Kabyle home as a *pars pro toto* of the endangered culture,[4] since the interior space of a home is, according to Bourdieu, "a small-scale image of the topocosm".[5] In other words and more precisely: the domestic sphere is a space that is attributed with a complex symbolic order, an "intergenerational traditional cultural matrix, an ensemble of collective schemata of perception, thought and actions".[6]

Literature and art played a particularly important role in the construction of this 'cultural matrix', that is in the multigenerational construction of a cultural identity. They did not just try to describe, capture, construct and criticize the home as such but also portrayed it *pars*

pro toto in a characteristic atmosphere of either cultural, national, social or religious contexts with a cast of corresponding human and material actors. Literature and art produced varying meanings and reinterpretations of the home as well as the dangers exposed to it, especially the danger of destruction but also slow processes of decay, 'uncanny' transformations of something that is homelike and familiar into something foreign, stories of disintegration or loss as part of the dynamized modern era. Gaston Bachelard, Pierre Bourdieu and many others relied on literary methods in order to determine complex cultural significances of the home: in them, the home acts like a 'text' that can be read and interpreted.[7] The home and the domestic sphere have also increasingly arrived at the centre of the fields of literature and cultural studies, especially in the contexts of modern processes of transformation, spatial mobilities and new constructions of order.

The political and national histories of various regions constitute a context that shapes the perception of the home and the domestic sphere in a specific way. For example, in central and eastern Europe, those who sought to construct a national identity were not always free to express themselves under the conditions of a colonial rule or partition via foreign powers. Due to the oppressive nature of the public sphere, the domestic sphere developed into a space capable of representing and reflecting an individual's national culture, also in the sense of resistance against a foreign rule. Thus, the home achieved the status of an exceptional place of national freedom that manifested the relationship between a collective desire for identity and domesticity as a kind of self-confident attitude,[8] 'oppositional' purpose, cultural resistance and even national survival strategy. In Polish culture, the aristocratic manor house played a particularly important role in the unification of the 'members of a nation' and the preservation of the Polish identity under the period of rule by foreign powers. A national state as an object of desire in combination with the 'domestic sphere' indirectly invoked the idea of the home as a *genuis loci*, a restorative retreat or refuge for the 'Polish soul'. This development went hand in hand with the country's marred experience of modernity and had grave consequences for the imagination of a future Polish national community that was in some way alienated by the world.

State of research: house, nation, culture

The fields of literary and cultural studies have demonstrated an increasing interest in the reciprocal relationship between the home or the 'domestic sphere' and literature. Nineteenth-century German-language novels are the subject of analysis of two remarkable monographs by Saskia Haag and Nacim Ghanbari.[9] Martin Chandler's analysis *Dwelling in the Text*[10] looks at American literature, and Kathy Mezei and Chiara Briganti offer a brief overview on the mutual relationship between the home and literary texts by revealing structural analogies between the two, recapitulating a historical evolution of this symbiosis.[11] Recent research has addressed the relationship between the home and the nation, and how, for example, that relationship is represented in British and Dutch literature.[12] These publications highlight the domestic sphere as not just a topography of intimacy and privacy but also the condition of it being heavily influenced by national ideologies and patriotic environments. The home and domestic life are particularly important for the national discourse and *vice versa*: the construction and expression of nationality is reflected in the material culture of the habitat. Despite these new developments, there is a massive gap in the research on house and home from the perspective of cultural studies. There is an especially marked lack in studies from a comparative transnational perspective that focus on cultural formations of the home and identity, particularly of the home and national identity with consideration of

central and eastern Europe. Several aspects of this issue are addressed in a volume on the subject of the home in Slavic cultures.[13]

While there are relevant publications on the subject of the home in Polish culture in relation to aristocratic identity from a historical perspective,[14] there is a lack of research that incorporates the latest methods and research results. Among the extant works are ones on the cultural histories of Polish homes, especially the homes of the aristocracy, including a book by Elżbieta Kowecka on the material culture of nineteenth-century Polish palaces and manors houses,[15] and Michał Rożek's *Etos dworu szlacheckiego. Szkice z dziejów kultury* (Ethos of the Aristocratic Manor – Sketches in Cultural History).[16] Except for a small number of scattered interpretations, there are only a few Polish comprehensive studies that explore the motif of the house and home in literary texts; and it is interesting to note that those that exist are not focused on the nineteenth century but on the cultural context post 1945 up until the present day. These include Anna Legeżyńska's study on the home and poetic homelessness in contemporary poetry and the volume *Framing the Polish Home. Postwar Cultural Constructions of Hearth, Nation and Self*.[17]

The home of the nation

In Polish history, the long nineteenth century has been characterized by a fundamental plight: national servitude. Between 1795 and 1918, there was no Polish state. However, there very well were Polish people and a flourishing Polish culture. The beginning of the 1797 song *Mazurek Dąbrowskiego*, which was declared the official Polish national anthem in 1926, pointedly expressed both the national plight as well as the idea of a resilient Polish nation: Poland has not yet perished,/so long as we are still alive. While far-reaching societal, economic and cultural transformations spread across Europe, Poland was primarily preoccupied with defending and regaining its national existence. The resistance against the politics of its occupiers (the partitioning powers Prussia, Russia and Austria), various emigration activities, armed action to regain an independent state as well as the education in, and preservation of, a national awareness, the education of the younger generation in the spirit of patriotism and the integration of the people through art and religion as media of a national sense of mission seemed urgent challenges to the oppressed nation.

In this environment of national servitude and statelessness, the home and especially the manor house (*dwór szlachecki*), including all the symbolically charged objects and things within it, developed into characteristically Polish spaces in which to cultivate the national language, culture and traditions. While the great 'home' of the fatherland ceased to exist and public institutions no longer served as platforms for building and exercising national identity, an alternative Polish quotidian culture was able to develop. This highly emotionally charged, material, ritualistic and religiously backed culture that emerged in the private and intimate domestic sphere was not controlled by the occupying powers – at least not during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The home was consequently ascribed a value that far exceeded its monetary worth to include relevant political-idealistic functions of Polish socialization and communication, becoming a bastion of cultural continuity and generativity – and thus a national myth per se. On the one hand, the manor house, which began to vanish from the Polish landscape at the beginning of the nineteenth century, stood for the aristocratic genealogy of Polish culture that included the idealization of the antiquated idyllic, reclusive lifestyle of landowners in the middle of the familiar Polish nature,[18] and as such represented a backward-looking conservative ideology. On the other hand – and this refers back to knighthood as a national ideal of the past – the manor house turned into a haven

for patriotic-military ideals and epitomized the patrilinear genealogy of an ever-renewing national brotherhood in arms, capable of fulfilling the dream of re-attaining freedom. As such, the symbolic structure of the manor house within the national self-conception was quite progressive.[19] The ever-renewed epistemic dimension of history played an important part in the aristocracy's struggle for its position within society and in competition with various groups that emerged during the processes of modernization, equality and urbanization.[20] It is for these reasons that a conservative-patriarchal ideology,[21] which was comparable to Riehl's German construct of 'the whole house' and which found many apologists in Polish society but also met some criticism by intellectuals and artists, dominated the culture of manor houses.

Polish manor houses have represented the national character and Polish tradition well into the twentieth century. All in all, the ensemble of the manor house included its architecture and rural setting, the interior design, domestic objects and patriotic decorations, books, artwork, furniture and not least foods, rituals, traditions and celebrations. Material objects were connected with religious prayers, songs and symbols. Raffaella Sarti points out that rural European houses were "carriers of polysemic ideals on the emotional, symbolic, and religious levels" – places that expressed piety and superstition via the use of symbols and images.[22] Images of the Mother of God, who still today is revered as the Queen of Poland, hung on walls next to hunting trophies, sables and rifles. These were accompanied by stories told by the eldest family members and the cult of fallen national heroes in the form of portraits of grandfathers as soldiers in national uprisings. The 'age-old' spirit that was both frozen in the homes and objects as well as in its symbolic dimensions was like a side effect of the agony of aristocratic culture and solidified into a stereotype of Polish domesticity, inflated by both literature and art. The result was a nationalistically tainted poetry of space. Every Polish person knew, and still knows, what a typical noble manor house looked like, as the lines of Michał Bałucki in his 1864 novel *Przebudzeni* (Awakening) imply:

> I don't have to describe the old manor house because you have already read such descriptions in many a novel: the hand pump next to the gate, the veranda in front of the house, dog roses in the windows, linden trees above the straw roof, on top of it a stork – that pretty much characterizes our noble manor houses.[23]

Not only literature but also the visual arts created conservative depictions of noble manor houses characteristically set in idyllic atmospheres, such as the one seen on a drawing by Celina Dominikowska (see Figure 29.1).

The unsuccessful 1830 November Uprising, in which the Polish people tried to shake off the Russian occupying rule, brought along a wave of profoundly nationalist art that was particularly popular with exiled Poles. It let romanticists give voice to a national consciousness and contribute towards the formation of a national Polish community and culture. Adam Mickiewicz's 1834 epic poem *Pan Tadeusz; Or the Last Foray in Lithuania* contains an emotional description of the fatherland as an object of desire – a world that has already fallen victim to the past and must be sung about. For many generations, the symbols of the Polish way of life included a rural idyll, a peaceful landscape and aristocratic people as well as the national house, which contained the national spirit of unity: a spirit of protest and combat. At the same time, the poetic motif of the beloved, harmonious space that was worth protecting from foreign powers as a product of "dreaming consciousness" represented the individual topography of the inner life of a person,[24] and the collective feeling of belonging to a nation. Soplicowo, the manor house from *Pan Tadeusz*, is also archetypical for the entire

Figure 29.1 Celina Dominikowska, *The Manor House in Chaczów*, 1872

long nineteenth century, not least because it is imagined as only a memory of a landscape, mood, culture and family, representing a microcosm of lost material and spiritual values – a paradise lost. This kind of conjured-up Polish home *par excellence* – an intimate place of freedom in which one could truly breathe Polish air – "is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams".[25] The poetic localization of bliss in the fatherland, that is the archetypical national habitat, which, like Bourdieu's Kabylie house, reads "like a myth, a fairytale, a wedding ritual, or a religious genesis story"[26] goes as follows:

> Among the birch trees on a little hill / There stood a manor house, wood-built on stone; / From far away the walls with whitewash shone, / The whiter as relieved by the dark green / Of poplars, that the autumn winds would screen. / It was not large, but neat in every way, / And had a mighty barb; three stacks of hay / Stood near it, that the thatch could not contain; The neighbourhood was clearly rich in grain [...].[27]

This house was organized, clean and full of all kinds of opulent objects; and its inhabitants upheld old customs and traditions. The walls of the house were adorned with portraits of Polish national heroes, and the old clock played the melody of the song *Poland Is Not Yet Lost* and: "Gate wide open to the world declared / A hospitable house to all who fared".[28]

The inhabitants and guests folded, flirted, hunted, discussed, argued and in the end came together in their struggle against the Russian enemy. The year was 1812, the year of the Napoleonic Wars. Polish soldiers, who were fighting for Napoleon, entered Lithuania. This event was accompanied by ambitious hopes that all the more rendered Soplicowo the national house, "that unites everything within its walls that makes up the life force of the Polish nation".[29] The poetic atmosphere of the home invoked feelings associated with security (warmth, peace, confidence, faith) that were extremely endangered at the time the poem was conceived, and that remained so long afterwards. These were the feelings that would entice later generations

of authors to draft emotional affirmations of the national home. Even in a time when aristocratic culture in general, and manor houses in particular, were increasingly left to languish, nineteenth-century literature – even after 1918 – conjured up images of rural domestic ideals as typical Polish habitats: for example in *Dworek* (1894) (Small Manor House) by Jerzy Żuławski – a portrait of a long-lost childhood paradise; in *Dworek* (1908) by Leopold Staff – a vision of a manor house that was "sweet like home";[30] again in *Dworek* (1917) by Artur Schröder – a description of a dream house "like one out of an old painting";[31] and in many more poems. The myth of Soplicowo still held up after the end of the First World War, as demonstrated in Stefan Żeromski's 1924 novel *Przedwiośnie* (Early Spring). In it, the protagonist must experience an aristocratic manor house in order to become a 'real Pole': "Everything in this house felt good, benevolent, and comforting like a parent's embrace".[32]

The house as a space of repression and destruction

After the 1830 November Uprising, and particularly after the second major unsuccessful national revolt, the 1863 January Uprising, literature kept returning to the narrative of destroyed domestic bliss. We could once again witness literature drawings parallels between the home and the fatherland such as Adam Mickiewicz succinctly did in relation to the hero of his 1828 narrative poem *Konrad Wallenrod*: "Yet [he] found no happiness in heart or home, for in the country was there blessing none".[33] The circumstance that the home developed into a fortress of national culture during the first half of the nineteenth century and that culture was free to flourish within the confides of the home drastically changed by the January Uprising, which was primarily led by the aristocratic classes. Despite of some successes, the uprising was brutally squelched and brought on increased countermeasures of repression and Russification. The home became a place of struggle and, because the insurgents sought refuge, lost its status as a space for political and personal freedom. Now the foreign forces began entering the private sphere, where they controlled, searched, plundered, confiscated; arresting, killing and deporting its inhabitants to Siberia.[34] The divide between the home as a place of sanctuary, or *locus amoenus*, and the hostile exterior, or the *locus terribilis*, was thus levelled. We could therefore interpret the defeat of the 1863 national uprising and the 1864 liberation of farmers in Congress Poland[35] as the beginning of the end of traditional aristocratic manor houses and domestic culture. What followed were mere distressed attempts to preserve the legacy in terms of land, wealth, lifestyle, quotidian culture, religion, patriotism, as well as the manor house as an instrument of social distinction and rule. Women played an important historical role in this endeavour: they saw off their husbands, brothers and sons, looked after, administered and sustained the home, raised their children to be patriots, preserved traditions and memories, and wishfully anticipated the return of the captured and deported men. However, they were only able to fulfil their roles as sedentary keepers of material and spiritual values as long as they were not threatened, raped, killed or had to flee and loose everything.

The domestic spheres of manor houses and their environments morphed into landscapes of grief. Elżbieta Kowecka noted that the interiors of the houses, with their many paintings, hero portraits, photographs, objects of art, etc., lost their colourfulness after the January Uprising: the splendour "suddenly expired in the days of national mourning at the beginning of the 1830s". A sudden visitor to the house would have had the impression of a funeral, for much of the furniture was painted black, and curtains and portraits showed signs of mourning.[36] The people were robbed of "their rights, their language, their fathers' faith and their soil".[37] Their only choice was to preserve their national ideologies in secrecy.

The real economic decline of the manor houses generally went hand-in-hand with a renewed imaginative appreciation of their national and social symbolic powers.

These conditions and sentiments were expressed in a Polish literature that heavily reflected the November and January Uprisings and the duress they caused within families and homes. The subject of many texts was the desecration of the domestic sphere and the material things contained within it. Often the desecration followed the delineation of an idyllic word. Eliza Orzeszkowa begins her 1910 story *Oficer* (The Officer) with a description of a beautiful old manor house in the middle of a typical Polish landscape just before it is plundered at the order of two Russian officers on the hunt for an escaped insurgent: "Tear up the floorboards! Break open the locks! Tear through the upholstery! Pour the soil out of the flowerpots! Break through all walls that sound hollow! Kick in all locked doors that have no keys!"[38] The house gets mercilessly 'ransacked' by the silent Cossacks. The soldiers' despotism and even pleasure for destruction is palpable. They also plunder the pantry, get drunk on the alcohol they find and behave 'like animals'. One of the sons of the manor house had taken part in the uprising. He is arrested and put into jail. When he learns that his parental home had been confiscated, he has a vision of his childhood paradise:

> It's small, not especially grand, but so cute, so precious, connected with every nerve of my body, with every ounce of my soul. Yes, here, above this cloud stands this small house – like all of our houses, white, with a veranda, next to it an Italian poplar, and over there the old elm in the middle of the courtyard, there runs Nestor the dog who my mother loves so [...].[39]

In reality, however, the home ceased being a domicile. It was no longer able to continue its role as the economic, cultural and patriotic centre.

Many aristocratic manor houses became homes infiltrated by pain, grief and sorrow. Maria Konopnicka addressed the theme of violated privacy in her 1883 poem *Wojna* (War). In it, she described the home as a battlefield and object of destruction with adversary soldiers displaying a "particular vindictiveness against lifeless objects". The theme of violated intimacy is reflected in images that include a ransacked interior, injured people and casualties, displaced children and a sobbing housekeeper. These motifs visualize the condition that this war was not just an "outside" spectacle, but crept into peaceful private "nests" "with its dreadful snake-like body",[40] in order to brutally defile them. Arthur Grottger's series of drawings *Polonia* (1863) and *Wojna* (War) (1866–67) represent a kind of iconographic story of repression and devastation that, with the use of emotion, depict the act of forced recruitment (see Figure 29.2), the defence of a manor house against Russian soldiers, the destruction of a house's interior and the grief of a family following the death of an insurgent.

Stefan Żeromski's 1912 historical novel *Wierna rzeka* (Faithful River) is set inside a destroyed aristocratic manor estate in which a wounded insurgent seeks refuge. The entire estate has been burned down and ravaged. Only the old manor house survived and is inhabited by a relative of the aristocratic family and an old butler. The manor owner and his five sons are off at war, and their mother is gone looking for her sons. Russian soldiers also regularly force their way into the house in order to search it for traces of hidden insurgents. The manor house, which once was renowned for being a place where local aristocratic families were entertained, now represents a bleak image: "A wasteland ... Deserted, dark, almost as if it were oppressed by the disgrace [...] ..." – "a home of misfortune", a house as "masterless" as Poland itself. The novel also contains the story of a woman, who, in spite of being in danger for her own life, hosts a freedom fighter, treats his wounds, nourishes

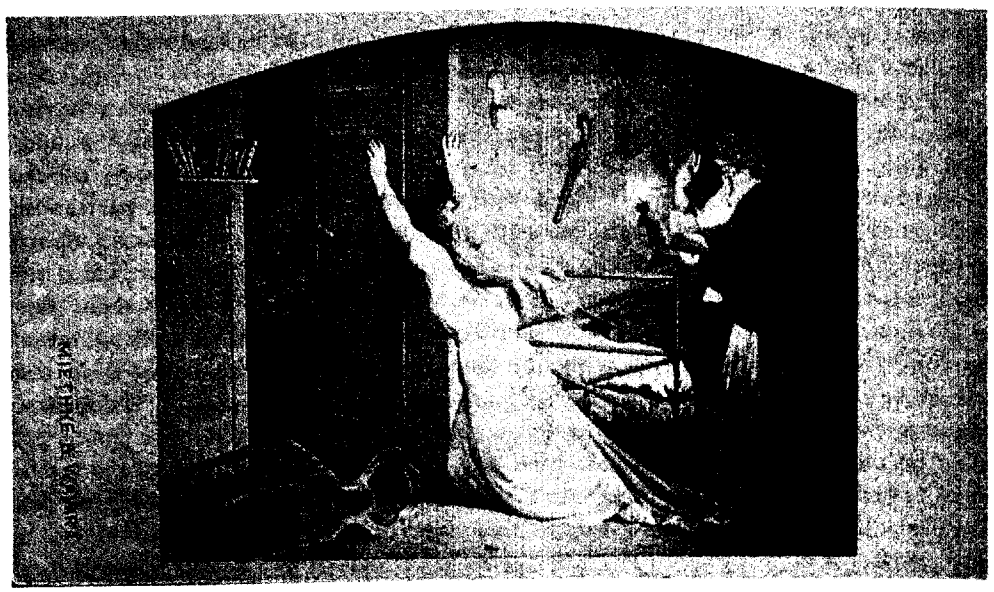

Figure 29.2 Impressment, 1863

and cares for him and ends up falling in love with him. All this in a time when "houses [were] inhospitable and people [did] not long for human contact".[41]

Other literary motifs of manor houses under the threat of danger or repression exposed desperate attempts to not only preserve once magnificent estates in which one could live a life of luxury but also to save them as Polish property. These kinds of themes dominated Polish literature to such an extent that other topics such as family crises, generational conflicts or intimate catastrophes – which, for example, dominated nineteenth-century German literature – were not explicitly, or only very subtly, present. Under the condition of a repressive housing policy (confiscated houses in the eastern territories could not be sold to Poles), good homeownership was seen as a patriotic duty. According to this logic, any homeowner was deemed 'lacking honour' who maintained any sort of debt on their homes and put them in danger of falling into Russian hands. Defending the home turf and maintaining the patriarchal legacy and the conservative, Catholic, aristocratic culture were among the themes of Maria Rodziewiczówna's popular novels. In literature, one way the preservation of wealth was achieved, was by a convenient marriage – such as in Juliusz Słowacki's 1866 drama *Fantazy* (Fantasy) or in Henryk Sienkiewicz's 1894 novel *Rodzina Połanieckich* (The Polaniecki Family), in which the neglected and bankrupt manor estate Krzemień is to be resurrected with money, rationality and vigour to propagate the conservative ideology of the rural aristocracy as an alternative to city life. Sienkiewicz's novel caused heated debates in Poland and garnered, among others, devastating reviews as a classic example of Polish aristocratic naiveté.

The character Benedykt Korczyński from Eliza Orzeszkowa's 1888 novel *Nad Niemnem* (On the Niemen) embodies a self-sacrificing homeowner, who, in his desire to conserve, devotes himself to keeping the manor estate Korczyn "intact",[42] in the belief that all of the endless repairs, improvements, replacements and support it requires would somehow contribute to the preservation of a cultural identity. The household inventory deemed worthy of preservation in *Nad Niemnem*, as well as in many other novels of the time, included patriotic objects and family mementos that commemorated the Polish struggle for

independence and its victims, transforming interior spaces into sad rooms reminiscent of monastery cells or museum-like exhibition halls. Instead of living in them and having them develop individualistically, families used the domestic sphere to celebrate the past, cultivate heroes and preserve memories. Seweryna, from Eliza Orzeszkowa's 1893 novel *Dwa bieguny* (Two Poles), sees herself as merely the administrator of the property she inherited, and very dutifully oversees it out of a patriotic-familial obligation in honour of her brother who died fighting for the independence of the fatherland. Salomea, from the aforementioned novel *Wierna rzeka*, no longer feels free out of a necessity for sacrifice even though she has, as was expected, helped a wounded insurgent. She sees no future for herself and chooses a typical female role prescribed by national gender traditions. The domestic landscapes found in literature generally exhibited a "syndrome of being under occupation".[43] They had an air of halfway houses, transit camps, transit spaces and waiting rooms, which allowed one to identify with the nation, nature and culture – in short, with the patriotic imperative – but were never furnished very comfortably as to enjoy one's private intimate life, as was the characteristic portrayal of the home in the nineteenth-century literature of many European countries.

Morbid things

During the nineteenth century, the entrances of manor estates were adorned with inscriptions that read as if they were introducing themselves: "I'm the Polish manor estate that fights with valour and protects with devotion".[44] True to this sentiment, aristocratic manor houses were home to a collection of patriotic objects that created an emotionally charged atmosphere which expressed the stateless nation's sacrifice of blood and labour, and which clearly exhibited signs of gradual decay. The old, used and shabby objects in the novel *Nad Niemnem* anticipate the inevitable demise that seems only postponed by tireless repairs. Cheap replacement parts, bleached-out colours, worn-down appliances that "time has soiled, broken, and shredded",[45] all show signs of fragility and negligence. An unhappy and lonely woman lives in a home surrounded by all these morbid things. Her husband finds fulfilment in maintaining the home while she experiences disgust and finds small pleasures in decorating the house, but suffers from boredom and poor health. These houses were generally inhabited by people who stopped forming any real communities, who were disingenuous and strangers to one another and who didn't create anything new. It is a sad and bleak world, which, "in its endeavour to withstand, only vegetates, and in doing so, exhausts all of its strength".[46]

Orzeszkowa's aforementioned novel *Dwa bieguny* depicts the female ethos of holding on to things that have belonged to the family for decades: old furniture, jewellery, china, books and musical instruments. Everything inside the inherited manor house is old-fashioned and surrounded by an air of wealth as well as melancholy sadness informed by the sounds, colours, smells, music and the "infinite sadness of the house's eyes".[47] The objects in the book are palpable, their shapes taken on an external effect, their "ecstasies" somehow radiate "into the environment"[48] and, in constellation with the people that interact with them, create an 'old-fashioned Polish' atmosphere. The novel's aristocratic manor estate set in the middle of the forest feels like a museum in which cultural capital is preserved, objects are housed and ideas implemented that uphold the property of the owner's deceased brother. Seweryna holds on to the belief that her brother's spirit lives on in this house as long as she maintains his legacy. She stays put in the deep country out of a sense of patriotic duty and tries to maintain permanence for the house and its things as well as for male immortality by "living for an abstract idea

and believing in seemingly dubious truths". She possesses a quasi-religious ability to revere the house and identify with the domestic objects to the point of self-sacrifice – a "martyr" in the distant "realm" of the national-familial tragedy.[49] Literature thus became a medium capable of transmitting affective interactions. The atmosphere these books created was intended to be adopted by their readers, and not just by encountering the material culture and energy of things but also by the perception of the home as a trans-human body – in the sense of Jean-Marie Guyau's sociological transmission theory:

> A building that is created for life can be viewed as a sort of living body with openings to the outside, with windows, like eyes, doors that look like mouths, and ultimately everything that personifies the coming and going of living beings.[50]

This anthropomorphizing of the home is an aspect of nineteenth-century literary strategies in which Polish houses 'lived' in their symbolic resistance but also had to 'die'. Eliza Orzeszkowa's 1891 story *Śmierć domu* (The Death of the Home) describes the auction of a manor house from the perspective of an old servant. For him, it is a sad ritual, a desecration of seemingly sacred values, a funeral of a house that is likened to a body. The furniture, objects and appliances, which have been accumulated over the centuries, are carried out from the domestic sphere into the outside world and brutally sold away together with the stories associated with them. A china cupboard that has stood in the same corner for decades is suddenly moved and confronted with the scrupulous words: "Any higher bids?" The cupboard is "outraged" by the question and appears to "faint" like a human being. The things and appliances that, glistening in the sun on the lawn in front of the house, unexpectedly find themselves at the centre of a thoroughly modern context: one of velocity, mobility and transfer of capital. The final goodbye is represented by an old clavichord that sounds lively and gay, the servant's tears, the dog's sad eyes and the tweeting of birds who also remember the past and, bewildered at the sight of the "naked and silent windows", ask themselves: "What is this? What is this? What's happening?"[51] The servant, the dog and the birds set themselves apart from the potential buyers because they know the emotional value of these things and the relational web that exists between people, objects and ideas. They know what people have done to these things and what these things have done to the people.[52] There is a silence after the auction ends, and the servant Joachim makes the sign of the cross as he would before a corpse in a coffin. Even if the empty walls of the house remain, the sacred dimension of the home, which for decades has fulfilled an identity-shaping and culture-forming role,[53] has perished.

In the novel *Wierna rzeka*, the spirits of deceased inhabitants are among the things that anticipate the impending destruction. The spirit of deceased Dominik lives in an empty, locked room of the manor house. That is at least according to Salomea, who lives in the house and repeatedly tells the story of a man "working, yelling, making noise and dragging barrels back and forth" in his room. Salomea sometimes has the impression that the ghostly spirit is wandering throughout the whole house, leaving a trail of cold air. Despite of her warning, Russian soldiers enter the room and find it "wild, even mad". They are not scared per se but feel a particular unease that takes possession of them as if someone were standing in front of them, "welcoming them to these four walls with an awfully scornful hubris".[54] The Russian officer discovers the insurgent whom he was looking for hiding in one of the barrels, but the atmosphere of the mysterious room creates an air of resignation and an awareness of the pointlessness of his own involvement in the war. He does not kill the enemy but instead, disgusted, removes himself from the uncanny house that exudes the chill of a gravesite.

Idyllic manor houses versus modern ways of life

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, images of urban town houses began to appear in Polish literature with increasing frequency. The heterogeneity and socio-economic problems of town houses were juxtaposed with, among other things, the idyllic rural manor house landscapes. This is the case, for example, in Bolesław Prus's 1889 urban novel *Lalka* (The Doll), in which the protagonist convalesces from the chaos and pollution of the big city in the manor house Zasławek, enjoying the peace of a place where houses are still more than financial investments or random collections of people who live under the same roof.[55] However, the remnants of Polish aristocratic culture became a topic of intense criticism in literature – not only because of the wasteful lifestyle based on exploiting the work of farmers but also because the aristocratic class lacked drive, choosing to remain stuck in an unproductive traditionalism that demonstrated an absence of responsibility for national causes. Rural aristocracy ceased to be the culture-producing class. What is more, literature and art gradually began including the peasantry into the national consciousness.[56] In literary and iconographic discourses, farmhouses often came up as places of poverty, starvation and alcoholism.

Discussions on alternatives to the war scenario, which had been passed down from generation to generation, the ethos of 'organic labour' as well as the necessity for, and the difficulties of, national integration found their way into literary texts. The ideology of 'organic labour' surfaced as especially relevant in the context of real or potential transformations of the 'domestic sphere'. The term, which was coined by Polish positivists, contradicted romantic enthusiasm and emphasized the merits of progress-yielding, undeterred labour, instead of perusing futile uprisings as a rational path towards Poland's future independence. Along with the progressive utopias of modern paradises of happiness and justice for all, the so-called "glass houses",[57] literary motifs of the home, included one particular subject that was often discussed around the turn of the century: homelessness – "a characteristic attributed to various world changers, some of whom inhabited attic and basement apartments, others who were considered starvelings that could barely afford their rents, and others yet who were socialists and persecuted by the police".[58] In 1901, Stanisław Wyspiański realized his idea of transforming the home, and with it the domestic sphere, into the theatre as the set for a drama on Polish history in the form of a wedding between an aristocratic man and a farmer's daughter. The congregation of members of various social classes for the occasion of a wedding in carefree 'rural Poland' – more specifically in the interior of a farmhouse that included several important elements of a typical manor house[59]– turns into a large and contentious debate on the state of the nation in which the spirits of prominent Polish historical personages also partake. The conclusion of the debate, however, is not a pleasant one: the protagonists surmise that there is currently no short supply of court jesters but of statesmen and leaders. It also does not suffice to motivate people to revolt since the drunken host is asleep and the town youngster has lost the golden magical horn with which he summons potential insurgents. Instead, the wedding guests are swept up in a hypnotic dance by Chochoł (a woven straw character), which transforms the house into a scene of national stagnation. In this text too, atmosphere, animated objects, symbolic things and ghostly figures play important roles. The farmhouse that "falls in love" with the Polish nature and is infected by a mysterious energy[60] reveals an unfulfilled integration into real society, but is ultimately not apt to symbolize the national house.

By the turn of the century, Poland was characterized by an unhappy fatherland and unfortunate houses, by nationlessness and homelessness in the literal and figurative senses as well as by provisional domiciles. The title of Stefan Żeromski's 1900 novel *Ludzie bezdomni*

(Homeless People) is indicative of this and can be interpreted in different ways: it refers to poor, uprooted, homeless people who do not own a house, live in abject conditions and keep having to find new work. However, it also refers to people who have no home, who are homeless in the political and social senses; and it ultimately refers to people who are stateless. The character of the homeless wandering Polish soldier, insurgent, emigrant – the one who makes a pilgrimage towards a free fatherland (a paradigm referred to as *tułactwo*) – experienced great popularity in nineteenth-century literature. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a circus trailer that belonged to the farmer Michał Drzymała rose to prominence. Drzymała used his nomadic lifestyle to resist Prussia's Germanization policy and settlement law that banned Poles from building houses on their own properties. Drzymała's story became a legend in Poland, and the farmer was declared a national hero who fought against the Germanization policy with his 'house on wheels'.

In the modern urban context, relicts of the past, mementos and valuable household trivialities had finally lost their significance. Prominent modern themes included the instinct for national and familial self-preservation, that is the struggle to preserve wealth, and drew clear parallels to Riehl's view of the modern bourgeois German family and the anti-urban affects and distrust vis-à-vis the apparent chaos of modern lifestyles. In Maria Rodziewiczówna's 1903 novel *Wrzos* (Heather), a coachman quotes the dismissive judgement of his mother, who is a farmer, about the city:

> Lord Jesus made the village and the manor house and the Devil joined together stones and built the city, and he's still sitting in it. That's why only the stones are at home here and everything divine is merely in servitude.[61]

Narrations of loss

The First World War and the subsequent Polish–Soviet War spelled the end of rural Polish aristocratic culture in the sense of its rootedness in the homeland, its settled form of existence, its homogeneity and not least its rule over a territory. It is a dramatic national story of loss told through people, houses and things. In light of the destruction caused by the war, literature captured the sensual-material presence and symbolism of the houses and domestic things beyond a general mode of reflection. The destroyed old world with its ruined houses became the subject of artistic representation as a model of an all-encompassing story of loss based on war and violence (see Figure 29.3).

Polish authors who took part in the First World War or who were otherwise affected by it came into contact with ruins that to them represented an endangered culture and traditional way of life. The well-rehearsed national choreography was once more put into practice: books were filled with stories of men from rural aristocratic backgrounds who leave their families in order to liberate the enslaved "Polonia";[62] stories of men who lose their homes in which they left behind their women and servants; stories of mobile soldiers who witness barbaric orgies of destruction that leave droves of houses in shambles;[63] and stories of rural manor houses that are reoccupied, ravaged, destroyed, ransacked and razed. The descriptions of these traumatic events are often told from the perspective of officers and soldiers stationed in manor houses, for whom this marks a last opportunity to appreciate the domestic objects and cultural artefacts "in the bosom of the house",[64] for it shall soon be time to say goodbye to all the things, colours and smells of the environments and atmospheres that once stood as pillars for the national identity and provided a feeling of security. One example of this is a scene from Andrzej Strug's 1920 novel *Odznaka za wierną służbę*

L. Barski: Na zgliszczach w r. 1915. „Wola Twoja, Panie!"

Figure 29.3 Leonard Barski, *The Ruins of 1915, "Your Will, Lord"*, 1915, Postcard from the First World War

(Award for Loyal Duty): an officer stationed in a manor house plays Chopin on the piano like mad because he knows it will soon be burnt down by the first grenades of the upcoming battle. This once again demonstrates how the home adopted the emotional and moral qualities of a person before it is burnt down:

> Those are the rules of war. The giant library stares into face of its destiny with concentration and horror. In spite of all rationality, it is hard to believe that books don't feel the horrific hour of destruction. It will be gruesome in there [...].[65]

One motif sticks out in the literary descriptions of ruins that – comparable to Bourdieu's findings in the Kabyle houses destroyed during the Algerian War – exudes an almost magical aura: the remanence of the centre of the domestic microcosm: the open-fire stove, the "navel of the house",[66] the woman's domain, the part of the house dedicated to the elementary supply of nourishment. Władysław Orkan describes an area of burned-down houses near Lublin where all that is left are a succession open-fire stoves and chimneys. An old

woman is hunched over a boilerplate on one of these stoves, cooking dinner for which only a few salvaged elements of the domestic infrastructure must suffice: "Just like home. Only the walls and roof are missing".[67] In her 1921 war memoir *Pożoga. Wspomnienia z Wołynia 1917–1919* (Conflagration. Memories from Volhynia 1917–1919), Zofia Kossak-Szczucka describes the ominous pogroms and the destruction of Polish manor estates during the chaos caused by the First World War and Russian Revolution. The book reads like a laundry list of cruelties, desecrations and destruction, and simultaneously like an examination into a decaying world of aristocratic culture in the eastern territories of Poland. The collections of furniture, appliances and odds and ends in these houses are characterized as valuable treasures overrun by a wild horde of barbaric "half-humans",[68] which are "not only burned, but also defiled and maltreated".[69] In contrast to the destruction that occurred after the series of unsuccessful uprisings, the subject of Kossak-Szczucka's memoir is destruction and permanent loss:

> Only the core chimney was left intact and represented a single trace of all former possessions as it rages up into the sky like a wailing monument. In most cases, however, the sad skeletons of houses remained intact after the pogroms, which, with their missing roofs and beams and torn-out doorframes, looked like miserable, scorched corpses.[70]

Typical narration devices when describing acts of violence, war, conflagration and the death of people and buildings included images of houses as dying bodies, stumps, corpses or graves; imbuing destroyed spaces with corporal qualities; and animating inanimate objects with the capacity to complain about their destinies, voice their desperations and feel a sense of shame. The abandoned skeletons of houses and black charred chimneys, which no longer serve a purpose but embody lost domestic warmth and in their rudimentary appearance express grief, constitute the stage for the downfall of rural aristocratic culture. The transition into the modern era clearly went hand in hand with expropriation, mobility and nationlessness. That process occurred in a sinister environment characterized by the colours black and grey, which stood in stark contrast to the legendary white walls and facades of the Polish manor house.

Conclusion

During the long nineteenth century, the (manor) house played the role of a social and cultural institution that, in an era in which the culture, society and nation of Poland was under threat, represented a refuge and embodied all that was considered national. The house was more than a storage facility for family memory. It represented the continuity of Polish history and the desire for freedom and independence. There is a long tradition in Polish literature of combining a rural rhetoric and idealistic iconography with a national connotation of nature. However, Adam Mickiewicz's 1834 epic *Pan Tadeusz* exemplifies a foundational story for the notion of the national house as a narrative, myth or even hero. In it, the manor house represents Polish tradition, security, peace, protection and stability as well as the potential for freedom. Polish literature does not only reveal the social, economic and political transformations that can be witnessed through the lens of the home but also the difficulties, ambivalences and conflicts that arise from the status of the manor house as a place of opposition. The metonymic relation between the state and the home does not apply to Polish culture. As a place and symbol for the nation, the home is instead ascribed specific powers of

resistance. Because of the opposition against the partitioning powers, that is foreign states, the manor house was configurated substantively since its sons were primarily drafted for the freedom fight and not for bourgeois professions. In the case of Poland, the idea of the domestic sphere as a birthplace of modern individuality is inappropriate. While in western cultures, self-discovery and self-determination took place in the domestic sphere, Polish manor houses were to a large degree dominated by a kind of collective combative spirit. Living in one was in a very culturally specific way "the result of collective subjectivity",[71] designed as an anti-colonial resistance and alternative to European modernization processes. However, aristocratic manor houses would increasingly lose their status over the course of the long nineteenth century as culture-creating and patriotically defined institutions and become the targets for a literary and journalistic criticism. One of the most convincing critics of the ideological ensemble of the manor house (*dwór*) was Stanisław Brzozowski, who discredited rural aristocratic socialization as completely obsolete and practically asocial, and accused the aristocratic class of lacking in creativity, vigour and a sense of responsibility.[72] The farmhouse now became a reliable 'outpost' of Polish culture able to resist the politics of the occupation forces against the formation of a national consciousness more successfully than the aristocratic manor houses could. Bolesław Prus portrayed the manor house as the seat of parasitism, scrupulousness and indifference in his 1886 novel *Placówka* (The Outpost). In it, the owner unhesitatingly sells his land to German colonialists while the farmer Ślimak defends the Polish territory.

On the one hand, literature helped shape various mechanisms of (national) interpretations and exemplified how houses were integrated in the cultural narrative – in modernism often just as "objects on which to project desires and aspirations".[73] On the other hand, literature demonstrated the material devastation and profanation of the idea of the national house through colonialization, appropriation and destruction. It illustrated how the fundamental qualities of old-fashioned life were lost, and how the desolate landscapes of ruins and the profound sadness and desperation associated with it spread. Among the harbingers of this story of loss were the nearly omnipresent morbid objects, decadent atmospheres and idiosyncratic spirits that took possession of the manor houses, and that accompanied the human endeavour for maintaining the properties or even turning them into quasi museums – particularly after the January Uprising. Houses and the objects in them were severely emotionalized and advanced to become personal, familial and national fetishes. As habitats, houses are to their inhabitants "permanent in physical memory, in body and in soul".[74] They make up the symbolic arc of Polish culture and simultaneously one if its supporting phantasms.

The cultural and literary history of the national house briefly outlined in this chapter and the complex symbolic order associated with it could, in some way, stand for Polish culture as a whole. The literary house thus is not just an apt metaphor for desecration and destruction but also for construction and re-construction, resistance and protest, conspiration and repression, (male) genealogy and (female) reproduction work, dreams and imaginations, conservative ideologies and the (post)colonial syndrome. After the end of the First World War and the establishment of the Polish state, discourse about the national home became less relevant in Polish literature. Discussions about the nation diverged from the construction of the home and the traditional domestic sphere with its characteristic material objects, as well as from the stories associated with them. But the material–spiritual ensemble did not entirely disappear after 1918; many manor houses were in fact reconstructed and national codes and myths revitalized. In doing so, the aristocratic connotation of the manor house's materiality was of great significance, since, according to Aida Bosch, things can "be important for purposes of self-reassurance, or they can act as braces for identity building".[75] In this sense, theatre scholar Dorota Sajewska even refers to a re-enactment of traditional (aristocratic)

culture that lies in the "revitalization of the remainders of history".[76] The Polish experience of foreign rule thus crept into the modern era. It manifested itself in a 'holding on' to tradition, a feeling of cultural secondariness and in a confinement of hard borders. The Polish word *zaściankowość*, which stems from *zaścianek* (the court of lower nobility), aptly characterizes this paradigm of provinciality: an aristocratic-feudal trait of Polish society that is also observable in the modern age. Critics of this cultural paradigm refer to specific affinities for old political principals such as *liberum veto* and *liberum conspiro*. Even to this day, old problem constellations, ghosts of the past, or more precisely, corpses, bones, mortal remains and graves, hero worshiping, remembrance rituals and religious symbols, among other things, are still objects of current interpretations. These themes continue to be resurrected as arguments in Polish debates on the dilemma of modernity versus nationality, in which the house often still plays a relevant role as a building and sphere, stage, medium, as well as hero and victim of history.

Notes

1 Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'", *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000), pp. 1–47. The relationship between domesticity and identity building has been the subject of previous research. Cf. James S. Duncan (ed.), *Housing and Identity: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (New York: Holms & Meier, 1982); Margarethe Kusenbach and Krista E. Paulsen (eds.), *Home: International Perspectives on Culture, Identity, and Belonging* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013); Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminists Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), esp. chapter 3.

2 Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Familie* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1861), p. 178.

3 Riehl, *Die Familie*, p. 187.

4 Joachim Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", in Joachim Eibach and Inken Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 19–37 (37).

5 Pierre Bourdieu, "The Berber House or the World Reversed", *Social Science Information* 9, 2 (1970), pp. 151–70 (162).

6 Franz Schultheis, "Habitat und Habitus: Bourdieus 'Kabylisches Haus' revisited: Die drei Geschichten des kabylischen Hauses", in Anna Echterhölter and Iris Därmann (eds.), *Konfigurationen – Gebrauchsweisen des Raums* (Zurich: diaphanes, 2013), pp. 179–99 (183).

7 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places* (Boston: Boston Press, 1994); Pierre Bourdieu, *Entwurf einer Theorie der Praxis auf der ethnologischen Grundlage der kabylischen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976).

8 Richard Suggett shows such a development of an innovative and assertive housing culture in Medieval Wales. Cf. Richard Suggett, "Peasant Houses and Identity in Medieval Wales", *Vernacular Architecture* 44 (2013), pp. 6–18.

9 Saskia Haag, *Auf wandelbarem Grund: Haus und Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2012); Nacim Ghanbari, *Das Haus: Eine deutsche Literaturgeschichte 1850–1926* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

10 Marilyn Chandler, *Dwelling in the Text: Houses in American Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

11 Kathy Mezei and Chiara Briganti, "Reading the House: A Literary Perspective", *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27, 3 (2002), pp. 837–46; cf. also the monograph Kathy Mezei and Chiara Briganti, *Domestic Modernism, the Interwar Novel, and E.H. Young* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), which is dedicated to twentieth-century English literature.

12 For the English context: Hermann Muthesius, *The English House* (New York: Rizzoli, 1979); A. D. Cousins and Geoffrey Payne (eds.), *Home and Nation in British Literature from the English to the French Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); for the Dutch context: Ellen Krol, *De smaak der natie: opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800 tot 1840* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

13 Teresa Dąbek-Wirgowa and Andrzej Z. Makowiecki (eds.), *Obraz domu w kulturach słowiańskich* (Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1997).

14 E.g. Grzegorz Baranowski (ed.), *Dwór polski XIX wieku: Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1992); Tadeusz Chrzanowski (ed.), *Dziedzictwo Ziemianie polscy i udział ich w życiu narodu* (Kraków: Znak, 1995).

15 Elżbieta Kowecka, *W salonie i w kuchni: Opowieści o kulturze materialnej pałaców i dworów polskich w XIX wieku* (Poznań: Zysk i S-ka, 2008).

16 Michał Rożek, *Etos dworu szlacheckiego: Szkice z dziejów kultury* (Kraków: Petrus, 2013).

17 Anna Legeżyńska, *Dom i poetycka bezdomność w liryce współczesnej* (Warsaw: PWN, 1996); Bożena Shallcross (ed.), *Framing the Polish Home: Postwar Cultural Constructions of Hearth, Nation, and Self* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002).

18 Cf. representations of this discussion in literature: for example, Kajetan Koźmian's 1839 poem *Ziemiaństwo polskie: Poema w czterech pieśniach* (Polish Landed Gentry: A Poem in Four Songs), which associates the aristocratic manor house as a refuge for old customs, national traditions and harmony with the rhythm of nature and thus idealizes it, and Wincenty Pol's 1843 *Pieśń o ziemi naszej* (Song about our Land), a tribute to the lush Polish home turf, its landscapes, houses and people.

19 Jan Prokop refers to this ambivalence in his essay *Das polnische Haus* (The Polish Home). A contradiction is embedded in the construction of the home in a time of national servitude – a desire for continuity and permanence, and, at the same time, a desire for a change in the name of aristocratic ideals of freedom and independence (Jan Prokop, "Dom polski", in Piotr Łukasiewicz and Andrzej Siciński (eds.): *Dom we współczesnej Polsce: Szkice* (Wrocław: Wiedza o kulturze, 1992), pp. 42–53 (49).

20 Cf. at the European level: Daniel Menning, "Adel und Haus: Deutungshorizonte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", in Eibach and Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas*, pp. 571–87 (572).

21 In this sense Marta Leśniakowska speaks of the manor house as a vessel for the respective utopia. See Marta Leśniakowska, "Dwór – w stronę utopii retrospektywnej", in Baranowski (ed.), *Dwór polski XIX wieku*, pp. 9–25.

22 Raffaella Sarti, "Ländliche Hauslandschaften in Europa in einer Langzeitperspektive", in Eibach and Schmidt-Voges (eds.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas*, pp. 175–94 (187).

23 Michał Bałucki, *Przebudzeni: Powieść na tle wypadków 1863 roku* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej, 1911), p. 65. The novel portrays manor houses that were destroyed by Russian soldiers and the revenge of the Polish insurgents. Bałucki was a harsh critic of the aristocracy in his novels (e.g. *Błyszczące nędze* [1870] (Glistening Misery)). All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are translations by the author from Polish to German that were subsequently translated into English by the translator. – MS.

24 Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Introduction, p. XX.

25 Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 6.

26 Schultheis, "Habitat und Habitus", p. 181. What Schultheis writes about Bourdieu's Kabyle house can be applied to Mickiewicz's literary Soplicowo.

27 Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz czyli ostatni zajazd na Litwie/Pan Tadeusz; Or, The Last Foray in Lithuania* (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 2002), p. 2.

28 Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, p. 4.

29 Paweł Hertz, "W Soplicowie", in Hertz, *Świat i dom: Szkice i uwagi wybrane* (Warsaw: PIW, 1977), pp. 221–25 (224).

30 Leopold Staff, *Wiersze zebrane*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: P.I.W., 1955), p. 37.

31 Artur Schröder, "Dworek", in *"My Pierwsza Brygada ..." Mała antologia poezji i pieśni I wojny światowej* (Kraków: Universitas, 2002), p. 99.

32 Stefan Żeromski, *Przedwiośnie* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Ossolińskich, 1982), p. 131. However, the motif of the blissful Polish house has some cracks in it – beneath the smooth surface rises the head of the impending doom.

33 Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod: A Historical Poem* (London: Trübner & Co., 1882), p. 49; cf. www.gutenberg.org/files/34050/34050-pdf.pdf?session_id=b6401956a03244e24ce4d3d28fd79e878f210e36, last accessed 7 Oct. 2019.

34 Remarkably, some Polish settlers built houses in Siberia, which, despite the extremely different climatic and cultural conditions, were through and through Polish in their appearance, amenities, esthetics and atmosphere, and which represented substitutes for the homeland and even were meant to demonstrate civilizational superiority. Cf. Agata Zwolan, "Aksjologia domu zesłańczego", in Dąbek-Wirgowa and Makowiecki (eds.), *Obraz domu w kulturach słowiańskich*, pp. 37–46.

35 Congress Poland was the Kingdom of Poland (a part of Russia until 1918) that was created by the Vienna Congress from the former Duchy of Warsaw.
36 Kowecka, *W salonie i w kuchni*, p. 102.
37 Rożek, *Etos dworu szlacheckiego*, p. 189.
38 Eliza Orzeszkowa, "Oficer", in Orzeszkowa, *Gloria victis* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1951), pp. 53–110 (59).
39 Orzeszkowa, "Oficer", p. 104.
40 Maria Konopnicka, *Wojna: Poemat do obrazów Artura Grottgera* (Kraków: Gebethner i Wolff, 1913), pp. 27, 29.
41 Stefan Żeromski, *Wierna rzeka: Klechda domowa* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Ossolińskich, 1978), pp. 65, 118, 121, 146.
42 Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Nad Niemnem*, vol. 1. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Ossolińskich, 1996), p. 30.
43 Grażyna Borkowska, *Pozytywiści i inni* (Warsaw: PWN, 1996), p. 27.
44 "Jam dwór polski, co walczy mężnie i strzeże wiernie."
45 Orzeszkowa, *Nad Niemnem*, vol. 1, p. 32.
46 Ewa Ihnatowicz, *Literacki świat rzeczy: O realiach w pozytywistycznej powieści obyczajowej* (Warsaw: Elipsa, 1995), p. 95. The court of the impoverished former aristocrat Bohatyrowicze, who was relegated to be a farmer, is much more authentic and progressive because the tradition goes hand in hand with an updated myth of the house.
47 Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Dwa bieguny* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1977), p. 217.
48 Gernot Böhme, *Atmosphäre: Essays zur neuen Ästhetik* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2013), p. 33.
49 Orzeszkowa, *Dwa bieguny*, pp. 259, 256.
50 Jean-Marie Guyau, *Die Kunst als soziologisches Phänomen* (Leipzig: Klinghardt, 1911), pp. 54–55. The book first appeared in 1887 and emphasizes the social function of art based on the laws of "sympathy" and the transmission of affects.
51 Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Śmierć domu* (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1923), pp. 12, 15–16, 14, 12.
52 Cf. Susanne Küchler, "Was Dinge tun: Eine anthropologische Kritik medialer Dingtheorie", in Katharina Ferus and Dietmar Rübel (eds.), *"Die Tücke des Objekts": Vom Umgang mit Dingen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2009), pp. 231–46.
53 Cf. also Aida Bosch, "Identität und Dinge", in Stefanie Samida, Manfred K. H. Eggert and Hans Peter Hahn (eds.), *Handbuch Materielle Kultur: Bedeutungen, Konzepte, Disziplinen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), pp. 70–77. The author argues for the existence of a "collective core identity" of thing-like objects that serve as actants of socialization on which human identity is constructed.
54 Żeromski, *Wierna rzeka*, pp. 51–53.
55 Władysław Reymont's second representative 1899 urban novel *Ziemia obiecana* (Promised Land) is similar. It is set in Łódź, an emerging capital for the textile industry, at the end of the nineteenth century. In it, the rural peace of a manor house is also confronted with the brutal industrialized world.
56 Countless authors including Eliza Orzeszkowa, Maria Konopnicka, Bolesław Prus, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Władysław Reymont, Stanisław Wyspiański, Władysław Orkan, showed interest for this social class.
57 The term "szklane domy" stems from Stefan Żeromski's 1924 novel *Przedwiośnie* and is still in use as a synonym for a society that lives in freedom and justice.
58 Jadwiga Zacharska, "Dom rodzinny – raj utracony czy porzucony", in Dąbek-Wirgowa and Makowiecki (eds.), *Obraz domu w kulturach słowiańskich*, pp. 97–106 (105).
59 The groom dreams of a manor house and thus refers back to the traditional Polish myth.
60 "The air has changed its atmosphere:/this hut has become enamored/with Polishness [...]." In Stanisław Wyspiański, *The Wedding* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1990), p. 21.
61 Maria Rodziewiczówna, *Wrzos* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1984), p. 56.
62 The word *Polska* (Poland) is feminine, subsequently the fatherland is often portrayed as an allegory for a woman (Polska, Polonia) who is enslaved, repressed and agonized, and who must be freed by Polish men.
63 Cf. Monika Szczepaniak, "The Country House as a Transitory Locus for Soldiers in the Polish Literature on the First World War", *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte/European History Yearbook* 18 (2017), pp. 72–87.
64 Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 7.
65 Andrzej Strug, *Odznaka za wierną służbę* (Warsaw: Ignis, 1921), pp. 82–83.
66 Bourdieu, "The Berber House", p. 160.

67 Władysław Orkan, *Drogą Czwartaków: Od Ostrowa na Linię 1915* (Kraków: Centralne Biuro Wydawnictw N.K.N., 1916), p. 31.
68 War literature often describes the Russian enemy, who is depicted as being brutal, primitive and barbaric vis-à-vis the refined culture of the manor houses, in these terms. Their "lack of culture" goes hand in hand with a Polish notion that their society is more advanced.
69 Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, *Pożoga: Wspomnienia z Wołynia 1917–1919* (Kraków: Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, 1922), p. 92.
70 Kossak-Szczucka, *Pożoga*, p. 56.
71 Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", p. 27.
72 According to the novel *Płomienie* (1908) (The Flames) – a sweeping critical analysis of aristocratic traditionalism, conservatism and clericalism.
73 Eibach, "Das Haus in der Moderne", p. 35.
74 Schultheis, "Habitat und Habitus", p. 183.
75 Aida Bosch, "Identität und Dinge", p. 76.
76 Dorota Sajewska, *Nekroperformans: Kulturowa rekonstrukcja teatru Wielkiej Wojny* (Warsaw: Instytut Tetralny im. Z. Raszewskiego, 2016), p. 370.

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